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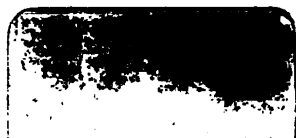
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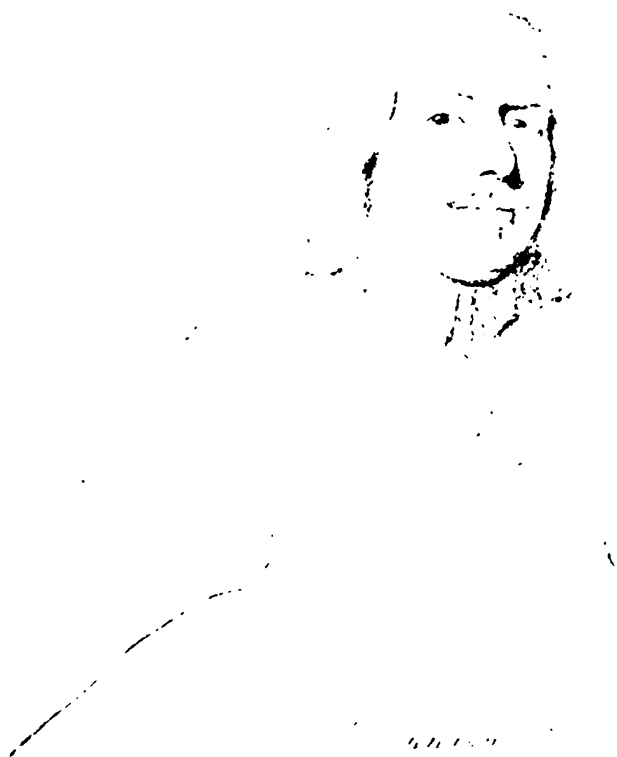
BUNYAN

HENRY FROWDE, M.A.

PUBLISHER TO THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD



LONDON, EDINBURGH, AND NEW YORK



JOHN BUNYAN

*From a Pencil Drawing in the British Museum
(Cracherode Collection, G. g. 1-493)*

BUNYAN

THE PILGRIM'S PROGRESS

GRACE ABOUNDING

AND

A RELATION OF HIS IMPRISONMENT

EDITED WITH BIOGRAPHICAL INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

BY

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LATE PRECENTOR AND CANON OF LINCOLN

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BUNYAN'S MEETING-HOUSE, SOUTHWARK.

BIOGRAPHICAL INTRODUCTION.

THE birthplace of John Bunyan was Elstow, a small village rather more than a mile to the south of the town of Bedford. The original form of the name of Elstow was *Ellen-stow*, the *stow*¹ or place of St. Helen, one of our few early British saints, the mother of the Emperor Constantine, under whose patronage the village was originally placed. Elstow was the seat of a Benedictine nunnery, founded in 1078 by Judith, niece to William the Conqueror, and widow of Waltheof, Earl of Huntingdon; and Elstow nunnery, or abbey, continued to rank among the most wealthy of similar foundations till the Dissolution. The abbey was surrendered to the crown Aug. 26, 1540. The sisters had pensions granted to them out of the estates, and several of them continued to live quietly close to their old home in the town of Bedford. The register of the united parishes of St. Mary and St. Peter Dunstable in that town contains the entry of the burial of four of them. The monastic property passed to Sir Humphrey Ratcliffe, brother to the Earl of Sussex, who made the convent his place of residence. He died there in 1566, and was buried in the chancel. From the Ratcliffes the property passed to the Hillersdens, by whom a mansion was erected early in the seventeenth century, which

¹ The Anglo-Saxon *stow*, a dwelling-place or habitation, forms an element in many local names.

must have been a grand new house in Bunyan's early days. The ivy-clad ruins form a picturesque feature on the south side of the church. Attached to the south-west corner is a beautiful little apartment of the fourteenth century, vaulted from a central pillar, which may have been the chapter-house. The church, so intimately connected with Bunyan's history, which is only the nave of the abbey church, is a building of unusual loftiness and dignity, partly rude Norman, partly Early English, with five well-proportioned arches, and an Early English clerestory. The octagonal font, in which we may conclude that John Bunyan was himself baptized, as we learn from the parish registers his two daughters, Mary (his beloved blind child) (July 20, 1650) and Elizabeth (April 14, 1654) certainly were, stands at the west door, but originally stood in the north aisle, facing the entrance door. The seat assigned by long-standing tradition to John Bunyan is an old open oaken bench in the north aisle, facing the pulpit, and polished by the hands of the thousands of visitors yearly attracted to this little village by the fame of the tinker of Elstow. As the seat now faces south instead of east, it must have been moved from its original position. The pulpit, of a pentagonal form, must be looked on with no common interest, as that from which the sermon was preached by Christopher Hall, the then 'parson' of Elstow, which first awoke Bunyan's slumbering conscience. The tower, or 'steeple-house,' the scene of Bunyan's bell-ringing exploits, as well as of the fierce struggles of conscience so graphically described (*Grace Abounding*, §§ 33, 34), is a massive detached structure strongly buttressed, standing twenty-one feet from the church at its north-west corner. It is of late Perpendicular work, built after the destruction of the central tower and choir of the monastic church. The five bells that hang in it are the same in which Bunyan so much delighted. Tradition says that the fourth bell is the one he was accustomed to ring. The rough flagged floor, all worn and broken with the hobnailed boots of generations of ringers, happily remains undisturbed. The 'steeple-door' is in all respects the same as when he used to stand in it, hoping 'if a bell should fall' he could 'slip out' safely behind the thick walls, which show as little tendency to ruin as in Bunyan's days.

The church stands on the south side of the village green, a wide expanse of turf, very little altered either in its character or surroundings from the time when John Bunyan was the ring-leader of all the youth of the place in the dances on the sward, 'tipcat,' and the other sports which his morbid conscience afterwards regarded as 'ungodly practices.' Few villages are so little modernized as Elstow. The old half-timbered cottages with overhanging storeys, gabled porches and peaked dormers, tapestried with roses and honeysuckles, must be much the same as in the days of the Commonwealth. On the green may still be seen the stump of the ancient market cross, and at the upper end is a quaint old brick and timber building, with well-carved corner-posts and spars supporting the jutting upper-storey, which in former days, when Elstow was a more important place than now, served as a market-house, or moot-hall. In the large upper room the village dancers held their revels when the cold of winter drove them in from the green. The cottage where Bunyan was born, if its site was ever accurately known, has long since passed away. That occupied by him after his first marriage, and where his children were born, is still standing, but modern repairs have robbed it of all its picturesqueness.

John Bunyan was born in the year 1628, a year remarkable in English history for the 'Petition of Right,' and the assassination of the Duke of Buckingham. His father was a tinker ('a mender of pots and kettles,' writes Charles Doe), or what we should now call a 'whitesmith,' or 'brazier,' for he had a settled home at Elstow. Still, as we know from contemporary literature¹, his calling was low and disreputable, 'of that rank,' in his own words, 'that is the meanest and most despised in the land.' Although the surname of Bunyan has now almost died out in Bedfordshire, it is of long-standing there, and was at one time very common². This effectually dispels the idea alluded to with favour by Sir Walter Scott, that Bunyan was of gypsy descent, to establish which a good deal of misdirected learning

¹ See note referring to p. 297, l 8.

² Dr. Brown has proved from the evidence of assize-rolls, manorial court-rolls, wills, and other historical documents, that at one time the Bunyans were a yeoman family of good position. *John Bunyan: His Life, Times, and Work*, by John Brown, B.A., 1885.

and research has been employed. Bunyan's inquiry of his father whether he was descended from the Israelites or no (*G. A.* § 18), is entirely beside the mark; for there is no reason to suppose that he could have had any acquaintance with the strange hallucination that the gypsies are to be regarded as the representatives of the ten lost tribes. The name Bunyan appeared in many different forms in those days of unsettled orthography and phonetic spelling. Bunyan himself spelt it in several different ways. In the parish register of Elstow we find Bonion, Bunion, Bonyon, Bunyon, and Bunyan. The last form, which has become universally accepted, is certainly the least frequent.

Poor as his parents were they did not neglect to send their son John to school. However, he learnt but little, and that little he confesses with shame he soon lost, 'almost utterly.' His handwriting, as exhibited in the margin of the copy of Fox's *Acts and Monuments*, which was his companion in prison, is a vile scrawl, on a par with the badness of the spelling and the rudeness of his doggerel rhymes. His boyhood was spent in his native village, where he grew up what Coleridge calls 'a bitter blackguard'; having, according to his own confession, 'but few equals' even when a child 'for cursing, swearing, lying, and blaspheming the name of God.' The unmeasured language in which he laments his youthful misdeeds has led to a very mistaken estimate of his character, which, handed on from one writer to another until it became almost a matter of faith, Southey was the first to demolish. 'The wickedness of the tinker,' he writes, 'has been greatly overcharged, and it is taking the language of self-accusation too literally to pronounce of John Bunyan that he was at any time depraved.' It is certain from his own solemn declaration when, at a later period of his life, charges of immorality were brought against him, that he was entirely guiltless of sins of impurity (*G. A.* § 313-317). There is not a shadow of evidence that he was ever drunk in his life. He acknowledges to a habit of profane swearing, acquired when a child, and indulged in without restraint till after his marriage, so that he became celebrated as 'a town-swearer'; shocking those who were by no means spotless themselves with the abundance and vehemence of his oaths. But the offences of which he speaks with the deepest

self-condemnation were the very venial crimes of dancing, bell-ringing, ballad-reading, and an eagerness for all kinds of sports and pastimes. True they were practised on the Sunday. According to the standard of the *Book of Sports*, however, that was a merit rather than a crime. But while to the ordinary observer Bunyan would only be known as a gay, daring young fellow, the ringleader at wake or merrymaking, ready, in Cole-ridge's words, 'to curse his own or his companions' eyes on slight or no provocation, and fond of a row,' from his earliest years his inner life, known only to himself, had been of a very different complexion. While still a child, 'but nine or ten years old,' he was racked with convictions of sin and haunted with religious terrors. He specially mentions 'the fearful dreams and dreadful visions' which scared and affrighted him in his childhood, and 'the apprehension of devils and wicked spirits' coming to carry him off which made his bed a place of terrors. The thought of the Day of Judgement and the doom of the ungodly crushed his spirit. In the midst of his games and pastimes with other boys—'vain companions' his morbid feelings led him to call them—the recollection of these nightly horrors threw a cloud over his merriment. But it was only a passing shadow. After a while his feverish dreams left him, and the youthful pleasures to which he gave himself up unrestrainedly quickly cut off all remembrance of them as if they had never been. They, however, left their mark, and helped to shape his mind, which was naturally one of powerful imagination and vivid susceptibility, for the task which has made him famous.

The preservation of his life more than once under circumstances of imminent danger—'judgements mixed with mercy' as he afterwards termed them—deepened the undercurrent of religious feeling. Twice he fell into the water and hardly escaped drowning. At another time his reckless daring brought him, as he mistakenly thought, near being stung to death by an adder¹. But that which made the greatest impression upon him—'which,' says his anonymous biographer, 'Mr. Bunyan would often mention, but never without thanksgiving to God'—was the one incident preserved to us from his life as a soldier.

¹ *G. A.* § 12 and note.

It is best told in his own words—'When I was a soldier I with others were drawn out to go to such a place to besiege it. But when I was just ready to go, one of the company desired to go in my room; to which when I consented he took my place, and coming to the siege, as he stood sentinel, he was shot in the head with a musket bullet and died' (*G. A.* § 13). We wish he had told us more. The name of the besieged place, and even the cause for which he took up arms, are left in complete obscurity. In the absence of definite information fancy has taken the place of fact, and a historical fabric has been built on a very sandy foundation. Leicester being the only town of the siege of which we have any certain evidence at this time suggested that it might have been the place referred to by Bunyan. An examination of the military history of the campaign, as has been shown by Dr. Brown¹, leads to a very different conclusion, and proves that it is most improbable that a levy from Bedford should have served at Leicester, especially on the Royalist side².

¹ *Book of the Bunyan Festival*, pp. 4-7.

² In 1896 Mr. E. G. Atkinson, of the Public Record Office, discovered there a volume containing the muster-rolls of the parliamentary garrison of Newport Pagnell. John Bunyan's name appears in these lists. On November 30, 1644, he was a private, or, as it was then termed, a 'centinel,' in the company commanded by Colonel Richard Cockayne. On March 22, 1645, he appears in the list of Major Boulton's company; and he was regularly mustered in Major Boulton's company up to May 27, 1645. His presence at Newport on May 27, 1645, renders the theory that he was at the siege of Leicester impossible. According to Mr. Atkinson, Bunyan was still a member of one of the companies belonging to the Newport garrison as late as June 17, 1647. His military service, therefore, lasted about three years.

Facsimiles of the muster-rolls containing Bunyan's name are given in *The Presbyterian* for March 3, 1898.

Colonel Richard Cockayne, under whom Bunyan served, appears to have been a Bedfordshire man of some note. See Ed. Husband, *A Collection of Orders, Ordinances, and Declarations*, 1646 (vol. ii), p. 193; Whitelock, *Memorials*, ed. 1732, p. 168; ed. 1853, vol. i. p. 501. A book entitled *Cockayne Memoranda*, printed for private circulation in 1869 at Congleton, contains an account of the various branches of the Cockayne family. A second volume of the work by the same author, A. E. Cockayne, appeared in 1873.

When Bunyan's military career was over he soon returned to his native village, and 'presently afterwards changed his condition into a married state.' The date of this, his first marriage, is not known, but it seems to have been at the end of 1648 or the beginning of 1649, when he was not much more than twenty years of age. His marriage was a most imprudent one in all respects but one. He had nothing, and his wife was as ill-provided with worldly goods as himself—'as poor as poor might be,' 'as poor as owlets,' to adopt his own image—without 'so much household stuff as a dish or spoon between them.' But though not seeking it he had the good fortune to light on a wife whose 'father while he lived was counted godly,' and who brought to her new home two pious books, as well as the fruits of a religious training. Such books would be entirely new reading to John Bunyan. Like most young fellows of his temperament, before his wife's loving influence had won him to more serious thoughts, he had found religious books distasteful. 'The Scriptures,' thought I, 'what are they? a dead letter, a little ink and paper of three or four shillings price. Give me a ballad, a news book, *George on horseback*, or *Bevis of Southampton*; give me some book that teaches curious arts, that tells of old fables¹.' These books which Bunyan and his young wife read together over the fireside awoke the slumbering sense of religion in his heart, and produced some external reformation. A sermon on the sin of Sabbath-breaking, aimed, as he imagined, expressly at him, sent him home conscience stricken, 'sermon smitten,' and 'sermon sick,' as he expresses it elsewhere. But his Sunday's dinner, and perhaps a good glass of ale, soon dispelled his gloom, and he went out as before to play with the young men of Elstow on the village green. Yet in the midst of his game of tipcat or 'sly' he seemed to hear a voice from heaven asking him whether he would leave his sins and go to heaven, or keep his sins and go to hell; and thought he saw a threatening Face frowning down on him from the clouds. But, like his own Hopeful, he 'shut his eyes against the light' and smothered the reproaching voice, and concluding that his condemnation was already sealed, and that if he was to be eternally lost, he might as well have his fill of pleasure first, he returned desperately

¹ *Sighs from Hell*; Works, vol. i. p. 501, ed. 1767

to his sport again (*G. A.* §§ 20-24). This despair and recklessness lasted with him about a month or more, till one day as he was standing at a neighbour's shop window, cursing and swearing, and playing the madman after his wonted manner, the woman of the house, though 'a very loose and ungodly wretch,' rebuked him so severely as 'the ugliest fellow for swearing that ever she heard,' that he hung down his head with shame, and though he still thought himself beyond hope of salvation, he then and there gave up the evil habit (*G. A.* §§ 26-28).

Soon after this the company of a poor godly neighbour led him to the study of the Bible, the historical parts of which he perused with much interest. St. Paul's Epistles and 'such like scriptures' he 'could not away with.' This Bible reading forwarded the reformation of life already begun. 'In outward things,' writes Lord Macaulay, 'he soon became a strict Pharisee;' 'a poor painted hypocrite' he calls himself. He was constant in attendance at prayers and sermons, and joined devoutly in the service, looking with the utmost reverence on the Church and all belonging to it, 'priest, clerk, vestment, service, and what else.' His favourite amusements were one after another given up, though not without severe struggles. Bell-ringing was one of the hardest to relinquish, and after he had renounced it, he still went to look on at the ringers until the fear that if he persisted in sanctioning what his conscience condemned, a bell or the tower itself would fall on his head, compelled him to forego even that compromise. Dancing was still harder to give up. It was a full year before he could quite leave that (*G. A.* §§ 33-35).

But with all his sacrifices, which gained him great peace of conscience and supreme self-satisfaction, the conversation of a few poor women whom he overheard one day at Bedford engaged in his tinker's craft, sitting at a door in the sun and talking of the things of God, showed him that he was still a stranger to vital religion. They were members of the congregation of Mr. John Gifford, who, from being one of the most debauched of the Royalist officers, had become minister of a Non-conformist Church at Bedford¹. He himself had been 'a brisk talker' in the matters of religion, such as he afterwards drew

¹ *G. A.* § 77 and note.

from the life in his own 'Talkative.' Their words, spoken with 'such pleasantness, and such appearance of grace,' opened 'a new world' to him to which he had been altogether a stranger. He went again and again into their company, and could not stay away (*G. A.* § 37). Religion became all in all to him. His mind 'lay fixed on eternity like a Horse-leech at the vein.' The Bible became 'precious' to him, and was read with new eyes; but through his ignorance, and the want of wise spiritual guidance, he was led by a misinterpretation of its words into strange fantasies, the wild coinage of his own brain, which went near to unsettle his intellect. He became the victim of his own ingenuity in self-torment. At one time the stress laid on faith as the essential requisite for salvation awoke a restless longing to determine whether he had faith or no. The test would be his ability to work miracles, and the temptation came strong upon him as he was going along the muddy road between Elstow and Bedford, to say to the puddles 'Be dry,' and to the dry places 'Be ye puddles,' and to stake his hope of salvation on the issue (§ 51). At another time he was harassed with the insoluble questions about predestination and election. 'How could he tell if he was elected? and if not, what then?' He might as well leave off and strive no further (§ 59).

Few of his religious experiences were the cause of more lasting trouble to him than a dream which he describes with much vividness, and which gives us a kind of prevision of the Pilgrim's Progress. In this he saw some enjoying themselves in the sunshine on one side of a high mountain, while he was shivering in the dark and cold on the other, and shut out from them by a high wall, with only a small gap in it which he had the greatest difficulty in struggling through (§ 53). Stranger fantasies still assailed him. 'All thought their own religion true. Might not the Turks have as good ground for thinking Mahomet their Saviour as the Christians had for Jesus Christ? What if all we believed in should be but "a think-so too?"' (§ 97). He had hard work to hinder himself from praying to everything about him, to the bushes, to a broom, to a bull, or even to Satan himself (§ 108). He wished himself a dog or a toad which had no soul to perish (§ 104), and when he would have given a thousand pounds for a tear could not shed one (§ 105). He was pursued by a hideous temptation to

blaspheme God and Christ and the Holy Spirit, and to commit the unpardonable sin (§ 103). At last he believed he had committed it, and a good but not over-wise man whom he consulted on his sad case told him 'he verily believed he had' (§ 180). The perusal of a copy of Luther's Comment on the Galatians which fell into his hands, 'so old that it was ready to fall to pieces if he did but turn it over,' proved a balm for his wounded conscience, for it seemed 'written out of his own heart,' and awoke a burning love for his Saviour (§ 129). But the joy and peace were but transient. 'The tempter came on him again, and that with a more grievous and dreadful temptation than before.' This crisis of his spiritual disease came in an almost irresistible impulse to give up his Saviour and all share in his redemption. Wherever he was, whatever he was doing, day and night, in bed, at table, at work, a voice would sound in his ears bidding him 'sell Christ' for some earthly good. At length, utterly worn out by the torturing suggestions of his mind, he let the fatal words slip from him, as he lay on his bed, 'let Him go if He will' (§§ 135-140). This to his diseased imagination sealed his doom. He had sold his birthright like Esau; he had betrayed his Lord like Judas. There was no longer any place for repentance. He was past all recovery, and bound over to eternal punishment.

It is not to be wondered at that his health gave way in such a lengthened struggle. His sturdy frame was seized with a constant trembling. He would wind and twist and shrink under his burden. His digestion became disordered, and the pain was so violent that it seemed as if his breast-bone would have split asunder. His overwrought fancy suggested that God had set a mark on him as on Cain, and that he was about to burst in the midst like Judas (§ 164). As a skilful self-tormentor Bunyan rivalled the most rigid ascetics, and his agonies were the more terrible as being inflicted on his soul rather than on his body.

All this time Bunyan was a member of Gifford's little congregation. But the teaching he received was ill adapted to lessen his burden. Its principle was constant introspection, and scrupulous weighing of every word and deed and even of every thought, instead of leading the mind off from self to the Saviour. This 'horror of great darkness' broken by intermittent gleams of

heavenly light, not lasting, but 'like to Peter's sheet of a sudden caught up to heaven again' (§ 113), continued more than two years and a-half. This period was one continued spiritual ague; hot and cold fits alternating with fearful suddenness; 'as Esau beat him down, Christ raised him up.' At the end of this period the clouds gradually dispersed. He allowed himself to believe that he had not committed the unpardonable sin; that he was not quite a castaway. He began to read his Bible as a whole, carefully noting how the different portions bore on and explained one another, 'comparing spiritual things with spiritual.' 'And now remained only the hinder part of the tempest, for the thunder was gone past, only some drops did still remain' (§ 228). And when one day, in the field, 'fearing lest yet all was not right,' the words 'thy righteousness is in heaven' fell upon his soul; 'methought,' he says, 'I saw with the eyes of my soul Jesus Christ at God's right hand. There was my righteousness.' Then his chains fell off in very deed. He was loosed from his affliction. His temptations fled away, and he went on his way rejoicing. Like his own Christian when delivered from his burden at the foot of the cross 'he gave three leaps for joy,' and cried 'with a merry heart, he hath given me rest by his sorrow and life by his death' (§ 230).

Bunyan, having now found peace and comfort, climbed the hill Difficulty and passed the Lions, entered the House Beautiful, and formally united himself to the little congregation under Mr. Gifford, the prototype of his Evangelist, to which belonged the poor women—the Piety, Prudence, and Charity, of his immortal narrative, known in their own little Bedford world as 'sister Bosworth, sister Munnes, and sister Fenne;'—whose pleasant words on the things of God as they sat in the sun, 'as if joy did make them speak,' had first opened his eyes to his spiritual ignorance (§ 253). The earliest records of this church, according to Dr. Brown, do not commence till 1656, six years after its formation, and three years after the date given by Charles Doe for his baptism. He does not mention this himself, but it is stated by Doe to have been performed publicly, in 1653, by Mr. Gifford in the river Ouse, the 'Bedford river' where he had once escaped drowning. He was also admitted to the Holy Communion. This ordinance was at first a source of much com-

fort to him, but before long his old temptation returned upon him, and it was only by force he could keep himself from blaspheming the Sacrament and cursing his fellow-communicants (§ 253)¹. His name occurs in the first extant list of members of Mr. Gifford's little community, 'all ancient and grave Christians'; and there are about a dozen references to him in the church books up to his imprisonment in 1660. About this time 'Captain Consumption' who killed 'Mr. Badman' (one of his most powerfully drawn characters), threatened Bunyan's life; but his naturally robust constitution 'routed his forces' and carried him through what at one time he anticipated would prove a fatal illness (§ 255). The tempter took advantage of his bodily weakness to attack him with his former doubts; but after considerable alternation of hope and fear, faith prevailed. It was not long before Bunyan was proposed as a deacon of the little brotherhood, and he began to exercise his gift of exhortation first privately, and as he gained courage and acceptance 'in a more publick way.' In 1656 holy Mr. Gifford died, leaving behind him an exhortation to his congregation to mutual charity and forbearance, breathing, as Southey has said, 'a wise, tolerant, and truly Christian spirit.' The year after his death Bunyan's powers as a preacher were formally recognized; and in 1657 an entry in the church-book records

¹ In the same year we find the name, John Bunyan, appended to a memorial existing among the Milton papers, from the people of Bedford 'to the Lord Generall Cromwell, and the rest of the Councell of the Army,' recommending two gentlemen to form part of his intended Council after he had dissolved the Long Parliament (Offor's Life; *Works*, vol. iii. p. xxx). There are thirty-six names, and this stands the fourteenth. The difference of the handwriting in this signature, and in those which are undoubtedly his, together with the improbability that a working tinker who had so recently joined the Church should have gained sufficient consideration to warrant his affixing his signature among magistrates, incumbents of parishes, and other persons of substance and position, renders it very improbable that it is the name of the author of the *Pilgrim's Progress*. Dr. Brown states that there were at least three other John Bunyans living in Bedford in 1653, who from social position would have been more likely to have signed this document. Though accepted by Mr. Offor, this signature was regarded with grave doubt by Mr. Bruce, the eminent Treasurer of the Society of Antiquaries, to which body these MSS. belong.

that 'brother Bunyan being taken off by the preaching of the Gospel' another member was made deacon in his room. Bunyan was regularly set apart as a preacher of the Word, after the ritual of the Nonconformists, 'after solemn prayer and fasting'; not however so much for Bedford itself, as to itinerate through the villages round about. He still continued to work at his tinkering craft for a livelihood. He soon became famous as a preacher, and people flocked by hundreds from all parts to hear him, though 'upon sundry and divers accounts,' some, as Southey writes, 'to marvel, and some perhaps to mock; but some also to listen and to be touched with a conviction that they needed a Saviour.' But he was not permitted to preach unmolested. Venner's insurrection in 1657 awoke a feeling of insecurity in the public mind and aggravated the prejudice against Baptists and Quakers, in spite of their protestations of loyalty and disavowal of the principles of the Fifth Monarchy; 'the doctors and priests of the county did open wide against him,' and in 1658 an indictment was preferred against him at the assizes at Eaton. It will be borne in mind that this took place before the Restoration, when Cromwell was still Protector¹. But as Dr. Brown observes, 'religious liberty had not come to mean liberty all round, but only liberty for a certain recognized section.' That there was much prosecution during the Protectorate is clear from the history of the Quakers, to say nothing of the intolerant treatment of Roman Catholics and Episcopalians. In Bunyan's own county Quakeresses were sentenced to be whipped and sent to Bridewell for reproving a parish priest, perhaps well deserving of it, and exhorting market-folks to repentance and amendment of life. Even the holy and peaceful Philip Henry was presented in the September of this year at the Flint assizes. 'The simple truth is,' writes Mr. Southey, 'all parties were agreed in the one Catholic opinion that certain doctrines were not to be tolerated'; the only point of difference between them was 'what those doctrines were,' and how far intolerance might be carried. How Bunyan came to escape we do not know. But we hear no more of the indictment, which indeed he does not mention, and of which we should have remained in ignorance but

¹ *Book of the Bunyan Festival*, p. 8.

for the entry in the church-book appointing a day of prayer with reference to that and other urgent matters. Bunyan's celebrity as a preacher aroused other enemies besides those set in motion by the law. Slanders of the blackest dye were circulated with regard to his moral character: it was rumoured up and down that he was 'a witch, a Jesuit, a highwayman,' that he had 'two wives at once,' and lived a life of gross immorality. These calumnious charges called forth that vehement vindication of himself, to which reference has already been made, in which, in the most solemn manner, he declares his absolute innocence as regards sins of licentiousness, and the purity, in this respect, of his whole life, calling not on men only but on angels to prove him guilty if they could (*G. A.* §§ 313-317).

We approach now the great crisis in Bunyan's life, but for which his name would have passed away and been forgotten, together with those of thousands of preachers as earnest and as popular as he was. Early in May, 1660, Charles II was proclaimed king, and on the 29th of that month he entered London amid the universal acclamations of all classes of his subjects. Bunyan, as the extracts from his works given by Mr. Offor and Mr. Copner show, was an eminently loyal man, and few would rejoice more heartily at this event which he was to be one of the first to suffer by. Already distant mutterings of the storm of persecution had been heard. Before Charles' landing at Dover the Episcopalians in Wales had been very busy in manifesting their orthodox zeal by the persecution of Quakers and Nonconformists. In the May or June of that year stories are told of sectaries being haled out of their beds to prison, and brought in chains to the quarter sessions. As we have seen, Bunyan had many enemies. The public mind was in a very unquiet state, agitated by the wild schemes of political and religious enthusiasts, who were plotting to destroy the whole existing framework both of Church and State, and set up their own chimerical fabric. In such times we cannot be surprised that, as Southey has said, the 'government rendered suspicious by the constant sense of danger was led as much by fear as by resentment to severities which are explained by the necessities of self-defence.' The acts of relentless severity which still stood unrepealed on the Statute Book, enforcing conformity with the established Church, put a weapon in the hands

of the party in power they were not slow to use. 'It is not generally remembered,' writes Dr. Stoughton¹, 'that long before the Uniformity, Conventicle, and Five Mile Acts were passed John Bunyan was cast into Bedford Gaol².' Under these Acts, within six months of the king's arrival, a warrant was issued against Bunyan, and he was arrested for preaching in a private house at Samsell, a hamlet of the village of Harlington about thirteen miles south of Bedford, on November 12, 1660. The intention to arrest him had oozed out, and Bunyan was warned of his danger, and might have escaped if he had chosen; some of his friends advised it: but he had no mind to play the coward, lest he should 'make an ill savour in the country' and discourage the weaker brethren³. The justice before whom he was taken, Mr. Francis Wingate, who seems to have been really desirous to release him, finding all his endeavours, earnestly seconded by his household, useless to lead him to promise to forego preaching, was compelled to make out his 'mittimus' and commit him to the county gaol. While his 'mittimus' was preparing he was reviled by one Dr. Lindale, 'an old enemy to the truth,' who sarcastically reminded him of Alexander the coppersmith who much troubled the apostles—'aiming 'tis like at me,' says Bunyan, 'because I was a tinker'—and comparing him to those 'who made long prayers that they might devour widows' houses.' But Bunyan was a match for him and paid him back in his own coin. He was given over to the constable, and in his custody returned to

¹ *Church of the Restoration*, vol. i. p. 138.

² The old Statute Law of the Realm, 1 Eliz. c. 2, re-enacted with all its rigour 16 Charles II, 4 (1664), required all persons to resort to church every Sunday and holiday, on fine of 1s. for each offence and Church censure. 23 Eliz. c. 1 made the fine £20 a month, and an obstinate offender for twelve months had to be bound to good behaviour by two sureties in £200 each, till he conformed. 29 Eliz. c. 6 empowered the Queen by process out of the Exchequer to seize the goods and two parts of the real property of such offenders, in default of paying these fines. 35 Eliz. c. 1 made frequenting conventicles punishable by imprisonment. Those who after conviction would not submit were to abjure the realm. Refusal to abjure was felony without benefit of clergy. See also 3 Jacob. 4; 21 Jacob. 4; Stoughton, *Church of the Restoration*, i. 135.

³ *Relation of Bunyan's Imprisonment*, pp. 401 foll.

Bedford, probably passing through his native village of Elstow on the way, and was committed to the prison which, with perhaps a brief interval in 1666, was to be his enforced home for the next twelve years, carrying 'God's comfort in his poor soul.' By an obstinate and widespread error it was long taken for granted that Bunyan's place of confinement was the town gaol, which, as old drawings show us, stood so picturesquely on one of the piers of the many-arched bridge over the Ouse. This idea, on which much sensational writing has been expended, has been satisfactorily proved by Mr. James Wyatt to be a baseless fancy, conjured up with the view of exaggerating the severity of Bunyan's sufferings during his by no means harsh imprisonment, and piling contumely on his persecutors. The bridge-gaol was a corporation 'lock-up-house.' The county prison, to which the county justices' warrant must have committed him, was a much larger and less wretched place of incarceration, now pulled down, occupying the angle between High Street and Silver Street¹. Prisons at the best were foul, dark, miserable places in those days, and one who visited Bunyan during his confinement speaks of Bedford gaol as 'an uncomfortable and close prison': but his own narrative contains no complaint of it, and we may reasonably believe that his condition was by no means so wretched as many of his biographers represent, especially after he had gained the favour of his gaoler, who at a later time was ready to imperil himself to grant indulgence to his notable prisoner. An attempt to procure Bunyan's release by his obtaining sureties having failed, some seven weeks after his committal the quarter sessions were held, and Bunyan was indicted as a person who 'devilishly and perniciously abstained from coming to church to hear divine service, and was a common upholder of unlawful meetings and conventicles to the great disturbance and distraction of all good subjects.' The brutal and blustering Keeling, who afterwards by his base subserviency to an infamous government climbed to the Chief Justice's seat, was chairman of the sessions. Under such a man the issue was predetermined even had there been any question of Bunyan's guilt. But he confessed the indictment, and declared

¹ See woodcut of the bridge-gaol heading *A Relation of the Imprisonment of Mr. John Bunyan*, and the ninth note on the *Relation*.

his resolve to repeat his crime the first moment opportunity was given him. Sentence therefore was passed on him, indeed in the then state of the law his judges had no choice in the matter, that he should be imprisoned three months longer, and if at the end of that time he persisted in his contumacy, be 'banished the realm'—in modern language 'transported'—and if he ventured to return without royal licence he must 'stretch by the neck for it.' Back therefore he was had 'with a heart sweetly refreshed' both during his examination and on his return to prison, and full of a peace no man could take from him. Three months elapsed, and then the clerk of the peace, one Mr. Cobb, went to him (April 3, 1661) by the desire of the magistrates to see if he could induce him to conform. But his attempts, which seem to have been very kindly made, were vain, and after giving Bunyan some very sensible counsel that he was in no state of mind to listen to, he left him with Bunyan's thanks for his 'civil and meek discourse with him, and a prayer that they might meet in heaven.'

Ten days after this interview, April 13, Charles II's coronation took place, and the usual proclamation which allowed persons to sue out a pardon for twelve months from that day had the effect of suspending the execution of his sentence of banishment. The agent employed by Bunyan to avail himself of the royal clemency was his second wife, Elizabeth, a truly noble-hearted Christian woman, worthy to be the helpmate of such a man, as fearless as her husband in the pursuit of the right, but withal a true woman, with 'abashed face and trembling heart,' fuller of compassion for the justices, on the failure of her mediation, thinking 'what a sad account such poor creatures would have to give hereafter,' than of anger at their hardheartedness against her husband. How long before Bunyan's first wife had died we do not know. His narrative is provokingly sparing of facts and dates, except those which concern his own spiritual experiences; but we may gather from her account that somewhere about a year before his first apprehension in November, 1660, she had joined her lot with his and become a second parent to his five little motherless children, one of them a blind girl, the special object of her father's love. Eager for her husband's release she travelled up to London, and with dauntless courage made her way to the House of Lords, where she presented her

petition to one of the peers whom she calls Lord Barkwood, but whom we cannot now identify. He treated her kindly, showed her petition to other peers, but gave her small encouragement. Not baffled by previous failures, in August, when the assizes came round and the judges visited Bedford, the excellent Sir Matthew Hale being the most conspicuous among them, Elizabeth Bunyan, at her husband's instance, three times presented a petition to them that he might be heard, and his case taken impartially into consideration. The interview, which took place in the large chamber of the old Swan Inn, at the Bridge-foot, ended in Sir Matthew expressing real compassion for her sad case, but mildly telling her he was sorry he could do her no good, for what her husband had said was taken for a conviction, and that she must either apply herself to the king or sue out his pardon, or get a writ of error; the last course being the cheapest. No steps seem to have been taken to carry out either of these expedients, either because they required money which was not forthcoming, or, which Southey sensibly remarks is quite probable, 'because it is certain that Bunyan, thinking himself in conscience bound to preach in defiance of the law, would soon have made his case worse than it then was.' What perhaps rendered him less eager to take the suggested remedies was, that, like Joseph before him, he had 'found favour in the eyes of the keeper of the prison,' who treated him rather like 'a prisoner at large'; and confident that he was not a man to abuse his trust, suffered him to go where he pleased, and return when he thought proper. The church-book shows that during this very year he was occasionally present at the church-meetings, and employed on the business of the congregation. Nor was his preaching, which was the very cause of his imprisonment, inhibited. So far did this temporary liberty extend, that he even went to 'see Christians at London.' This coming to the ears of those in authority, he was charged with having for his object 'to plot and raise divisions, and make insurrections,' and his well-meant indulgence was nearly costing his gaoler his place, and an indictment for breach of trust. His liberty was therefore seriously abridged, and he was forbidden even 'to look out at the door.' He was passed by at the following assizes, and when they were again held in the March of 1662, his earnest desire to be allowed to appear before the judges and plead

his own cause was effectually thwarted by the unfriendly influence of the county magistrates by whom he had been committed, and the clerk of the peace, Mr. Cobb, who, having failed to induce him to conform, had turned bitterly against him, and become one of his greatest opposers. This failure effectually closed the prison doors on him, and, as already stated, he remained an inmate of Bedford gaol, with a short interval, for the next twelve years, till his release by order of the Privy Council, May 17, 1672. The seven years that followed his incarceration were 'years of deep darkness and trouble' to all Nonconformists. In 1661 the re-enactment of the Act of Uniformity, demanding an unfeigned assent and consent to everything contained in the Book of Common Prayer, had dealt a heavy blow at the Puritans. The next year, 'black Bartholomew's day' saw nearly two thousand rectors and vicars, about one fifth of the parochial clergy, driven from their charges as Nonconformists. The 'Conventicle Act' of 1664, and the 'Five Mile Act' of 1665, completed the code of persecution, and deepened the feeling of despair in the Nonconformist body. England seemed no longer a home for them, and those who were fortunate enough to escape prison meditated a flight to the Low Countries or to America. The gaols were crammed with men of piety and education, some of whom perished of disease and wretchedness, while the old and young, sick and healthy, were shut up with the vilest miscreants. Upwards of 8,000 Quakers alone suffered imprisonment. Sixty Nonconformists were at one time incarcerated in Bedford gaol for attending a religious meeting, among whom were two ministers. According to his earliest biographer—his friend Charles Doe, 'the Struggler'—Bunyan obtained his release in 1666, the year of the fire in London; but he was speedily apprehended again on the old charge and put into the same gaol. Doe tells us that before his final deliverance he was released and apprehended again, his last imprisonment lasting only six months. But there is some doubt as to the perfect accuracy of these statements. The straitness of Bunyan's imprisonment may be seen from the fact that during all that time his name is not once mentioned in the church book. These records are indeed very fragmentary till 1668. 'For four years and a half after the passing of the Conventicle Act (in 1664) there is a gap, without

a single entry.' On August 30, 1668, Bunyan's name appears again in the church records, and is of frequent occurrence till his release in 1672. Before his final deliverance the extreme rigour of his incarceration was relaxed, and he was allowed to steal out and visit his family, and even to preach in the adjoining villages under the cover of night. Many of the Baptist congregations in Bedfordshire are said to owe their origin to these midnight preachings.

But though his imprisonment was not so severe, nor his prison so wretched as some word-painters have depicted it, the twelve years spent by Bunyan in gaol must have been a dreary and painful time, and 'sometimes under cruel and oppressive gaolers.' The separation from his wife and children was a continually renewed sorrow to his loving heart. He seemed like a man pulling down his house on the head of his wife and children, and yet he said, 'I must do it, I must do it.' He was also at one time, when but 'a young prisoner,' greatly troubled by the thought that his 'imprisonment might end at the gallows,' not so much that he dreaded death, as that he feared his apparent cowardice, when it came to the point, might do discredit to the cause of religion. Being precluded by his imprisonment from carrying on his tinker's craft for the support of his family, he betook himself to making long tagged laces, many hundred gross of which he made and sold to the hawkers. 'While his hands were thus busied,' writes Lord Macaulay, 'he had often employment for his mind and his lips.' He gave religious instruction to his fellow captives; 'at one time,' writes his anonymous biographer, 'there were threescore dissenters imprisoned with him,' and he formed from among these a little flock of which he was himself the pastor¹. He studied indefatigably the few books which he possessed. His two chief companions were the Bible and Fox's *Acts and Monuments*.

'I surveyed his library,' says his anonymous biographer, 'when making him a visit in prison, the least and yet the best that ever I saw, consisting only of two books.' At length Bunyan began to

¹ 'Upon a certain fixed day, being together with my brethren in our prison chamber, they expected that, according to our custom, something should be spoken out of the Word for our mutual edification. I felt myself, it being my turn to speak, empty, spiritless, barren.' — *The Holy City, or New Jerusalem*, 1665.

write the wonderful work which has made him immortal, and which is characterized by Coleridge¹ as 'incomparably the best *Summa Theologiae Evangelicae* ever produced by a writer not miraculously inspired,' the first part of the '*Pilgrim's Progress from this world to that which is to come, delivered under the similitude of a Dream*.' This was far from being the earliest product of his pen, in the ceaseless activity of which, as Mr. Green remarks, he found compensation for the narrow bounds of his prison². In 1656, in his twenty-eighth year, he had given his first work to the world under the title of *Some Gospel Truths opened according to the Scriptures*, in which, says Mr. Offor, 'he attacked the follies of the time, exposed and condemned heresies without mercy.' This was followed the next year with a *Vindication of Gospel Truths*, in which he defended himself against the violent onslaught of Edward Burrough the Quaker, who perished afterwards in Newgate, whom among other not very conciliatory epithets Bunyan termed 'a railing Rabshakeh.' In the September of 1658 he published a tract under the terrible title which prepares us for the nature of its contents, *A few sighs from Hell*, succeeded in the May of the following year by *The doctrine of the Law and Grace unfolded*. In both the author calls himself that 'poor and contemptible creature, John Bunyan of Bedford.' During his imprisonment, and after his enlargement, tracts, meditations, controversial treatises, poetry, or what he wished to pass for such, followed one another in quick succession. The one work of real genius of which he was the author was slow to see the light. His own estimation of it was so low, and he was so fearful of its being regarded as a light and trifling work, beneath the dignity of a minister of the Gospel, that after its completion Bunyan kept the *Pilgrim* locked up in his desk for several years. It was not till 1678, six years after his release from prison, that the first edition of the most popular allegory in the English language 'stole silently into the world.' The same year a second edition appeared with additions, including Mr. Worldly Wiseman, Byends' friends, and other of the most characteristic creations. It at once caught the popular taste. Edition after edition was called for, and the sale became enormous. Of the substantial

¹ *Literary Remains*, vol. iii. p. 391.

² *Short History*, p. 614.

originality of this book there can be no reasonable doubt. Every attempt to rob Bunyan of the merit of originality in the conception and execution of his design, and to convict him of secret plagiarism, has utterly broken down, and done little but prove the entire want of critical discernment in its originators. It is perfectly true that the same allegory had often been treated before Bunyan: so frequently indeed, that pages could be filled, as Mr. Offor has done, with notices of such works. But even if there were any probability that an itinerant tinker should have fallen in with such works, some only existing in French or Dutch, the resemblance between them and his immortal allegory is far too general and vague to warrant the hypothesis that Bunyan had borrowed from them. Remarkable as is the similarity between portions of Spenser's *Fairy Queen*, and some of the most striking passages of the *Pilgrim's Progress*, as has been shown in the notes of the present edition—too remarkable, many have thought, to be quite accidental—so excellent a critic as Lord Macaulay speaks of any deliberate imitation as a notion that may be easily confuted by a detailed examination of the respective passages. The complete originality of the *Pilgrim* is plainly asserted by the author himself; and if ever there was a man who would have scorned a falsehood, or revolted at the bare idea of passing off the coinage of another man's brains as his own, that man was John Bunyan.

Bunyan had indeed, as Lord Macaulay remarks, 'no suspicion that he was producing a masterpiece. He could not guess what place his allegory would occupy in English literature, for of English literature he knew nothing. Knavish booksellers put forth volumes of trash under his name, and envious scribblers maintained it to be impossible that the poor ignorant tinker should really be the author of the book. He took the best way to confound both those who counterfeited him and those who slandered him. He continued to work the goldfield which he had discovered, and to draw from it new treasures; not indeed with quite such ease, and in quite such abundance, as when the precious soil was still virgin, but yet with success which left all competition far behind.' In 1684 appeared the Second Part of the *Pilgrim's Progress*. It had been preceded in 1682 by the *Holy War*, which, 'if the *Pilgrim's Progress* did not exist, would be

the best allegory that ever was written.' *Grace Abounding* was first published in 1666. Its immediate popularity caused six impressions to be called for in that year.

After twelve years' imprisonment, Bunyan finally left Bedford gaol in 1672. His pardon under the Great Seal bears date the 13th of September of that year. The documents which rewarded the late Mr. Ofor's patient researches in the State Paper Office and elsewhere prove that the Quakers were mainly instrumental in throwing open the prison doors to those who were suffering for the sake of religion in the various gaols of the kingdom, and that Charles' gratitude to John Groves, the quaker mate of Tattersall's fisher-boat, in which he escaped to France after the battle of Worcester, had something, and the determined advocacy of George Whitehead the Quaker still more, to do with this act of royal clemency. But the main cause lies deeper, and is connected, as Macaulay says, 'with one of the worst acts of one of the worst governments that England has ever seen,' that of the Cabal. Charles had just concluded the base Treaty of Dover, by which he bound himself to declare himself a Roman Catholic, and to set up the Popish religion in England. The announcement of his conversion it was found convenient to defer. Nor could the other part of the treaty be safely carried out at once. But as a first step toward it, by an unconstitutional exercise of his prerogative, he suspended all penal statutes against Non-conformists and recusants—the former being introduced the better to cloak his real design. Toleration was thus at last secured. 'Ministers returned,' writes Mr. Green, 'after years of banishment, to their houses and their flocks, chapels were reopened, the gaols were emptied, Bunyan left his prison at Bedford; the "Den" where he had been visited with his marvellous dream.' More than three thousand licences to preach were granted, one of the first of which, dated May 9, 1672, was granted to Bunyan, who on the 21st of the preceding January had been called to the pastorate of the Baptist church at Bedford, and 'giving himself up to serve Christ and His Church in that charge, received of the elders the right hand of fellowship.' The place in which Bunyan was licensed to preach was the house, or more probably a barn on the premises, of Josiah Roughhead, a man of substance at Bedford, whose goods had been seized a

few months before to pay a fine inflicted for nonconformity. The story that Bunyan owed his liberation to the kind offices of Dr. Barlow, Bishop of Lincoln, in which diocese Bedford then was, though told with much particularity in the *Life of Dr. Owen*, is contradicted by dates, Barlow not having succeeded to his see until three years later, June 27, 1675, and must be regarded as one of the pleasing fictions of history. This Declaration of Indulgence was short-lived. It was withdrawn, and the Test Act was passed the next year, 1673. 'But though,' says Dr. Stoughton, 'this altered the legal position of Non-conformists much for the worse, the law was not generally pressed, and they were treated with much less severity than before.'

Almost Bunyan's first act after his liberation was to apply to the Government for licences for preachers and preaching-places in Bedfordshire and the neighbouring counties under the Declaration of Indulgence. A document discovered by Dr. Brown in the Record Office contains a list of six-and-twenty such applications, the sixth of which is for 'John Bunyon for Josias Roughead's house in his Orchard at Bedford¹.' While he made Bedford his chief care, Bunyan's pastoral superintendence extended beyond the surrounding district to other parts of England, where he is said to have made stated circuits. He was the means of establishing Baptist congregations at Gamlingay, and in many of the villages round, some of which, we are told, subsist to the present day. When he preached in London, which he seems to have done at stated intervals, an enormous concourse assembled to listen to him, if but one day's notice was given of his coming, in the coldest winter weather, and before daylight in the morning. Two anecdotes are on record with regard to Bunyan's preaching. 'The first, which,' says Southey, 'authenticates itself,' is that one day when he had preached 'with peculiar warmth and enlargement,' one of his friends remarked what 'a sweet sermon' he had delivered. 'Ay,' said he, 'you have no need to tell me that; for the Devil whispered it to me before I was well out of the pulpit.' The other, which has perhaps needlessly been called in question, states that, Charles II having heard that Dr. Owen greatly

¹ *Book of the Bunyan Festival*, p. 17.

admired Bunyan's preaching, asked in surprise 'how a learned man such as he could sit and listen to an illiterate tinker.' 'May it please your Majesty,' he replied, 'I would gladly give up all my learning for that tinker's power of preaching.'

Bunyan survived Charles II, and with a heavy heart saw James II, an avowed Papist, mount the throne. The danger he foresaw for the Nonconformists was made more real by Monmouth's rebellion in 1685. The persecution, which had much increased in violence during the last three years of Charles' reign, not on religious but political grounds, raged with still greater fury. The gaols were filled, and many were driven into exile. Scarcely a single Dissenting Minister of any eminence remained unmolested, and it was by no means unlikely that Bunyan might be called again to occupy his old quarters in Bedford gaol. In this uncertainty, fearing lest if he were sent to prison as a felon his little property might all be forfeited and his wife and children left destitute, by a deed of gift, dated Dec. 23, 1685, in which he describes himself as 'John Bunyan of the parish of St. Cuthbert's in the town of Bedford, *Brazier*,' he made over to his wife Elizabeth all his worldly possessions.

His frequent journeys to exhort other Baptist congregations exposed him to danger of apprehension. Reading was one of the places where he was best known, and there is a tradition that he sometimes visited that town disguised as a wagoner with a long whip in his hand to avoid detection. Quieter times succeeded, and this period of peril to his liberty was followed by one of still greater danger to his honesty and consistency of purpose. James, despairing of using the Tories and Church party as his tools, turned, as his brother had done before him, to the Nonconformists. The snare was craftily baited with a Declaration of Indulgence. A paper in the Bodleian, quoted by Dr. Stoughton¹, shows that Bunyan was deemed a man of sufficient importance to be consulted as to the choice of members of Parliament for Bedford, as one who was prepared to do his utmost to return those who would vote for the repeal of all tests and penal laws touching religion. But Bunyan saw through James' device, and utterly refused to hold any communication with the member

¹ *Church of the Restoration*, vol. ii. p. 555, note.

of the Court commissioned to secure his aid, and appointed a day of fasting and prayer for the danger that again menaced their civil and religious liberties. A true sturdy Englishman, he with Baxter and Howe 'refused an Indulgence which could only be purchased by the violent overthrow of the law.'

Bunyan did not live to see the Revolution. Four months after the acquittal of the seven bishops, the Pilgrim's earthly Progress ended, and he was bidden to cross the dark river which has no bridge. He was called away in the very midst of his religious activity, and when the once despised tinker had approached the nearest to worldly honour. That year he was chaplain to Sir John Shorter, Lord Mayor of London, and though in the spring he had suffered from the 'sweating sickness,' he published six considerable volumes, and left twelve more in manuscript ready for the press. His death was brought about by a work of true Christian love. The father of a young man in whom he took an interest had resolved, on some offence, real or supposed, to disinherit his son. The young man besought Bunyan's mediation. Desirous to reconcile them Bunyan rode on horseback to Reading, where the father lived, and pleaded the offender's cause so effectually that he obtained a promise of forgiveness. On his return he had to ride through heavy rain. He reached the house of his friend John Strudwick ('grocer and chandler at the sign of the Star, Holborn Bridge,' as we learn from a still existing billhead with a picture of the four-storied gabled house) drenched to the skin. A fever ensued, of which he died August 31, 1688, aged sixty years. His last earthly work was to revise the proof sheets of the earlier part of a short treatise entitled *The Acceptable Sacrifice*, which was carried through the press after his decease by his old Bedfordshire friend the Rev. George Cokayn of Cople, minister of the church in Red Cross Street. He was buried in Mr. Strudwick's vault in the Nonconformist *Campo Santo*, the burial-ground in Bunhill Fields.

By his first wife Bunyan had five children. Elizabeth, born in 1654, died in childhood before the commencement of his imprisonment. His blind child, Mary, born in 1650, who was unspeakably precious to him, also died before her father. One daughter, Sarah, and his sons Thomas and Joseph, survived him. Thomas became a preacher, and we are told was held in good

repute as a man of piety and discretion, but of no remarkable gifts. His heroic wife Elizabeth died four years after him, in 1692.

Much of Bunyan's literary activity was spent in controversy. And in dealing with his opponents he did not employ honeyed words or measured phrases. His language towards those whom he looked on as the perverters of the truth was vehement and downright. He wrote very bitterly of the Quakers, the Ranters, the Roman Catholics, the Church of England. The Church had not spared him, neither did he spare her. One of his latest and most impressive warnings to his adherents was not to 'touch the Common Prayer.' But we should be very wrong if we regarded Bunyan as a mere polemic. No one ever had less of the narrow sectarian spirit of the controversialist, which thinks more of the infinitely small points on which Christians differ than of the infinitely great truths on which they are agreed. External differences were nothing where there was true Christian faith. And it is this freedom from the trammels of sect and dogma which has given the *Pilgrim's Progress* its universal popularity. In it we have Bunyan's best self, the Christian, not the angry controversialist. And thus, as Dean Stanley has said, it has become 'one of the few books which act as a religious bond to the whole of English Christendom.' This peculiar glory is what above all things Bunyan would have desired for his little book, far as he must have been from conceiving the possibility of it. 'I would be,' he says, 'as I hope I am, a Christian; but as for those factious titles of Anabaptist, Independent, Presbyterian, and the like, I conclude that they come neither from Jerusalem nor from Antioch, but from hell or Babylon.' It was this universal charity that he expressed in his last sermon. 'Dost thou see a soul that has the image of God in him? Love him, love him. This man and I must go to heaven one day. Love one another and do good for one another.' 'There is,' writes Dean Stanley, 'no compromise in his words, no faltering in his convictions; but his love and admiration are reserved on the whole for that which all good men love, and his detestation on the whole is reserved for that which all good men detest.' By the catholic spirit which breathes through his immortal work, even more than by its homely vigorous style, its graphic power

its insight into character, its 'touches of nature,' which 'make the whole world kin,' John Bunyan 'became the teacher not of any particular sect, but of the universal Church'.¹

It now remains to speak of Bunyan as a writer, and of the literary character of the book that has made his name immortal.

The great charm of the *Pilgrim's Progress* is the purity, the homeliness, of its vernacular. Few were ever such complete masters of their 'sweet mother tongue,' in its native vigour, as Bunyan². The book stands unrivalled as a model of our English speech, plain but never vulgar, full of metaphor but never obscure, always intelligible, always forcible, going straight to the point in the fewest and simplest words. He is 'powerful and picturesque,' writes Mr. Hallam³, 'from his concise simplicity.' Bunyan's style is recommended by Lord Macaulay as 'an invaluable study to every person who wishes to gain a wide command over the English language. Its vocabulary is the vocabulary of the common people. There is not an expression, if we except a few technical terms of theology, that would puzzle the rudest peasant.' He remarks that there are whole pages which do not contain a single word of more than two syllables, and that thus there is no book which shows so well 'how rich the old unpolluted English is in its proper wealth, and how little it has been improved by all that it has borrowed.' And the reason of this excellence is evident. Bunyan's English was the English of the Bible. By constant perusal his mind was thoroughly steeped in Holy Scripture; he thought its thoughts, spoke its words, adopted its images. 'In no book,' writes Mr. Green⁴, 'do we see more clearly the new imaginative force which had been given to the common life of Englishmen by their study of the Bible. Its English is the simplest and homeliest English that has ever been used by any great English writer, but it is the English of the Bible.

To pass from the style of the *Pilgrim's Progress* to the form

¹ Dean Stanley's Address: *Book of the Bunyan Festival*, pp. 51-3.

² Some of the choicest examples of Bunyan's racy vernacular appear in the marginal notes—those 'windows,' as Bunyan calls them, in the verses appended to the *Holy War*, to cast light upon the text.

³ *Literature of Europe*, vol. i. p. 305.

Short History of the English People, p. 614.

Some have questioned how best to describe it, as a religious allegory or a religious novel, and on which ground its claim to transcendent excellence chiefly rests. Such discussions are fruitless. It is both the one and the other. And both as allegory and as story it surpasses nearly all allegories and stories which have ever been written. But it is probably on its merits as a story that its universal interest and its lasting vitality rests. Lord Macaulay has said, 'Bunyan is as decidedly the first of allegorists as Demosthenes is the first of orators, or Shakespeare the first of dramatists. Other allegorists have shown great ingenuity, but no other allegorist has ever been able to touch the heart, and to make abstractions objects of terror, pity, and of love.' But we may question whether if this had been its only claim to endurance the *Pilgrim's Progress* would have survived so long, and that with a continually growing appreciation. As an allegory it had many predecessors, and if regarded simply on the ground of allegorical propriety and unity of aim, some rivals, if not superiors. That which gives it its unique position is the human interest and dramatic power which belongs to it as a biographic fiction. This, which is the secret of its literary perfection, it has been remarked, is also the secret of its life. Bunyan lives, and we doubt not will continue to live, not so much as the religious allegorist, but as the novelist of unique genius, the first indeed in point of time of all English novelists. 'The claim to be the father of English romance,' writes Dr. Allon, 'which has sometimes been preferred for Defoe, really pertains to Bunyan. Defoe may claim the parentage of a species, but Bunyan is the creator of the genus. Although intensely religious in purpose, character, and interest, the *Pilgrim's Progress* is the first English novel.' As the parent of biographic fiction it is that Bunyan has charmed the world.

But with all its consummate power, Bunyan's genius was reproductive rather than creative. Its force lay in vivid description, not in invention. Even if we concede to Mr. Hallam¹, that 'his inventive faculty is considerable,' it is with the reserve that 'it is his power of representation which is his distinguishing excellence.' He makes us see what he describes because he had seen it him-

¹ *Literature of Europe*, vol. iii. p. 588.

self. The history of the Pilgrim is his own history. The varied experiences of Christiana and her children, her sweet companion 'young Mercy,' are such as he had witnessed around him in the members of Mr. Gifford's church. And it is this which breathes life into every line. He was not evolving a shadowy career out of his own inner consciousness—a dead abstraction of what might be or ought to be—but portraying what he had himself known and felt.

The scenery and surroundings of his allegory, except when borrowed from the great repertory of the Bible, are also such as he had grown up amidst in his native county, or had seen in his tinker's wanderings. 'Born and bred,' writes Kingsley, 'in the monotonous midland, he has no natural images beyond the pastures and brooks, the town and country houses he saw about him.' Bunyan was a man of keen perception, and described what he saw with a homely graphic power; but whenever he had to draw on his own resources his pictures are frigid and formal. His mind was probably insensible to the higher types of beauty and grandeur in nature. All his nobler imagery is taken from Scripture; 'There is scarcely a circumstance or metaphor in the Old Testament which does not find a place bodily and literally in the *Pilgrim's Progress*, and this has made his imagination appear more creative than it really is.'

We notice also this superiority of the descriptive to the creative faculty in the *dramatis personae* of his book. With all their distinctness—no two alike, and each with their individual traits of manner and language, which stamp them as living persons, not mere lay-figures named and ticketed—there is not one we can think of as the creation of his own mind. They are English men and women of his own time. He had seen and known every one of them. Bold personifications as they are, and to some extent exaggerated types of some leading vice or virtue, they are not mere pale shadows, like the characters in most allegories, but beings of flesh and blood like ourselves. We may be sure that they were all well known in Bunyan's own circle. He could have given a personal name to every one, and we could do the same to many. Dean Stanley says most truly, 'We as well as he

¹ Hallam, *Literature of Europe*, vol. iii. p. 588

have met with Mr. Byends and Mr. Facing-both-ways, and Mr. Talkative. Some of us perhaps have seen Mr. Nogood and Mr. Liveloose, Mr. Hatelight, and Mr. Implacable. All of us have at times been like Mr. Ready-to-Halt, Mr. Feeblemind and Faintheart, Noheart, and Slowpace, Shortwind, and the young woman whose name was Dull.'

The descriptive touches of person and bearing, in which Bunyan so much excels, make these characters still more real to us. We can see poor Feeblemind, with his 'whitely look, the cast in his eye,' and his trembling speech, and Madam Bubble, 'tall and of a swarthy complexion,' and Littlefaith, 'as white as a clout' when the thieves were on him, and 'Ready-to-Halt' coming along on his crutches, and Demas 'gentlemanlike' standing to call passers by to 'come and see.' It is this intimate knowledge of human life and human nature that gives Bunyan his great power to rivet and to charm. But it is human life and human nature in their ordinary every-day guise. Of those 'complexities and contradictions of the human heart which we are now so fond of trying to unravel,' as Kingsley says, he takes very little note. They were probably too subtle for his apprehension.

Bunyan's genius in indicating character and his command of his mother-tongue are nowhere more apparent than in the happily chosen designations given to his personages and their dwelling-places. The name of the man himself, of his parents, of his relations and of his home, set him before us in a few masterly touches. Even if they only appear incidentally in the narrative, quitting the stage as soon as they have been brought upon it, the features of each are so marked that they leave an indelible impression. Who can forget 'Temporary, who dwelt in Graceless, two miles off of Honesty, next door to one Turnback'—or 'Talkative, the son of one Saywell, who dwelt in Prating Row'—or 'Beelzebub's friend Sir Having Greedy,' and 'Turn-away, that dwelt in the town of Apostacy,' and 'Valiant-for-the-Truth, born in Darkland, where his father and mother still were'? But Bunyan's masterpiece in characteristic nomenclature is Mr. Byends, with his relatives and associates. If he had not spoken a word we should have known all about the man that came from 'the town of Fairspeech, the Parson of which, Mr. Twotongues, was his mother's own brother by fathers' side,'

who claimed kindred with 'my Lord Turnabout, my Lord Timeserver, Mr. Smoothman and Mr. Anything,' and 'went to school at one Mr. Gripeman's of Lovegain, a market-town in the county of Coveting,' and had 'Hold-the-world, Moneylove and Saveall' as his schoolfellows, and whose wife was 'my Lady Feigning's daughter,' and his grandfather 'a waterman looking one way and rowing another.' A man of such antecedents we are sure would 'be zealous for religion when he went in his silver slippers, when the sun shines and the people applaud him,' and would be equally ready to go and dig with Demas in his silver-mine underneath Hill Lucre, and 'never be seen in the way again.'

It would be a thankless office to point out the imperfections which attach to the *Pilgrim's Progress*, as to all human compositions. We may acquiesce in the soundness of Hallam's judgement, that 'in the conduct of the romance no rigorous attention to the conduct of the allegory seems to have been preserved'; that it is difficult to say why certain events occur where they do; that 'Vanity Fair and the Cave of the two Giants might for anything we see have been placed elsewhere.' We may not be insensible to circumstantial incongruities—for instance Faithful's being carried up to the Heavenly City in the middle of the pilgrimage without crossing the River of Death, and Hopeful's joining Christian midway on, having never passed through the Wicket-gate, or lost his burden at the foot of the Cross. We may see a want of exact correspondence between the First and Second Parts—that that which is a mere 'wicket-gate' in the one is a considerable building with a 'summer parlour' in the other—that the 'Shepherds' tents' on the 'Delectable Mountains' have given place to a 'Palace' with a 'Dining Room' and a 'Looking Glass,' and a store of jewels; we may wonder at the change in the aspect and the town of Vanity, where Christiana and her family settle down comfortably, enjoying the society of the good people of the place, and the sons marry and have children. We may be offended at the want of keeping which in the course of a supposed journey converts Christiana's sweet babes, who are terrified at the dog at the Wicket-gate, and 'plash the boughs' for the plums, and cry at having to climb the hill; whose faces are 'stroked' by the Interpreter; who are catechized and called

'good boys' by Prudence; who sup on 'bread crumbled into basins of milk,' and are put to bed by Mercy—into 'young men and strong,' able to go out and fight with a giant and give a hand to the destruction of Doubting Castle, and becoming husbands and fathers. We may not be insensible to some grave theological deficiencies, the slight recognition of the value of corporate union, and of the Church as a living society; the scanty allusions to the Lord's Supper as a means of grace, and the entire ignoring of the Sacrament of Baptism; and above all the omission, save once, of reference to the work of the Holy Ghost. But these are but moles in the sunbeam, defects inseparable from every work of native genius, which we could ill afford to exchange for the tame accuracy of the schools. 'If you were to polish it,' writes Coleridge, 'you would destroy at once the reality of the vision.'

The text of the *Pilgrim's Progress* in the present reprint is, in all essential points, that of the second edition of the First Part, and of the first edition of the Second Part, published respectively in 1678 and 1684.

For a long time it was believed that no single copy of the first edition of the First Part was extant. At last one was found in the possession of R. S. Holford, Esq., which has served as the basis of several reprints. It was first issued in 1847 by the Hanserd Knollys Society, under the careful editorship of Mr. George Offor. In this painstaking edition the original is exactly followed 'in the orthography, capitals, italics, and punctuation.' The additions made in the second edition—which include the whole episodes of Mr. Worldly Wiseman, and of Mrs. Diffidence, with most of that of Byends; the touching conversation at the House Beautiful between Charity and Christian with regard to his family, and that of Evangelist with Christian and Faithful as they approach Vanity Fair, the pillar of Lot's wife at the Hill Lucre, the trumpeting and bell-ringing at the Celestial City, and the name of the Hill Difficulty—are distinguished by Mr. Offor with inverted commas; and every omission or alteration made by the author during his lifetime is accurately noted. Since the appearance of this edition, another with a very carefully corrected text has been issued by Messrs. Macmillan, in the 'Golden Treasury' series, under the editorship of the Rev. H. Bothamley. Two literal reprints have also been published by Mr. Elliot Stock,

the first with and the second without the portions added in Bunyan's Second Edition.

The editions named will enable any who desire to do so to make themselves acquainted with the *Pilgrim's Progress* exactly as it issued from the press in Bunyan's lifetime. Literal accuracy has not been sought for in the present edition. The object of the series of which it forms part is not to reproduce archaeological curiosities, but to present some of the chief works of our leading authors in a form which will throw no needless obstacles in the way of the less advanced students of English literature. Pedantic fidelity to the original text would have impeded the progress of the student without any advantage to the philologist. As a rule the spelling of the second edition, which shows a very decided improvement upon that of the first, has been followed. The first edition, which had been probably printed from Bunyan's own rude manuscript, written in prison, with some slight corrections from an editor hardly better educated than himself, abounds with orthographical irregularities, which are generally amended in the second edition. It is interesting to notice, as indicating an epoch in our spelling, that 'then' (the constant form in James I's Bible, the present Authorized Version), which appears uniformly in the first edition, has been as uniformly changed into 'than' in the second.

In the Second Part the orthography of the original edition of 1684 (reprinted by Mr. Offor from a copy formerly belonging to Mr. Lea Wilson) has been generally followed. The spelling here is usually more correct than in the First Part. There are, however, some singular exceptions, among which we may notice 'farewel,' 'Hil,' 'Selfwil,' 'paradice,' 'thorow' for 'through,' and the use of 'bin' for 'been.' This last is akin to that 'vulgarism of diction,' as Southey terms it, which, generally altered in the second edition of the First Part, has held its place in the Second Part, the uniform use of *a* for *have*, never marked as a contraction; e.g. 'I thought you would *a* come in,' 'What could you *a* done to *a* helped yourself?' This, which Sir W. Scott calls 'a sin against orthography rather than grammar,' occurring a hundred times in Shakespeare, has been uniformly preserved. In conclusion, it may be said that while religiously preserving the text unaltered, the rule has been to adopt the

more modern orthography, except in special characteristic cases. This course has been fully authorized by the fact that there is scarcely a single instance where in some part of the work the modern spelling may not be found. To preserve the old orthography would therefore have been mere pedantry.

The same rule has been adopted with regard to capital letters and punctuation. In both Bunyan was lawless and capricious. No good end was to be served in retaining an erroneous usage, and it has been discarded without question.

Manifest errors have also been corrected without scruple.

The entirely unauthorized corrections of later editors, by which Bunyan's text has been tampered with, have been discarded, and the original readings restored. Such are 'wizard' for 'witch' (p. 97, l. 21); 'duty' for 'day' (p. 128, l. 19); 'the thoughts' for 'our thoughts' (p. 133, l. 28); 'palace' for 'place' (p. 169, l. 1); 'prize' for 'price' (ib. l. 21); 'sunshiny' for 'sunshine' (p. 106, l. 17); and as the most notable instance of arbitrary alteration 'Mordecai' for 'Heman' (p. 120, l. 8).

Of the other work included in this volume, *Grace Abounding to the Chief of Sinners*, little has to be said. It has a twofold value, biographical and experimental. As an autobiography, provoking as are its omissions and scanty its references to any events but such as bore on Bunyan's spiritual life, it is of the highest interest. Without it we should have known very little of Bunyan's early life, and have lost almost all clue to his inner history. The existence of the *Pilgrim's Progress* would have been an almost insoluble problem to us. How much we are indebted to this memoir for our knowledge of Bunyan as a man, and of the circumstances of his life, may be estimated by comparing our acquaintance with his earlier and later years. When he ceased to write no one took up the pen, and beyond two or three anecdotes we are absolutely ignorant of all that happened between his enlargement from prison and his death.

Its value as a work of experimental religion is more restricted. The number of those who can read with profit Bunyan's minute and graphic history of his terrible spiritual conflict is not large, especially among the young—in whom it is more calculated to nourish morbid imaginations and a dangerous habit of self-introspection than to forward the quiet growth of the religious life.

To some it will be perfectly unintelligible. Others will regard Bunyan's varied experiences as the hallucinations of a disordered intellect. Those only—and their number will always be few—who have felt the power of such fierce temptations themselves, and have passed through the same alternations of light and darkness, of hope and despair, are capable of fully appreciating it. Bunyan tells us in his title-page that it was published 'for the support of the weak and tempted people of God.' Those for whom it was intended will ever find in it a message of comfort and strength.

We learn from the title-page that *Grace Abounding* was 'written by his own hand in prison,' where its composition must have whiled away many tedious hours during the early years of his incarceration. It was first published in 1666, the year of the Great Fire, in the sixth year of his imprisonment. It at once became popular, and the year of its issue saw several editions called for.

As a literary work *Grace Abounding* is worthy of the author of the *Pilgrim's Progress*. It is written in the same simple nervous English, neither vulgar nor stilted; and abounds like it in choice bits of old English, racy metaphors, and graphic imagery. Its editing was far more careful than that of the *Pilgrim's Progress* twelve years later. The earliest editions extant show very few of the gross faults of spelling and solecisms in grammar which deform the first issues of that work. What Bunyan's literary compositions were before they passed under the hands of the reviser is shown by the marginal notes penned by him on the pages of his *Acts and Monuments* during his imprisonment. The first editor who prepared the *Pilgrim's Progress* for the press can have been but little above Bunyan himself in education. The reviser of *Grace Abounding* must have been a man of greater literary power. It may be remarked that the quotations from Scripture in this work are given from memory. Mr. Ofor, in his otherwise faithful reprint, unwisely brought them into conformity with the Authorized Version. In this edition the original form has been restored.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

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| <p>1628. The Petition of Right. Duke of Buckingham assassinated by Felton. Laud Bishop of London.</p> <p>1630. Puritan emigration to New England.</p> <p>1633. Laud Archbishop of Canterbury.</p> <p>1637. Hampden's refusal of Ship-money. Hampden's trial.</p> <p>1638. Milton publishes <i>Lycidas</i>. The Scotch Covenant.</p> <p>1640. Long Parliament meets.</p> <p>1642. Charles I raises the standard at Nottingham. Battle of Edgehill.</p> <p>1644. Battle of Marston Moor.</p>
<p>1645. Laud beheaded. Siege of Leicester. Battle of Naseby.</p> <p>1646. Charles I surrenders to the Scots.</p> <p>1647. Charles I given up by the Scots. Seized by Joyce.</p>
<p>1648. Treaty of Newport. Pride's Purge.</p> <p>1649. Execution of Charles I.</p>
<p>1650. Defeat and execution of Montrose.</p> <p>1651. Battle of Worcester.</p>
<p>1653. April 20. Cromwell expels the House of Commons. Barebones' Parliament assembles.</p> | <p>1628. John Bunyan born at Elstow.</p>
<p>1638. John Bunyan a schoolboy.</p>
<p>1644, November 30. Bunyan serving as a 'centinel' in the company commanded by Colonel Richard Cockayne.</p>
<p>1647, June 17. Bunyan still a member of one of the companies belonging to the Newport Pagnell garrison.</p> <p>1648-9. Marries first wife.</p> <p>1649. Bunyan gives up bell-ringing and dancing. Outward reform.</p> <p>1650, Jan. 13. First child, Mary, baptized.</p>
<p>1652-3. Awakened by the talk of the poor women at Bedford. Introduced to Mr. Gifford.</p> <p>1653. Joins Mr. Gifford's Church. Baptized in the Ouse. [May 13: the Memorial to Cromwell (?).]</p> <p>1653-6. Period of mental conflict.</p> |
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1654. Oliver Cromwell Lord Protector. New Parliament meets Sept. 4.
1656. Cromwell's third Parliament. The Humble Petition and Advice.
1657. Venner's Insurrection.
- 1658, Sept. 3. Oliver Cromwell dies. Richard Cromwell Lord Protector.
1660. Charles II lands at Dover, and enters London, May 29.
1661. Coronation of Charles II, April 23.
1662. Royal assent given to Act of Uniformity, May 19. Bartholomew ejectment, Aug. 17. Declaration of Indulgence, Dec. 26.
1663. Dispensing Bill fails. Severe persecution of Quakers and other Nonconformists.
1664. Conventicle Act.
1665. Five Mile Act.
1666. Fire of London.
1667. Milton's *Paradise Lost*.
1671. Milton's *Paradise Regained* and *Samson Agonistes*.
- 1672, March 15. Declaration of Indulgence; withdrawn the same year.
1673. The Test Act.
1675. Acts against Nonconformists put in force.
1678. Secret treaty with France. Popish Plot. Titus Oates.
1679. Habeas Corpus Act passed.
1682. Rye House Plot.
1683. Execution of William Lord Russell.
- 1654, April 14. His daughter Elizabeth born.
1656. First entry of Bunyan's name in the Church-book. Gifford dies.
1657. Begins to preach publicly.
- 1658, March. Indicted for preaching at Eaton.
- 1660, Nov. 12. Apprehended at Samsell. Committed to Bedford gaol.
- 1661, April 3. Interview with Cobb. Bedford Assizes. Elizabeth Bunyan pleads her husband's cause unsuccessfully with Sir Matthew Hale and the other judges.
- 1662, March. Bunyan denied leave to appear at the Assizes and answer to his charge.
1666. Bunyan released, but within a year imprisoned again. *Grace Abounding* published.
1670. *Pilgrim's Progress* begun.
1672. Appointed pastor of the Church, Jan. 21. Licensed to preach, May 9. Pardon under the Great Seal, Sept. 13.
1678. First part of *Pilgrim's Progress* published. Second edition the same year.
1682. *Holy War* published.

xliii

1684. Second part of *Pilgrim's Progress* published.

1685. Deed of gift of his property
to his wife.

1688. Suffers from sweating sickness. Dies, Aug. 31.

ness. Dies, Aug. 31.

1688. Trial of the Seven Bishops.
Flight of James. William of
Orange lands at Torbay, Nov. 5.

THE
PILGRIMS PROGRESS

FROM

THIS WORLD

TO

THAT WHICH IS TO COME

DELIVERED UNDER THE SIMILITUDE OF A

DREAM

WHEREIN IS DISCOVERED

THE MANNER OF HIS SETTING OUT, HIS DANGEROUS
JOURNEY, AND SAFE ARRIVAL AT THE
DESIRED COUNTRY

BY

JOHN BUNYAN

I have used similitudes. Moses 12. 10.

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THE
AUTHOR'S APOLOGY
FOR HIS BOOK.

*When at the first I took my Pen in hand,
 Thus for to write; I did not understand
 That I at all should make a little Book
 In such a mode; Nay, I had undertook
 To make another, which when almost done,* 5
Before I was aware, I this begun.
*And thus it was: I writing of the Way
 And Race of Saints, in this our Gospel-Day,
 Fell suddenly into an Allegory* 10
*About their Journey, and the way to Glory,
 In more than twenty things, which I set down;
 This done, I twenty more had in my Crown,
 And they again began to multiply,
 Like sparks that from the coals of fire do fly.
 Nay then, thought I, if that you breed so fast,* 15
*I'll put you by yourselves, lest you at last
 Should prove ad infinitum, and eat out* *as*
The Book that I already am about. *Emblems:*
*Well, so I did; but yet I did not think
 To show to all the World my Pen and Ink* 20
*In such a mode; I only thought to make
 I knew not what: nor did I undertake*

Thereby to please my Neighbor; no not I;
And did it mine own self to gratify.

Neither did I but vacant seasons spend *in vac* 25
In this my Scribble; nor did I intend
But to divert myself in doing this,
From worse thoughts, which make me do amiss.

Thus I set Pen to Paper with delight,
And quickly had my thoughts in black and white. 30
For having now my Method by the end,
Still as I pull'd, it came; and so I penn'd
It down; until at last it came to be,
For length and breadth the bigness which you see.

Well, when I had thus put mine ends together, 35
I shew'd them others, that I might see whether
They would condemn them, or them justify:
And some said, let them live; some, let them die.
Some said, John, print it; others said, Not so:
Some said, It might do good; others said, No. 40

Now was I in a strail, and did not see
Which was the best thing to be done by me:
At last I thought, Since you are thus divided,
I print it will; and so the case decided.

For, thought I, Some, I see, would have it done, 45
Though others in that Channel do not run;
To prove then who advised for the best,
Thus I thought fit to put it to the test.

I further thought, if now I did deny
Those that would have it thus, to gratify, 50
I did not know but hinder them I might
Of that which would to them be great delight.

For those which were not for its coming forth,
I said to them, Offend you I am loth;
Yet since your Brethren pleased with it be, 55
Forbear to judge, till you do further see.

If that thou wilt not read, let it alone;
Some love the meat, some love to pick the bone:
Tea, that I might them better palliate,
I did too with them thus expostulate. 60

*labors
printing*

May I not write in such a stile as this?
 In such a method too, and yet not miss
 Mine end, thy good? why may it not be done?
 Dark Clouds bring Waters, when the bright bring none
 Tea, dark, or bright, if they their Silver drops 65
 Cause to descend, the Earth, by yielding Crops,
 Gives praise to both, and carpeth not at either,
 But treasures up the Fruit they yield together:
 Tea, so commixes both, that in her Fruit
 None can distinguish this from that, they suit 70
 Her well, when hungry: but if she be full,
 She spues out both, and makes their blessings null.

You see the wags the Fisherman doth take
To catch the Fish; what Engine doth he make?
 Behold how he ingagetb all his Wits, 75
 Also his Snares, Lines, Angles, Hooks and Nets.
 Yet Fish there be, that neither Hook, nor Line,
 Nor Snare, nor Net, nor Engine can make thine;
 They must be grop't for, and be tickled too,
 Or they will not be catcht, what e're you do. 80

How doth the Fowler seek to catch his Game,
 By divers means, all which one cannot name?
 His Gun, his Nets, his Limetavigs, light, and bell:
 He creeps, he goes, he stands; yea who can tell
 Of all his postures, Yet there's none of these 85
 Will make him master of what Fowls he please.
 Yea, he must Pipe, and Whistle to catch this;
 Yet if he does so, that Bird he will miss.

If that a Pearl may in a Toads-head dwell,
 And may be found too in an Oystersbell; 90
 If things that promise nothing, do contain
 What better is than Gold; who will disdain,
 (That have an inkling of it,) there to look,
 That they may find it. Now my little Book,
 (Tho' void of all those paintings that may make 95
 It with this or the other Man to take,)

Is not without those things that do excel
 What do in brave, but empty notions dwell.

Well, yet I am not fully satisfied,
 That this your Book will stand when soundly try'd; 100
 Why, what's the matter! it is dark, what tho?
 But it is feigned. What of that I tro?
 Some men by feigning words as dark as mine,
 Make truth to spangle, and its rays to shine.
 But they want solidness: Speak man thy mind, 105
 They drown'd the weak; Metaphors make us blind.
 Solidity, indeed becomes the Pen
 { Of him that writeth things Divine to men:
 But must I needs want solidness, because
 By Metaphors I speak; Was not Gods Laws, 110
 His Gospel-Laws, in older time held forth
 By Types, Shadows and Metaphors? Yet loth
 Will any sober man be to find fault
 With them, lest he be found for to assault
 The highest Wisdom. No, he rather stoops, 115
 And seeks to find out what by pins and loops,
 By Calves, and Sheep, by Heifers, and by Rams;
 By Birds, and Herbs, and by the blood of Lambs,
 God speaketh to him. And happy is he
 That finds the light, and grace that in them be. 120
 Be not too forward therefore to conclude,
 That I want solidness, that I am rude:
 All things solid in shew, not solid be;
 All things in parables despise not we,
 Lest things most hurtful lightly we receive, 125
 And things that good are, of our souls bereave.
 My dark and cloudy words they do but hold
 The Truth, as Cabinets inclose the Gold.
 The Prophets used much by Metaphors
 To set forth Truth; Yea, who so considers 130
 Christ, his Apostles too, shall plainly see,
 That Truths to this day in such Mantles be.
 Am I afraid to say that holy Writ,
 Which for its Stile, and Phrase puts down all Wit,
 Is every where so full of all these things, 135
 (Dark Figures, Allegories,) yet there springs

*From that same Book that lustre, and those rays,
Of light, that turns our darkest nights to days.*

*Come, let my Carper to his Life now look,
And find There darker lines than in my Book 140
He findeth any. Yea, and let him know,
That in his best things there are worse lines too.*

*May we but stand before impartial men,
To his poor One, I durst adventure Ten,
That they will take my meaning in these lines 145
Far better than his Lies in Silver Shrines.
Come, Truth, although in Swadling-clouts, I find
Informs the Judgment, rectifies the Mind,
Pleases the Understanding, makes the Will
Submit; the Memory too it doth fill 150
With what doth our Imagination please;
Likewise, it tends our troubles to appease.*

*Sound words I know Timothy is to use,
And old Wives Fables he is to refuse;
But yet grave Paul, him no where doth forbid 155
The use of Parables; in which lay hid
That Gold, those Pearls, and precious stones that were
Worth digging for; and that with greatest care.*

*Let me add one word more, O man of God!
Art thou offended? dost thou wish I had 160
Put forth my matter in another dress,
Or that I had in things been more express?
Three things let me propound, then I submit
To those that are my betters, as is fit.*

*1. I find not that I am denied the use 165
Of this my method, so I no abuse
Put on the Words, Things, Readers, or be rude
In handling Figure, or Similitude,
In application; but, all that I may.
Seek the advance of Truth, this or that way: 170
Denied, did I say? Nay, I have leave,
(Example too, and that from them that have
God better pleased by their words or ways,
Than any man that breatheth now a-days,)*

Thus to express my mind, thus to declare 175
Things unto thee, that excellentest are.

2. *I find that men (as high as Trees) will write*
Dialogue-wise; yet no man doth them slight
For writing so: Indeed if they abuse
Truth, cursed be they, and, the craft they use 180
To that intent; But yet let Truth be free
To make her Sallies upon Thee, and Me,
Which way it pleases God. For who knows how,
Better than he that taught us first to Plough,
To guide our Mind and Pens for his Design? 185
And he makes base things usber in Divine.

3. *I find that holy Writ in many places,*
Hath semblance with this method, where the cases
Doth call for one thing, to set forth another:
Use it I may then, and yet nothing smother 190
Truths golden Beams; Nay, by this method may
Make it cast forth its rays as light as day.
And now, before I do put up my Pen,
I'll shew the profit of my Book, and then
Commit both thee, and it unto that band 195
That pulls the strong down, and makes weak ones stand.

This Book it chalketh out before thine eyes
The man that seeks the everlasting Prize:
It shews you whence he comes, whither he goes,
What he leaves undone; also what he does: 200
It also shews you how he runs and runs,
Till he unto the Gate of Glory comes.

It shews too, who sets out for life amain,
As if the lasting Crown they would attain:
Here also you may see the reason why 205
They lose their labour, and like Fools do die.

This Book will make a Traveller of thee,
If by its Counsel thou wilt ruled be;
It will direct thee to the Holy Land,
If thou wilt its Directions understand: 210
Yea, it will make the slothful, active be;
The Blind also, delightful things to see.

Art thou for something rare, and profitable?
Wouldst thou see a Truth within a Fable?
Art thou forgetful? wouldst thou remember 215
From New-year's-day to the last of December?
Then read my fancies, they will stick like Burs,
And may be to the Helpless, Comforters.
This Book is writ in such a Dialect,
As may the minds of listless men affect: 220
It seems a Novelty, and yet contains
Nothing but sound, and honest Gospel-strains.
Would'st thou divert thyself from Melancholy?
Would'st thou be pleasant, yet be far from folly?
Would'st thou read Riddles, & their Explanation? 225
Or else be drowned in thy Contemplation?
Dost thou love picking meat? Or wouldst thou see
A man i' th' Clouds, and hear him speak to thee?
Would'st thou be in a Dream, and yet not sleep?
Or wouldst thou in a moment laugh, and weep? 230
Wouldst thou lose thyself, and catch no harm?
And find thyself again without a charm?
Would'st read thyself, and read thou know'st not what
And yet know whether thou art blest or not,
By reading the same lines? O then come hither, 235
And lay my Book, thy Head, and Heart together.

JOHN BUNYAN.

THE
PILGRIMS PROGRESS:
IN THE SIMILITUDE OF A
DREAM.

AS I walk'd through the wilderness of this world, I lighted
on a certain place, where was a Den; and I laid me The Gaol.
down in that place to sleep: and as I slept I dreamed a
Dream. I dreamed, and behold *I saw a man cloathed with* Isa. 64. 6.
Rags, standing in a certain place, with his face from his own Luke 14. 31.
House, a Book in his hand, and a great burden upon his back. Ps. 38. 4.
Hab. 2. 2.
I looked, and saw him open the Book, and read therein;
and as he read, he wept and trembled: and not being able
longer to contain, he brake out with a lamentable cry;
10 saying, *what shall I do?* 11th Outcry.

In this plight therefore he went home, and refrained himself
as long as he could, that his Wife and Children should not
perceive his distress; but he could not be silent long, because
that his trouble increased: wherefore at length he brake his
mind to his Wife and Children; and thus he began to talk to
them, *O my dear Wife, said he, and you the Children of my*
bowels, I your dear friend, am in myself undone, by reason of
a burden that lieth hard upon me: moreover, I am for certain
informed that this our City will be burned with fire from Heaven, This World.
20 *in which fearful overthrow, both myself, with thee, my Wife, and*
you my sweet babes, shall miserably come to ruin; except (the

He knew no way of escape as yet. which, yet I see not) some way of escape can be found, whereby we may be delivered. At this his Relations were sore amazed; not for that they believed that what he had said to them was true, but because they thought that some frenzy distemper had got into his head: therefore, it drawing towards night, and they hoping that sleep might settle his brains, with all haste they got him to bed; but the night was as troublesome to him as the day: wherefore instead of sleeping, he spent it in sighs and tears. So when the morning was come, they would know how he did; he told them, worse and worse. 10

Carnal Physic for a Sick Soul.

He also set to talking to them again, but they began to be hardened; they also thought to drive away his distemper by harsh and surly carriages to him: sometimes they would deride, sometimes they would chide, and sometimes they would quite neglect him: wherefore he began to retire himself to his Chamber to pray for, and pity them; and also to condole his own misery: he would also walk solitarily in the Fields, sometimes reading, and sometimes praying: and thus for some days he spent his time.

Now, I saw upon a time, when he was walking in the 20 Fields, that he was (as he was wont) reading in his Book, and greatly distressed in his mind; and as he read, he burst out, as he had done before, crying, *What shall I do to be saved?*

Acts 16. 30. 31.

I saw also that he looked this way, and that way, as if he would run; yet he stood still, because as I perceived he could not tell which way to go. I looked then, and saw a Man named *Evangelist*¹ coming to him, and asked, *Wherefore doest thou cry?* He answered, Sir, I perceive, by the Book in my hand, that I am condemned to die, and after that to come to Judgement; and I find that I am not willing to do the first, 30 nor able to do the second.

Heb. 9. 27.

Job 16. 21.

Ezek. 22. 14.

Then said *Evangelist*, Why not willing to die? since this life is attended with so many evils? The Man answered, Because I fear that this burden that is upon my back, will

¹ *Christian* no sooner leaves the World but meets *Evangelist*, who lovingly him greets With tidings of another: and doth show Him how to mount to that from this below.

sink me lower than the Grave; and I shall fall into *Tophet*. Isa. 30. 33.
 And Sir, if I be not fit to go to Prison, I am not fit (I am sure) to go to Judgement, and from thence to Execution; and the thoughts of these things make me cry.

Then said *Evangelist*, If this be thy condition, why standest thou still? He answered, Because I know not whither to go. Convulsion of the necessity of flying.
 Then he gave him a *Parchment Roll*, and there was written Mat. 3. 7.
within, Fly from the wrath to come.

The Man therefore read it, and looking upon *Evangelist*
 10 very carefully; said, Whither must I fly? Then said *Evangelist*, pointing with his finger over a very wide Field, Do you see yonder Wicket-gate? The Man said, No. Then said the Mat. 7. 13.
 other, Do you see yonder shining light? He said, I think I Psalms 119. 105.
 do. Then said *Evangelist*, Keep that light in your eye, and
go up directly thereto, so shalt thou see the Gate; at which
when thou knockest, it shall be told thee what thou shalt do. 2 Pet. 1. 10. Christ and the way to him cannot be found without the Word.

So I saw in my Dream, that the Man began to run; now he had not run far from his own door, but his Wife and Children perceiving it, began to cry after him to return: but
 20 the Man put his fingers in his Ears, and ran on crying, Life, Life, Eternal Life: so he looked not behind him, but fled Luke 14. 26. Gen. 19. 17.
 towards the middle of the Plain.

The Neighbors also came out to see him run, and as he They that fly from the wrath to come are as Gazing Sticks to the world.
 ran, some mocked, others threatned; and some cried after him to return. And among those that did so, there were two
 that were resolved to fetch him back by force: the name of the one was *Obstinate*, and the name of the other *Pliable*. Jer. 20. 10. Obstinate and Pliable follow him.
 Now by this time the Man was got a good distance from them; But however they were resolved to pursue him; which
 30 they did, and in a little time they over-took him. Then said the Man, Neighbors, *Wherefore are you come?* They said, To perswade you to go back with us; but he said, That can by no means be: You dwell, said he, in the City of *Destruction* (the place also where I was born,) I see it to be so; and dying there, sooner or later, you will sink lower than the Grave, into a place that burns with Fire and Brimstone; Be content good Neighbors, and go along with me.

Obstinate. *What! said Obstinate, and leave our Friends, and our comforts behind us!*

Christian. Yes, said *Christian*, (for that was his name) because that *all* is not worthy to be compared with a *little* of that that I am seeking to enjoy, and if you will go along with me, and hold it, you shall fare as I myself; for there where
Luke 15. 17. I go, is enough, and to spare; Come away, and prove my words.

OBS. *What are the things you seek, since you leave all the World to find them?*

CHR. I seek an *Inheritance, incorruptible, undefiled, and that*
1 Pet. 1. 4. *fadeth not away*; and it is laid up in Heaven, and safe there, to be bestowed at the time appointed on them that diligently seek it. Read it so, if you will, in my Book.

OBS. *Tush, said Obstinate, away with your Book; will you go back with us, or no?*

CHR. No, not I, said the other; because I have laid my
Luke 9. 62. hand to the Plough.

OBS. *Come then, Neighbor Pliable, let us turn again, and go home without him; There is a Company of these Cran'd-beaded 20 Coxcombs, that when they take a fancy by the end, are wiser in their own eyes than seven men that can render a Reason.*

PLI. Then said *Pliable*, Don't revile; if what the good *Christian* says is true, the things he looks after, are better than ours: my heart inclines to go with my Neighbor.

OBS. *What! more Fools still? be ruled by me and go back; who knows whither such a brainsick fellow will lead you? Go back, go back, and be wise.*

CHR. Nay, but do thou come with me Neighbor *Pliable*; there are such things to be had which I spoke of, and many 30 more Glories besides. If you believe not me, read here in this Book; and for the truth of what is express therein, behold all is confirmed by the blood of him that made it.

PLI. *Well Neighbor Obstinate, (said Pliable) I begin to come to a point; I intend to go along with this good man, and to cast in my lot with him: But my good Companion, do you know the way to this desired place?*

CHR. I am directed by a man whose name is *Evangelist*, to

Christian and Obstinate, still for Pliable's Soul.

Heb. 13. 20.

21.

Heb. 9. 17.

28, 29, 30, 31.

Pliable con-

ceded to

go with

Christian.

speed me to a little Gate that is before us, where we shall receive instruction about the way.

PLI. *Come then good Neighbor, let us be going.* Then they went both together.

OBS. And I will go back to my place, said *Obstinate*. I will be no Companion of such misled fantastical Fellows. Obstinate goes rattling back.

Now I saw in my Dream, that when *Obstinate* was gone back, *Christian* and *Pliable* went talking over the Plain; and thus they began their discourse, Talk between Christian and Pliable.

¹⁰ CHR. Come Neighbor *Pliable*, how do you do? I am glad you are perswaded to go along with me; and had even *Obstinate* himself but felt what I have felt of the Powers and Terrors of what is yet unseen, he would not thus lightly have given us the back.

PLI. *Come Neighbor Christian, since there is none but us two here, tell me now further what the things are, and how to be enjoyed, whither we are going?*

CHR. I can better conceive of them with my Mind, than God's things unspeakable. speak of them with my Tongue: But yet since you are ²⁰ desirous to know, I will read of them in my Book.

PLI. *And do you think that the words of your Book are certainly true?*

CHR. Yes verily, for it was made by him that cannot lye. Tit. 1. 2.

PLI. *Well said; what things are they?*

CHR. There is an endless Kingdom to be inhabited, and everlasting life to be given us, that we may inhabit that Kingdom for ever. Isa. 45. 17. John 10. 27. 28, 29.

PLI. *Well said; and what else?*

CHR. There are Crowns of Glory to be given us; and ³⁰ Garments that will make us shine like the Sun in the Firmament of Heaven. 2 Tim. 4. 8. Rev. 3. 4. Math. 13. 43.

PLI. *This is excellent; and what else?*

CHR. There shall be no more crying, nor sorrow; For he that is owner of the place, will wipe all tears from our eyes. Isa. 25. 8. Rev. 7. 16, 17. Chap. 21. 4.

PLI. *And what company shall we have there?*

CHR. There we shall be with *Seraphims*, and *Cberubims*, Isa. 6. 2. 1 Thess. 4. 16, 17. Rev. 7. 12 Creatures that will dazzle your eyes to look on them: There also you shall meet with thousands, and ten thousands that

have gone before us to that place; none of them are hurtful, but loving, and holy: every one walking in the sight of God, and standing in his presence with acceptance for ever. In a word, there we shall see the Elders with their Golden Crowns: there we shall see the Holy Virgins with their Golden Harps: there we shall see Men that by the World were cut in pieces, burned in flames, eaten of Beasts, drowned in the Seas, for the love that they bare to the Lord of the place, all well, and clothed with Immortality as with a Garment.

Rev. 4. 4.
Chap. 14. 1.
2. 3. 4. 5.
John 12. 25.

2 Cor. 5. 2.
3. 5.

10

PLI. *The bearing of this is enough to ravish ones heart; but are these things to be enjoyed? How shall we get to be Sharers thereof?*

Isa. 55. 12.
John 7. 37.
Chap. 6. 37.
Rev. 21. 6.
Chap. 22. 17.

CHR. The Lord, the Governor of that Country, hath recorded *that* in this Book: the substance of which is, If we be truly willing to have it, he will bestow it upon us freely.

PLI. *Well, my good Companion, glad am I to bear of these things: Come on, let us mend our pace.*

CHR. I cannot go so fast as I would, by reason of this ²⁰burden that is upon my back.

⁶ Now I saw in my Dream, that just as they had ended this talk, they drew near to a very *Miry Slough*, that was in the midst of the Plain, and they being heedless, did both fall suddenly into the bog. The name of the Slough was *Dis-pond*. Here therefore they wallowed for a time, being grievously bedaubed with the dirt; and *Christian*, because of the burden that was on his back, began to sink in the Mire.

The Slough of Despond.

PLI. *Then said Pliable, Ab, Neighbor Christian, where are you now?*

30

CHR. Truly, said *Christian*, I do not know.

PLI. At that *Pliable* began to be offended; and angrily said to his Fellow, *Is this the happiness you have told me all this while of? If we have such ill speed at our first setting out, what may we expect, 'twixt this and our Journeys end? May I get out again with my life, you shall possess the brave Country alone for me.* And with that he gave a desperate struggle or two, and got out of the Mire, on that side of

It is not enough to be Pliable.

the Slough which was next his own House: so away he went, and *Christian* saw him no more.

Wherefore *Christian* was left to tumble in the Slough of *Dispond* alone; but still he endeavoured to struggle to that side of the Slough that was still further from his own House, *Christian is trouble seeks still to get further from his own House.* and next to the Wicket-gate; the which he did, but could not get out, because of the burden that was upon his back. But I beheld in my Dream, that a Man came to him, whose name was *Help*, and asked him, *What he did there?*

10 CHR. Sir, said *Christian*, I was directed this way, by a man called *Evangelist*; who directed me also to yonder Gate, that I might escape the wrath to come: And as I was going thither, I fell in here.

HELP. But why did you not look for the steps?

The Pre-
mises.

CHR. Fear followed me so hard, that I fled the next way, and fell in.

HELP. Then, said he, Give me thy band! So he gave him his hand, and he drew him out, and set him upon sound ground, and bid him go on his way. Help lifts him out. Ps. 40. 2.

20 Then I stepped to him that pluckt him out, and said, Sir, wherefore, since over this place is the way from the City of *Destruction* to yonder Gate, is it that *this* Plat is not mended, that poor travellers might go thither with more security? And he said unto me, This *Miry slough* is such a place as cannot be mended. It is the descent whither the scum and filth that attends conviction for sin doth continually run, *What makes the Slough of Dispond.* and therefore it is called the *Slough of Dispond*: for still as the sinner is awakened about his lost condition, there ariseth apprehensions, which all of them get together, and settle in this place: And this is the reason of the badness of this ground.

It is not the pleasure of the King that this place should remain so bad. His Laborers also have, by the direction of His Majestye's Surveyors, been for above this sixteen hundred years employed about this patch of ground, if perhaps it might have been mended: yea, and to my knowledge, said he, *Here* hath been swallowed up at least twenty million Cart

Loads; yea millions, of wholesome Instructions, that have at all seasons been brought from all places of the Kings Dominions; (and they that can tell, say, they are the best Materials to make good ground of the place;) if so be it might have been mended; but it is the *Slough of Despond* still, and so will be, when they have done what they can.

The Promises of forgiveness and acceptance to life by faith in Christ.

True, there are by the direction of the Lawgiver, certain good and substantial Steps, placed even through the very midst of this *Slough*; but at such time as this place doth much spue out its filth, as it doth against change of Weather, 10 these steps are hardly seen; or if they be, Men through the dizziness of their heads, step besides; and then they are bemired to purpose, notwithstanding the steps be there; but the ground is good when they are once got in at the Gate.

Pliable got home and is visited of his Neighbors. His entertainment by them at his return.

Now I saw in my Dream, that by this time *Pliable* was got home to his House again. So his Neighbors came to visit him; and some of them called him wise Man for coming back; and some called him Fool, for hazarding himself with *Christian*; others again did mock at his Cowardliness; saying, 20 Surely since you began to venture, I would not have been so base to have given out for a few difficulties. So *Pliable* sat sneaking among them. But at last he got more confidence, and then they all turned their tales, and began to deride poor *Christian* behind his back.

And thus much concerning *Pliable*.

Mr. Worldly-Wiseman meets with Christian.

Now as *Christian* was walking solitary by himself, he espied one afar off come crossing over the field to meet him; and their hap was to meet just as they were crossing the way of each other. The Gentleman's name was Mr. *Worldly-Wise-* 30 *man*; he dwelt in the Town of *Carnal-Policy*, a very great Town, and also hard by from whence *Christian* came. This man then meeting with *Christian*, and having some inkling of him,—for *Christian*'s setting forth from the City of *Destruction* was much noised abroad, not only in the Town where he dwelt, but also it began to be the *Town-talk* in some other places.—Master *Worldly-Wiseman* therefore, having some guess of him, by beholding his laborious going, by observing his

sighs and groans, and the like, began thus to enter into some talk with *Christian*.

WORLD. *How now, good fellow, whither away after this* Talk between
Mr. Worldly-
Wiseman
and Chris-
tian.
burdened manner?

CHR. A burdened manner indeed, as ever I think poor creature had. And whereas you ask me, *Whither away*, I tell you, Sir, I am going to yonder Wicket-gate before me; for there, as I am informed, I shall be put into a way to be rid of my heavy burden.

10 WORLD. *Hast thou a Wife and Children?*

CHR. Yes, but I am so laden with this burden, that I cannot take that pleasure in them as formerly: methinks, I am as if I had none.

1 Cor. 7. 29

WORLD. *Wilt thou hearken to me, if I give thee counsel?*

CHR. If it be good, I will; for I stand in need of good counsel.

WORLD. *I would advise thee then, that thou with all speed* Mr. Worldly-
Wiseman
Counsel to
Christian.
get thyself rid of thy burden; for thou wilt never be settled in
thy mind till then: nor canst thou enjoy the benefits of the blessing
10 *which God hath bestowed upon thee till then.*

CHR. That is that which I seek for, even to be rid of this heavy burden; but get it off my self I cannot: nor is there a man in our Country that can take it off my shoulders; therefore am I going this way, as I told you, that I may be rid of my burden.

WORLD. *Who bid thee go this way to be rid of thy burden?*

CHR. A man that appeared to me to be a very great and honorable person; his name, as I remember, is *Evangelist*.

WORLD. *I beseech him for his counsel; there is not a more* Mr. Worldly-
Wiseman
Condemned
Evangelists
Counsel.
30 *dangerous and troublesome way in the world than is that unto*
which he hath directed thee; and that thou shalt find if thou
wilt be ruled by his counsel. Thou hast met with something (as
I perceive) already; for I see the dirt of the Slough of Dis-
pond is upon thee; but that Slough is the beginning of the sorrows
that do attend those that go on in that way. Hear me, I am older
than thou! thou art like to meet with in the way which
thou goest, Wearisomness, Painfulness, Hunger, Perils, Naked-
ness, Sword, Lions, Dragons, Darkness, and in a word, death,

and what not? These things are certainly true, having been confirmed by many testimonies. And why should a man so carelessly cast away himself, by giving heed to a stranger?

*The frame
of the heart
of young
Christians.*

CHR. Why, Sir, this burden upon my back is more terrible to me than all these things which you have mentioned: nay, methinks I care not what I meet with in the way, so be I can also meet with deliverance from my burden.

WORLD. How camest thou by thy burden at first?

CHR. By reading this Book in my hand.

*Worldly-
Wiseman
does not like
that Men
should be
Serious in
reading the
Bible.*

WORLD. I thought so; and it is happened unto thee as to other 10 weak men, who meddling with things too high for them, do suddenly fall into thy distractions; which distractions do not only unman men, (as thine I perceive has done thee) but they run them upon desperate ventures, to obtain they know not what.

CHR. I know what I would obtain; it is ease for my heavy burden.

*If neither
Mr. Worldly
prefers Mo-
rality before
the Strait
Gate.*

WORLD. But why wilt thou seek for ease this way, seeing so many dangers attend it, especially, since (hadst thou but patience to bear me,) I could direct thee to the obtaining of what thou desirest, without the dangers that thou in this way wilt run thy 20 self into: yea, and the remedy is at hand. Besides, I will add, that instead of those dangers, thou shalt meet with much safety, friendship, and content.

CHR. Pray, Sir open this secret to me.

WORLD. Why in yonder Village, (the Village is named Mora-
lity) there dwells a Gentleman, whose name is Legality, a very
judicious man (and a man of a very good name) that has skill
to help men off with such burdens as thine are from their
shoulders: yea, to my knowledge he hath done a great deal of good
this way: Aye, and besides, he hath skill to cure those that are 30
somewhat crazed in their wits with their burdens. To him, as I
said, thou mayest go, and be helped presently. His house is not
quite a mile from this place; and if he should not be at home
himself, he hath a pretty young man to his Son, whose name is
Civility, that can do it (to speak on) as well as the old Gentleman
himself: There, I say, thou mayest be eased of thy burden, and if
thou art not minded to go back to thy former habitation, as indeed
I would not wish thee, thou mayest send for thy Wife and Children

to thee to this Village, where there are houses now stand empty, one of which thou mayest have at reasonable rates: Provision is there also cheap and good, and that which will make thy life the more happy, is, to be sure there thou shalt live by honest neighbors, in credit and good fashion.

Now was *Christian* somewhat at a stand, but presently he concluded; if this be true which this Gentleman hath said, my wisest course is to take his advice; and with that he thus farther spoke.

*Christian
Snared by
Mr. Worldly-
Wiseman's
words.*

10 CHR. Sir, which is my way to this honest man's house?

WORLD. Do you see yonder high hill?

Mount Sinai.

CHR. Yes, very well.

WORLD. By that Hill you must go, and the first house you come at is his.

So *Christian* turned out of his way to go to Mr. *Legality's* house for help: but behold, when he was got now hard by the Hill, it seemed so high, and also that side of it that was next the way side did hang so much over, that *Christian* was afraid to venture further, lest the Hill should fall on his head:

*Christian
afraid that
Mount Sinai
would fall
on his head.*

20 wherefore there he stood still, and he wot not what to do. Also his burden, now, seemed heavier to him than while he was in his way. There came also flashes of fire out of the Hill, that made *Christian* afraid that he should be burned. Here therefore he sweat, and did quake for fear. And now he began to be sorry that he had taken Mr. *Worldly-Wiseman's* counsel; and with that he saw *Evangelist* coming to meet him; at the sight also of whom he began to blush for shame. So *Evangelist* drew nearer and nearer, and coming up to him, he looked upon him with a severe and dreadful countenance: and thus began to

*Exod. 19. 18.
Ver. 16.
Heb. 12. 21.*

30 reason with *Christian*.

*Evangelist
seeth
Christian
under
Mount Sinai,
and looketh
severely
upon him.*

EVAN. What doest thou here? *Christian*, said he? at which word *Christian* knew not what to answer: wherefore, at present he stood speechless before him. Then said *Evangelist* farther, Art not thou the man that I found crying without the walls of the City of Destruction?

*Evangelist
reasons
afresh with
Christian.*

CHR. Yes, dear Sir, I am the man.

EVAN. Did not I direct thee the way to the little Wicket-gate?

CHR. Yes, dear Sir, said *Christian*.

EVAN. *How is it then that thou art so quickly turned aside? for thou art now out of the way.*

CHR. I met with a Gentleman, so soon as I had got over the *Slough of Despond*, who perswaded me that I might, in the *Village* before me, find a man that could take off my burden.

EVAN. *What was he?*

CHR. He looked like a Gentleman, and talked much to me, and got me at last to yield; so I came hither: but when I beheld this Hill, and how it hangs over the way, I suddenly made a stand, lest it should fall on my head. 10

EVAN. *What said that Gentleman to you?*

CHR. Why, he asked me whither I was going, and I told him.

EVAN. *And what said he then?*

CHR. He asked me if I had a Family, and I told him: but, said I, I am so laden with the burden that is on my back, that I cannot take pleasure in them as formerly.

EVAN. *And what said he then?*

CHR. He bid me with speed get rid of my burden, and I told him, 'twas ease that I sought: And said I, I am 20 therefore going to yonder *Gate* to receive further direction how I may get to the place of deliverance. So he said that he would shew me a better way, and short, not so attended with difficulties, as the way, Sir, that you set me: which way, said he, will direct you to a Gentleman's house that hath skill to take off these burdens: So I believed him, and turned out of that way into this, if haply I might be soon eased of my burden: but when I came to this place, and beheld things as they are, I stopped for fear, (as I said) of danger: but I now know not what to do. 30

EVANG. *Then (said Evangelist) stand still a little, that I may shew thee the words of God. So he stood trembling. Then (said Evangelist) See that ye refuse not him that speaketh; for if they escaped not who refused him that spake on Earth, much more shall not we escape, if we turn away from him that speaketh from Heaven. He said moreover, Now the just shall live by faith; but if any man draws back, my soul shall have no pleasure in him. He also did thus apply them, Thou art the*

Heb. 12. 25.

Evangelist
convince
Christian of
his Error.
Chap. 10. 38.

man that art running into this misery, thou hast began to reject the counsel of the most high, and to draw back thy foot from the way of peace, even almost to the bazzarding of thy perdition.

Then *Christian* fell down at his foot as dead, crying, *Woe is me, for I am undone: at the sight of which Evangelist* caught him by the right hand, saying, all manner of sin and blasphemies shall be forgiven unto men; be not faithless, but believing; then did *Christian* again a little revive, and stood up trembling, as at first, before *Evangelist*. Matth. 12. 11.
Mark 3. 28.

- 10 Then *Evangelist* proceeded, saying, *Give more earnest heed to the things that I shall tell thee of.* I will now shew thee who it was that deluded thee, and who 'twas also to whom he sent thee. The man that met thee, is one *Worldly-Wiseman*¹, and rightly is he so called; partly, because he savoureth only the Doctrine of this world (therefore he always goes to the Town of *Morality* to Church) and partly because he loveth that Doctrine best, for it saveth him from the Cross; and because he is of this carnal temper, therefore he seeketh to prevent my ways, though right. Now there are three things in this
- 20 mans counsel that thou must utterly abhor: Evangelist
discovers the
deceit of
Mr. Worldly-
Wiseman.
1. His turning thee out of the way.
 2. His labouring to render the Cross odious to thee.
 3. And his setting thy feet in that way that leadeth unto the administration of Death.

- First, Thou must abhor his turning thee out of the way; yea, and thine own consenting thereto: because this is to reject the counsel of God, for the sake of the counsel of a *Worldly-Wiseman*. The Lord says, *Strive to enter in at the strait gate*, the gate to which I sent thee; *for strait is* Luke 13. 24.
Matt. 7. 13, 14.
- 30 *the gate that leadeth unto life, and few there be that find it.* From this little wicket-gate, and from the way thereto hath this wicked man turned thee, to the bringing of thee almost to destruction; hate therefore his turning thee out of the way, and abhor thyself for hearkening to him.

¹ When Christians unto carnal men give ear,
Out of their way they go, and pay for't dear
For master *Worldly-Wiseman* can but shew
A Saint the way to Bondage and to woe.

Secondly, Thou must abhor his labouring to render the
 Heb. 11. 25. Cross odious unto thee; for thou art to *prefer it before the*
 26. *treasures of Egypt*: besides, the King of Glory hath told thee,
 Mark 8. 35. that he that will save his life, shall lose it: and *be that comes*
 John 12. 25. *after him, and bates not his father, and mother, and wife, and*
 Matth. 10. 37. *children, and brethren, and sisters; yea, and his own life also,*
 Luke 14. 26. *be cannot be my Disciple.* I say therefore, for a man to labour
 to perswade thee, that that shall be thy death, without which
 the truth hath said, thou canst not have eternal life, This
 Doctrine thou must abhor. 10

Thirdly, Thou must hate his setting of thy feet in the way
 that leadeth to the ministration of death. And for this thou
 must consider to whom he sent thee, and also how unable
 that person was to deliver thee from thy burden.

He to whom thou wast sent for ease, being by name *Legality*,
 Gal. 4. 21, 22, is the Son of the Bond-woman which now is, and is in bondage
 23, 24, 25, 26, with her children, and is in a mystery this Mount *Sinai*, which
 27. thou hast feared will fall on thy head. Now if she with her
 The Bond-
 Woman. children are in bondage, how canst thou expect by them to
 be made free? This *Legality* therefore is not able to set thee 20
 free from thy burden. No man was as yet ever rid of his
 burden by him, no, nor ever is like to be: ye cannot be
 justified by the Works of the Law; for by the deeds of the
 Law no man living can be rid of his burden: therefore Mr.
Worldly-Wiseman is an alien, and Mr. *Legality* a cheat: and
 for his son *Civility*, notwithstanding his simpering looks, he is
 but an hypocrite, and cannot help thee. Believe me, there
 is nothing in all this noise, that thou hast heard of this sottish
 man, but a design to beguile thee of thy Salvation, by turning
 thee from the way in which I had set thee. After this 30
Evangelist called aloud to the Heavens for confirmation of
 what he had said; and with that there came words and fire
 out of the Mountain under which poor Christian stood, that
 made the hair of his flesh stand. The words were thus
 pronounced, *As many as are of the works of the Law, are under*
 Gal. 3. 10. *the curse; for it is written, Cursed is every one that continueth*
not in all things which are written in the Book of the Law to do
them.

Now *Christian* looked for nothing but death, and began to cry out lamentably, even cursing the time in which he met with *Mr. Worldly-Wiseman*, still calling himself a thousand fools for hearkening to his counsel: he also was greatly ashamed to think that this Gentleman's arguments, flowing only from the flesh, should have that prevalency with him to forsake the right way. This done, he applied himself again to *Evangelist* in words and sense as follows.

CHR. Sir, what think you? is there hopes? may I now go back, and go up to the *Wicket-gate*? Shall I not be abandoned for this, and sent back from thence ashamed? I am sorry I have hearkened to this man's counsel, but may my sin be forgiven?

EVANG. Then said *Evangelist* to him, Thy sin is very great, for by it thou hast committed two evils; thou hast forsaken the way that is good, to tread in forbidden paths: yet will the man of the Gate receive thee, for he has good will for men; only, said he, take heed that thou turn not aside again, lest thou perish from the way when his wrath is kindled but a little. Then did *Christian* address himself to go back, and *Evangelist*, after he had kist him, gave him one smile, and bid him God speed: so he went on with haste, neither spake he to any man by the way; nor if any man asked him, would he vouchsafe them an answer. He went like one that was all the while treading on forbidden ground, and could by no means think himself safe, till again he was got into the way which he left to follow *Mr. Worldly-Wiseman's* counsel. So in process of time, *Christian* got up to the Gate. Now over the Gate there was written, *Knock and it shall be opened unto you.* He knocked therefore¹, more than once or twice, saying,

*May I now enter here? will be within
Open to sorry me, though I have been
An undeserving Rebel? then shall I
Not fail to sing his lasting praise on high.*

¹ He that will enter in must first without
Stand knocking at the Gate, nor need he doubt
That is a knocker but to enter in;
For God can love him, and forgive his sin.

At last there came a grave Person to the Gate, named *Good-will*, who asked *Who was there? and whence he came? and what he would have?*

CHR. Here is a poor burdened sinner. I come from the City of *Destruction*, but am going to Mount *Zion*, that I may be delivered from the wrath to come. I would therefore, Sir, since I am informed that by this Gate is the way thither, know if you are *willing* to let me in.

GOOD WILL. I am *willing* with all my heart, said he; and with that he opened the Gate. 10

So, when *Christian* was stepping in, the other gave him a pull; Then said *Christian*, What means that? The other told him, A little distance from this Gate, there is erected a strong Castle, of which *Beelzebub* is the Captain: from thence both he, and them that are with him shoot Arrows at those that come up to this Gate; if haply they may die before they can enter in. Then said *Christian*, I rejoice and tremble. So when he was got in, the Man of the Gate asked him, Who directed him thither?

CHR. *Evangelist* bid me come hither and knock, (as I did;) 20 And he said, that you, Sir, would tell me what I must do.

GOOD WILL. *An open Door is set before thee, and no man can shut it.*

CHR. Now I begin to reap the benefits of my hazards.

GOOD WILL. *But how is it that you came alone?*

CHR. Because none of my Neighbors saw their danger, as I saw mine.

GOOD WILL. *Did any of them know of your coming?*

CHR. Yes, my Wife and Children saw me at the first, and called after me to turn again: Also some of my Neighbors 30 stood crying, and calling after me to return; but I put my Fingers in my Ears, and so came on my way.

GOOD WILL. *But did none of them follow you, to perswade you to go back?*

CHR. Yes, both *Obstinate*, and *Pliable*: But when they saw that they could not prevail, *Obstinate* went railing back; but *Pliable* came with me a little way.

GOOD WILL. *But why did he not come through?*

The Gate will be opened to broken hearted sinners.

Satan envies those that enter the straight Gate. Christian kindred the Gate with Joy and trembling. Talk between Good Will and Christian.

CHR. We indeed came both together, until we came at the Slough of *Dispond*, into the which we also suddenly fell. And then was my Neighbor *Pliable* discouraged, and would not adventure further. Wherefore getting out again, on that side next to his own House, he told me, I should possess the brave Country alone for him: So he went *his* way, and I came *mine*. *He* after *Obstinate*, and I to this Gate.

A Man may have Company when he sets out for Heaven, and yet go thither alone.

GOOD WILL. Then said *Good Will*, Alas poor Man, is the Cœlestial Glory of so small esteem with him, that he counteth it not worth running the hazards of a few difficulties to obtain it.

CHR. Truly, said *Christian*, I have said the truth of *Pliable*, and if I should also say the truth of myself, it will appear there is no betterment 'twixt him and myself. 'Tis true, he went back to his own house, but I also turned aside to go in the way of death, being perswaded thereto by the carnal arguments of one Mr. *Worldly-Wiseman*.

Christian accuseth himself before the man at the Gate.

GOOD WILL. Oh, did he light upon you? what, he would have had you a sought for ease at the hands of Mr. *Legality*; they are both of them a very cheat: But did you take his counsel?

CHR. Yes, as far as I durst: I went to find out Mr. *Legality*, until I thought that the Mountain that stands by his house, would have fallen upon my head: wherefore there I was forced to stop.

GOOD WILL. That Mountain has been the death of many, and will be the death of many more: 'tis well you escaped being by it dasht in pieces.

CHR. Why, truly I do not know what had become of me there, had not *Evangelist* happily met me again as I was musing in the midst of my *dumps*: but 'twas Gods mercy that he came to me again, for else I had never come hither. But now I am come, such a one as I am, more fit indeed for death by that Mountain, than thus to stand talking with my Lord: But O, what a favour is this to me, that yet I am admitted entrance here.

GOOD WILL. We make no objections against any, not- withstanding all that they have done before they come hither,

Christian comforted again.

John 6. 37. they in no wise are cast out, and therefore, good *Christian*, come a little way with me, and I will teach thee about the way thou must go. Look before thee; dost thou see this narrow way? THAT is the way thou must go. It was cast up by the Patriarchs, Prophets, Christ, and his Apostles; and it is as straight as a Rule can make it: This is the way thou must go.

Christian
directed yet
on his way.

CHR. But said *Christian*, *Is there no turnings nor windings by which a Stranger may lose the way?*

Christian
afraid of
losing his
way.

GOOD WILL. Yes, there are many ways butt down upon 10 this; and they are crooked, and wide: But *thus* thou may'st distinguish the right from the wrong, *That* only being straight and narrow.

Matth. 7. 14.

Then I saw in my Dream, That *Christian* asked him further, If he could not help him off with his burden that was upon his back; for as yet he had not got rid thereof, nor could he by any means get it off without help.

Christian
weary of his
burden.

There is no
deliverance
from the
guilt and
burden of
sin, but by
the death
and blood
of Christ.

He told him; As to thy burden, be content to bear it, until thou comest to the *place* of Deliverance; for there it will fall from thy back itself. 20

Then *Christian* began to gird up his loins, and to address himself to his Journey. So the other told him, that by that he was gone some distance from the Gate, he would come at the House of the *Interpreter*; at whose Door he should knock; and he would shew him excellent things. Then *Christian* took his leave of his Friend, and he again bid him God speed.

Christian
comes to the
House of the
Interpreter.

Then he went on, till he came at the House of the *Interpreter*, where he knocked over and over: at last one came to the Door, and asked *Who was there?*

CHR. Sir, here is a Traveller, who was bid by an ac- 30 quaintance of the Good-man of this House, to call here for my profit: I would therefore speak with the Master of the House. So he called for the Master of the House; who after a little time came to *Christian*, and asked him what he would have?

CHR. Sir, said *Christian*, I am a Man that am come from the City of *Destruction*, and am going to the Mount *Zion*, and I was told by the Man that stands at the Gate, at the head of

this way, That if I called here, you would shew me excellent things, such as would be an help to me in my Journey.

INTER. Then said the *Interpreter*, Come in, I will shew thee that which will be profitable to thee. So he commanded his Man to light the Candle, and bid *Christian* follow him; so he had him into a private Room, and bid his Man open a Door; the which when he had done, *Christian* saw the Picture of a very grave Person hang up against the Wall, and this was the fashion of it. *It had eyes lift up to Heaven, the best of Books in his hand, the Law of Truth was written upon his lips, the World was behind his back; it stood as if it pleaded with Men, and a Crown of Gold did hang over his head.*

CHR. Then said *Christian*, What means this?

INTER. The Man whose Picture this is, is one of a thousand; he can beget Children, travel in birth with Children, and nurse them himself when they are born. And whereas thou seest him with his eyes lift up to Heaven, the best of Books in his hand, and the Law of Truth writ on his lips: it is to shew thee, that his work is to know and unfold dark things to sinners; even as also thou seest him stand as if he pleaded with Men: And whereas thou seest the World as cast behind him, and that a Crown hangs over his head; that is, to shew thee that slighting and despising the things that are present, for the love that he hath to his Masters service, he is sure in the World that comes next to have Glory for his Reward. Now, said the *Interpreter*, I have shewed thee this Picture first, because the Man whose Picture this is, is the only Man, whom the Lord of the Place whither thou art going, hath authorized to be thy Guide in all difficult places thou mayest meet with in the way: wherefore take good heed to what I have shewed thee, and bear well in thy mind what thou hast seen; lest in thy Journey thou meet with some that pretend to lead thee right, but their way goes down to death.

Then he took him by the hand, and led him into a very large Parlour that was full of dust, because never swept; the which, after he had reviewed a little while, the *Interpreter* called for a man to sweep. Now when he began to sweep, the

He is entertained. Illumination.

Christian sees a brace Picture. The fashion of the Picture.

1 Cor. 4. 15. Gal. 4. 10. 1 Thess. 2. 7

The meaning of the Picture.

Why he shewed him the Picture first.

dust began so abundantly to fly about, that *Christian* had almost therewith been choaked. Then said the *Interpreter* to a *Damsel* that stood by, Bring hither the Water, and sprinkle the Room; which when she had done, it was swept and cleansed with pleasure.

CHR. Then said Christian, What means this?

INTER. The *Interpreter* answered; this Parlour is the heart of a Man that was never sanctified by the sweet Grace of the Gospel: the dust, is his Original Sin, and inward Corruptions that have defiled the whole Man. He that began to sweep at first is the Law; but She that brought water, and did sprinkle it, is the Gospel. Now, whereas thou sawest that so soon as the first began to sweep, the dust did so fly about that the Room by him could not be cleansed, but that thou wast almost choaked therewith: this is to shew thee, that the Law, instead of cleansing the heart (by its working) from sin, doth revive, put strength into, and increase it in the soul, even as it doth discover and forbid it, but doth not give power to subdue.

Rom. 7. 6.
1 Cor. 15. 56.
Rom. 5. 20.

Again, as thou sawest the *Damsel* sprinkle the Room with 20 Water, upon which it was cleansed with pleasure; this is to shew thee, that when the Gospel comes in the sweet and precious influences thereof to the heart, then, I say, even as thou sawest the *Damsel* lay the dust by sprinkling the Floor with Water, so is sin vanquished and subdued, and the soul made clean, through the faith of it, and consequently fit for the King of Glory to inhabit.

John 15. 3.
Eph. 5. 26.
Acts 15. 9.
Rom. 26. 25.
John 15. 13.

He shewed
him *Passion*
and *Patience*.
Passion will
have all
now.

Patience is
for waiting.
Passion has
his desire.

I saw moreover in my Dream, that the *Interpreter* took him by the hand, and had him into a little Room, where sate two little Children, each one in his Chair. The name of the eldest was *Passion*, and of the other *Patience*. *Passion* seemed to be much discontent, but *Patience* was very quiet. Then *Christian* asked, What is the reason of the discontent of *Passion*? The *Interpreter* answered, The Governor of them would have him stay for his best things till the beginning of the next year; but he will have all now: But *Patience* is willing to wait.

also by
knowing
name?

Then I saw that one came to *Passion*, and brought him a Bag of Treasure, and poured it down at his feet; the which

he took up, and rejoiced therein; and withal, laughed *Patience* to scorn. But I beheld but a while, and he had lavished all away, and had nothing left him but Rags.

And quickly lavishes all away.

CHR. *Then said Christian to the Interpreter, Expound this matter more fully to me.*

The matter expounded.

INTER. So he said, These two Lads are Figures; *Passion*, of the Men of *this World*; and *Patience*, of the Men of *that which is to come*. For as here thou seest, *Passion will have all now*, this year; that is to say, in *this World*; So are the
 10 Men of this World: they must have all their good things now, they cannot stay till next *Year*; that is, until the *next World*, for their Portion of good. That Proverb, *A Bird in the Hand* *The Worldly Man for a Bird in the hand.*
is worth two in the Bush, is of more Authority with them, than are all the Divine Testimonies of the good of the World to come. But as thou sawest, that he had quickly lavished all away, and had presently left him, nothing but Rags; so will it be with all such Men at the end of this World.

CHR. *Then said Christian, Now I see that Patience has the best Wisdom; and that upon many accounts.* 1. *Because he stays* *Patience*
 20 *for the best things.* 2. *And also because he will have the glory* *had the best*
of his, when the other hath nothing but Rags. *Wisdom.*

INTER. Nay, you may add another; to wit, the Glory of the *next world* will never wear out; but these are suddenly gone. Therefore *Passion* had not so much reason to laugh at *Patience*, because he had his good things first, as *Patience* will have to laugh at *Passion*, because he had his best things *last*; for *first* must give place to *last*, because *last* must have his time *Things that are first must give place, but things that are last, are lasting.*
 30 must needs have a time to spend it; but he that has his Portion *last*, must have it lastingly. Therefore it is said of *Dives*, *In thy lifetime thou receivest thy good things, and* *Luke 16. Dives had his good things first.*
likewise Lazarus evil things; But now he is comforted, and thou art tormented.

CHR. *Then I perceive, 'tis not best to covet things that are now; but to wait for things to come.*

INTER. You say Truth; For the things that are seen, are *2 Cor. 4. 18. The first things are but Temporal.*
 Temporal; but the things that are not seen, are Eternal. But

though this be so; yet since things present, and our fleshly appetite, are such near Neighbors one to another; and again, because things to come, and carnal sense, are such strangers one to another: therefore it is, that the first of these so suddenly fall into *amity*, and that *distance* is so continued between the second.

Then I saw in my Dream, that the *Interpreter* took *Christian* by the hand, and led him into a place where was a Fire burning against a Wall, and one standing by it always, casting much Water upon it to quench it: yet did the Fire burn 10 higher and hotter.

Then said *Christian*, *What means this?*

The *Interpreter* answered, This fire is the work of Grace that is wrought in the heart; he that casts Water upon it, to extinguish and put it out, is the *Devil*: but in that thou seest the fire notwithstanding burn higher and hotter, thou shalt also see the reason of that: So he had him about to the back side of the Wall, where he saw a Man with a Vessel of Oil in his hand, of the which he did also continually cast (but secretly,) into the fire. Then said *Christian*, *What means this?* The *Interpreter* answered, This is *Christ*, who continually, with the Oil of his Grace, maintains the work already begun in the heart; by the means of which, notwithstanding what the Devil can do, the souls of his People prove gracious still. And in that thou sawest that the Man stood behind the Wall to maintain the fire; this is to teach thee, that it is hard for the tempted to see how this work of Grace is maintained in the soul.

1 Cor. 12. 9.

I saw also that the *Interpreter* took him again by the hand, and led him into a pleasant place, where was builded a 30 stately Palace, beautiful to behold; at the sight of which, *Christian* was greatly delighted; he saw also upon the top thereof, certain Persons walked, who were cloathed all in Gold. Then said *Christian*, May we go in thither? Then the *Interpreter* took him, and led him up toward the door of the Palace; and behold, at the door stood a great Company of men, as desirous to go in, but durst not. There also sat a Man, at a little distance from the door, at a Table-side, with

a Book, and his Inkhorn before him, to take the Name of him that should enter therein : He saw also that in the doorway, stood many Men in Armor to keep it ; being resolved to do to the Man that would enter, what hurt and mischief they could. Now was *Christian* somewhat in a maze : at last, when every Man started back for fear of the armed men ; *Christian* saw a Man of a very stout countenance come up to the Man that sat there to write ; saying, *Set down my name, Sir ;* the which when he had done, he saw the Man draw his Sword, *The Valiant Man.*
 10 and put an Helmet upon his Head, and rush toward the door upon the armed men, who laid upon him with deadly force ; but the Man, not at all discouraged, fell to cutting and hacking most fiercely ; so, after he had received and given many wounds to those that attempted to keep him out, he cut his way through them all, and pressed forward into the Palace ; *Acts 14. 20.*
 at which there was a pleasant voice heard from those that were within, even of those that walked upon the top of the Palace, saying,

*Come in, Come in ;
 20 Eternal Glory thou shalt win.*

So he went in, and was cloathed with such Garments as they. Then *Christian* smiled, and said, I think verily I know the meaning of this.

Now, said *Christian*, let me go hence : Nay stay (said the *Interpreter*,) till I have shewed thee a little more, and after that thou shalt go on thy way. So he took him by the hand again, and led him into a very dark Room, where there sat a Man in an Iron Cage. *Despair like an Iron Cage.*

Now the Man, to look on, seemed very sad : he sat with his 30 eyes looking down to the ground, his hands folded together ; and he sighed as if he would break his heart. Then said *Christian*, What means this ? At which the *Interpreter* bid him talk with the Man.

CHR. Then said *Christian* to the Man, *What art thou ?*
 The Man answered, *I am what I was not once.*

CHR. *What wast thou once ?*

MAN. The Man said, I was once a fair and flourishing *Luke 8. 13*
 Professor, both in mine own eyes, and also in the eyes of

others: I once was, as I thought, fair for the Cœlestial City, and had then even joy at the thoughts that I should get thither.

CHR. *Well, but what art thou now?*

MAN. I am *now* a Man of Despair, and am shut up in it, as in this Iron Cage. I cannot get out; O *now* I cannot.

CHR. *But how camest thou in this condition?*

MAN. I left off to watch, and be sober; I laid the reins upon the neck of my lusts; I sinned against the light of the Word, and the goodness of God: I have grieved the Spirit, ¹⁰ and he is gone; I tempted the Devil, and he is come to me; I have provoked God to anger, and he has left me; I have so hardened my heart, that I *cannot* repent.

Then said *Christian* to the *Interpreter*, But is there no hopes for such a Man as this? Ask him, said the *Interpreter*.

CHR. Then said *Christian*, *Is there no hope but you must be kept in the Iron Cage of Despair?*

MAN. No, none at all.

CHR. *Why? The Son of the Blessed is very pitiful.*

MAN. I have crucified him to myself, afresh. I have ²⁰ despised his Person, I have despised his Righteousness, I have counted his Blood an unholy thing, I have done despite to the Spirit of Grace: Therefore I have shut myself out of all the Promises; and there now remains to me nothing but threatnings, dreadful threatnings, faithful threatnings of certain Judgment, which shall devour me as an Adversary.

Heb. 10. 26, 29.

INTER. *For what did you bring yourself into this condition?*

MAN. For the Lusts, Pleasures, and Profits of this World; in the enjoyment of which, I did then promise my self much delight; but now every one of those things also bite me, and ³⁰ gnaw me like a burning worm.

INTER. *But canst thou not now repent and turn?*

MAN. God hath denied me repentance; his Word gives me no encouragement to believe; yea, himself hath shut me up in this Iron Cage; nor can all the men in the World let me out. O Eternity! Eternity! how shall I grapple with the misery that I must meet with in Eternity!

INTER. Then said the *Interpreter* to *Christian*, Let this

mans misery be remembred by thee, and be an everlasting caution to thee.

CHR. Well, said *Christian*, this is fearful; God help me to watch and be sober; and to pray, that I may shun the causes of this mans misery. Sir, is it not time for me to go on my way now?

INTER. Tarry till I shall shew thee one thing more, and then thou shalt go on thy way.

So he took *Christian* by the hand again, and led him into a
 10 Chamber, where there was one rising out of Bed; and as he
 put on his Raiment, he shook and trembled. Then said
Christian, Why doth this Man thus tremble? The *Interpreter*
 then bid him tell to *Christian* the reason of his so doing. So
 he began, and said: This night as I was in my sleep, I
 Dreamed, and behold the Heavens grew exceeding black;
 also it thundred and lightned in most fearful wise, that it put
 me into an Agony. So I looked up in my Dream, and saw
 the Clouds rack at an unusual rate; upon which I heard a
 great sound of a Trumpet, and saw also a Man sit upon a
 20 Cloud, attended with the thousands of Heaven; they were all
 in flaming fire, also the Heavens were on a burning flame.
 I heard then a voice, saying, *Arise ye Dead, and come to*
Judgment; and with that, the Rocks rent, the Graves opened,
 & the Dead that were therein, came forth; some of them
 were exceeding glad, and looked upward; and some sought to
 hide themselves under the Mountains. Then I saw the Man
 that sat upon the Cloud, open the Book; and bid the World
 draw near. Yet there was by reason of a fierce flame that
 issued out and came from before him, a convenient distance
 30 betwixt him and them, as betwixt the Judge and the Prisoners
 at the Bar. I heard it also proclaimed to them that attended
 on the Man that sat on the Cloud; *Gather together the Tares,*
the Chaff, and Stubble, and cast them into the burning Lake; and
 with that, the bottomless pit opened, just whereabout I stood;
 out of the mouth of which there came in an abundant manner
 Smoke, and Coals of fire, with hideous noises. It was also
 said to the same persons; *Gather my Wheat into the Garner.* Luke 3. 17
 And with that I saw many catch'd up and carried away into

1 Cor. 15. 52.

1 Thess. 4. 16.

Jude 15.

2 Thess. 1. 8.

John 5. 28.

Rev. 20. 11.

12. 13. 14.

Isa. 26. 21.

Mic. 7. 16. 17.

Ps. 94. 1. 2. 3.

Dan. 7. 10.

Mal. 3. 2. 3.

Dan. 7. 9. 10.

Math. 3. 12.

Chap. 13. 30.

Mal. 4. 1.

1 Thess. 4.

16. 17.

Rom. 2. 14.
15

the Clouds, but I was left behind. I also sought to hide myself, but I could not; for the Man that sat upon the Cloud, still kept his eye upon me: my sins also came into my mind, and my Conscience did accuse me on every side. Upon this I awaked from my sleep.

CHR. *But what was it that made you so afraid of this sight?*

MAN. Why I thought the day of Judgement was come, and that I was not ready for it: but this frightened me most, that the Angels gathered up several, and left me behind; also the pit of Hell opened her mouth just where I stood: my 10 Conscience too afflicted me; and as I thought, the Judge had always his eye upon me, shewing indignation in his countenance.

Then said the Interpreter to Christian, *Hast thou considered all these things?*

CHR. Yes, and they put me in *hope* and *fear*.

INTER. Well, keep all things so in thy mind, that they may be as a *Goad* in thy sides, to prick thee forward in the way thou must go. Then Christian began to gird up his loins, and to address himself to his Journey. Then said the Interpreter, 10 The Comforter be always with thee good Christian, to guide thee in the way that leads to the City.

So Christian went on his way, saying,

*Here have I seen things rare and profitable;
Things pleasant, dreadful; things to make me stable
In what I have began to take in hand:
Then let me think on them, and understand
Wherefore they shewed me was, and let me be
Thankful, O good Interpreter, to thee.*

112. 26. 1.

Now I saw in my Dream, that the highway up which 30 Christian was to go, was fenced on either side with a Wall, and that Wall is called *Salvation*. Up this way therefore did burdened Christian run, but not without great difficulty, because of the load on his back.

He ran thus till he came at a place somewhat ascending; and upon that place stood a *Cross*, and a little below in the bottom, a *Sepulchre*. So I saw in my Dream, that just as

Christian came up with the Cross, his burden loosed from off his Shoulders, and fell from off his back, and began to tumble; and so continued to do, till it came to the mouth of the Sepulchre, where it fell in, and I saw it no more.¹

Then was Christian glad and lightsome, and said with a merry heart, He hath given me rest, by his sorrow; and life, by his death. Then he stood still a while, to look and wonder; for it was very surprising to him, that the sight of the Cross should thus ease him of his burden. He looked therefore, and

When God releases us of our guilt and burden, we are as those that leap for joy.

*show
he is
weeping
(not
crying)
weeping* 10 looked again, even till the springs that were in his head sent the waters down his cheeks. Now as he stood looking and weeping, behold three shining ones came to him, and saluted him, with Peace be to thee: so the first said to him, Thy sins be forgiven. The second, stript him of his Rags, and clothed him with change of Raiment. The third also set a mark in his forehead, and gave him a Roll with a Seal upon it, which he bid him look on as he ran, and that he should give it in at the Cœlestial Gate; so they went their way. Then Christian gave three leaps for joy, and went on singing,

Zech. 12. 10

Mark 2. 5

Zech. 3. 4

Ephes. 1. 13

20 *Thus far did I come loaden with my sin;
Nor could ought ease the grief that I was in,
Till I came hither: What a place is this!
Must here be the beginning of my bliss?
Must here the burden fall from off my back?
Must here the strings that bound it to me crack?
Blest Cross! blest Sepulchre! blest rather be
The Man that there was put to shame for me.*

A Christian can sing thus alone, when God doth give him the joy of his heart.

I saw then in my Dream that he went on *thus*, even until he came at a bottom, where he saw, a little out of the way, 30 three Men fast asleep with Fetters upon their heels. The name of the one was Simple, another Sloth, and the third Presumption.

*Simple,
Sloth, and
Presump-
tion.*

Christian then seeing them lie in this case, went to them, if

1 Who's this; the Pilgrim. How! 'tis very true.
O! things are past away, all's become new.
Strange! he's another man upon my word,
They be fine Feathers that make a fine Bird.

peradventure he might awake them. And cried, You are like them that sleep on the top of a Mast, for the dead Sea is under you, a Gulf that hath no bottom. Awake therefore and come away; be willing also, and I will help you off with your Irons. He also told them, If he that goeth about like a roaring Lion comes by, you will certainly become a prey to his teeth. With that they lookt upon him, and began to reply in this sort: *Simple* said, *I see no danger*; *Sloth* said, *Yet a little more sleep*: and *Presumption* said, *Every Fatt must stand upon his own bottom*. And so they lay down to sleep again, and 10 *Christian* went on his way.

There is no persuasion will do, if God openeth not the eyes.

Yet was he troubled to think that men in that danger should so little esteem the kindness of him that so freely offered to help them; both by awakening of them, counseling of them, and proffering to help them off with their Irons. And as he was troubled thereabout, he espied two Men come tumbling over the Wall, on the left hand of the narrow way; and they made up apace to him. The name of the one was *Formalist*, and the name of the other *Hypocrisy*. So, as I said, they drew up unto him, who thus entered with 20 them into discourse.

Christian walked with them.

CHR. *Gentlemen, Whence came you, and whither do you go?*

FORM. and HYP. We were born in the land of Vain-glory, and are going for praise to Mount Sion.

CHR. *Why came you not in at the Gate which standeth at the beginning of the way? Know you not that it is written, That he that cometh not in by the door, but climbeth up some other way, the same is a thief and a robber?*

John 10. 1.

FORM. and HYP. They said, That to go to the Gate for entrance, was by all their Countrymen counted too far 30 about; and that therefore their usual way was to make a short cut of it, and to climb over the wall as they had done.

CHR. *But will it not be counted a Trespass against the Lord of the City whither we are bound, thus to violate his revealed will?*

They that come into the way, but not by the

FORM. and HYP. They told him, That as for that, he needed not to trouble his head thereabout: for what they did, they had custom for; and could produce, if need were,

Testimony that would witness it, for more than a thousand years. door, think that they can say something in vindication of their own Practice.

CHR. But, said Christian, will your practice stand a Trial at Law?

FORM. and HYP. They told him, That Custom, it being of so long a standing, as above a thousand years, would doubtless now be admitted as a thing legal, by an Impartial Judge. And besides, said they, if we get into the way, what's matter which way we get in? If we are in, we are in: thou art but in the way, who, as we perceive, came in at the Gate; and we are also in the way, that came tumbling over the wall. Wherein now is thy condition better than ours?

CHR. I walk by the Rule of my Master, you walk by the rude working of your fancies. You are counted thieves already, by the Lord of the way; therefore I doubt you will not be found true men at the end of the way. You come in by yourselves without his direction, and shall go out by yourselves without his mercy.

20 To this they made him but little answer; only they bid him look to himself. Then I saw that they went on every man in his way, without much conference one with another; save that these two men told Christian, That, as to Laws and Ordinances, they doubted not but they should as conscientiously do them as he. Therefore said they, We see not wherein thou differest from us, but by the Coat that is on thy back, which was, as we tro, given thee by some of thy Neighbors, to hide the shame of thy nakedness.

CHR. By Laws and Ordinances, you will not be saved, Gal. 2. 16. 30 since you came not in by the door. And as for this Coat that is on my back, it was given me by the Lord of the place whither I go; and that, as you say, to cover my nakedness. And I take it as a token of his kindness to me, for I had nothing but rags before. And besides, thus I comfort myself as I go: Surely, think I, when I come to the Gate of the City, the Lord thereof will know me for good, since I have his Coat on my back; a Coat that he gave me freely in the day that he stript me of my rags. I have Christian has got his Lord's Coat on his back, and is comforted thereby; he is also with his Mark and his Roll.

moreover a mark in my forehead, of which perhaps you have taken no notice, which one of my Lords most intimate Associates, fixed there in the day that my burden fell off my shoulders. I will tell you moreover, that I had then given me a Roll sealed to comfort me by reading, as I go in the way; I was also bid to give it in at the Cœlestial Gate, in token of my certain going in after it: all which things I doubt you want, and want them because you came not in at the Gate.

Christian
has talk
with him-
self.

To these things they gave him no answer, only they looked 10 upon each other and *laugbed*. Then I saw that they went on all, save that *Christian* kept before, who had no more talk but with himself, and that sometimes sighingly, and sometimes comfortably: also he would be often reading in the Roll that one of the shining ones gave him, by which he was refreshed.

He comes to
the Hill
Difficulty.

I beheld then, that they all went on till they came to the foot of the Hill *Difficulty*, at the bottom of which was a Spring. There was also in the same place two other ways besides that which came straight from the Gate; one turned 20 to the left hand, and the other to the right, at the bottom of the Hill: but the narrow way lay right up the Hill (and the name of the going up the side of the Hill, is called *Difficulty*.)

1sa. 49. 26.

Christian now went to the Spring and drank thereof to refresh himself, and then began to go up the Hill; saying,

*This Hill, though high, I covet to ascend;
The difficulty will not me offend;
For I perceive the way to life lies here;
Come, pluck up, Heart; lets neither faint nor fear:
Better, tho' difficult, th'right way to go,
Than wrong, though easy, where the end is wo.*

30

The other two also came to the foot of the Hill. But when they saw that the Hill was steep and high, and that there was two other ways to go; and supposing also, that these two ways might meet again with that up which *Christian* went, on the other side of the Hill; therefore they were resolved to go in those ways (now the name of one of those ways was

Danger, and the name of the other *Destruction*.) So the one took the way which is called *Danger*, which led him into a great Wood; and the other took directly up the way to *Destruction*, which led him into a wide field full of dark Mountains, where he stumbled and fell, and rose no more.¹

I looked then after *Christian*, to see him go up the Hill, where I perceived he fell from running to going, and from going to clambering upon his hands and his knees, because of the steepness of the place. Now about the midway to the top of the Hill, was a pleasant *Arbor*, made by the Lord of the Hill, for the refreshing of weary Travellers. Thither therefore *Christian* got, where also he sat down to rest him. Then he pull'd his Roll out of his bosom and read therein to his comfort; he also now began afresh to take a review of the Coat or Garment that was given him as he stood by the Cross. Thus pleasing himself a while, he at last fell into a slumber, and thence into a fast sleep, which detained him in that place until it was almost night, and in his sleep his Roll fell out of his hand. Now as he was sleeping, there came one to him, and awaked him saying, *Go to the Ant, thou sluggard, consider her ways and be wise.* And with that *Christian* suddenly started up, and sped him on his way, and went apace till he came to the top of the Hill.

Now when he was got up to the top of the Hill, there came two men running against him amain; the name of the one was *Timorous*, and the name of the other *Mistrust*, to whom *Christian* said, Sirs, what's the matter you run the wrong way? *Timorous* answered, That they were going to the City of *Zion*, and had got up that *difficult* place; but, said he, the further we go, the more danger we meet with, wherefore we turned, and are going back again.

Yes, said *Mistrust*, for just before us lie a couple of Lions in the way, (whether sleeping or waking we know not); and

¹ Shall they who wrong begin yet rightly end?
Shall they at all have safety for their friend?
No, no, in headstrong manner they set out,
And how long will they fall at last no doubt.

we could not think, if we came within reach, but they would presently pull us to pieces.

CHR. Then said *Christian*, You make me afraid, but whither shall I fly to be safe? If I go back to mine own Country, *That* is prepared for Fire and Brimstone; and I shall certainly perish there. If I can get to the Cœlestial City, I am sure to be in safety there. I must venture. To go back is nothing but death; to go forward is fear of death, and life everlasting beyond it. I will yet go forward. So *Mistrust* and *Timorous* ran down the Hill; and *Christian* went on his way. But ¹⁰

7 *Christian shakes off fear.*

Christian missed his Roll where-in he used to take Comfort.

He is perplexed for his Roll.

which used to relieve him, and that which should have been his Pass into the Cœlestial City. Here therefore he began to be much perplexed, and knew not what to do; at last he bethought himself that he had slept in the *Arbor* that is on the side of the Hill: and falling down upon his knees, he asked God forgiveness for that his foolish Fact; and then ²⁰ went back to look for his Roll. But all the way he went back, who can sufficiently set forth the sorrow of *Christians* heart? sometimes he sighed, sometimes he wept, and often times he chid himself, for being so foolish to fall asleep in that place which was erected only for a little refreshment from his weariness. Thus therefore he went back; carefully looking on this side and on that, all the way as he went, if happily he might find his Roll, that had been his comfort so many times in his Journey. He went thus till he came again within sight of the *Arbor*, where he sat and slept; but that sight renewed ³⁰

Christian bewails his foolish sleeping.
Rev. 2. 5.
1 Thess. 5.
7. 8.

his sorrow the more, by bringing again, even afresh, his evil of sleeping into his mind. Thus therefore he now went on bemoaning his sinful sleep, saying, *O wretched Man that I am*, that I should sleep in the day-time! that I should sleep in the midst of difficulty! that I should so indulge the flesh, as to use *that* rest for ease to my flesh, which the Lord of the Hill hath erected only for the relief of the spirits of Pilgrims! How many steps have I took in vain! (Thus it happened to

Israel for their sin, they were sent back again by the way of the Red-Sea.) and I am made to tread those steps with sorrow, which I might have trod with delight, had it not been for this sinful sleep. How far might I have been on my way by this time! I am made to tread those steps thrice over, which I needed not to have trod but once: Yea now also I am like to be benighted, for the day is almost spent. O that I had not slept! Now by this time he was come to the *Arbor* again, where for awhile he sat down and wept, but at last (as *Cbristian* would have it) looking sorrowfully down under the Settle, there he espied his Roll; the which he with trembling and haste catch'd up, and put it into his bosom. But who can tell how joyful this Man was, when he had gotten his Roll again! For this Roll was the assurance of his life and acceptance at the desired Haven. Therefore he laid it up in his bosom, gave thanks to God for directing his eye to the place where it lay, and with joy and tears betook himself again to his Journey. But Oh how nimbly now did he go up the rest of the Hill! Yet before he got up, the Sun went down upon *Cbristian*; and this made him again recall the vanity of his sleeping to his remembrance, and thus he again began to condole with himself: *Ob tbou sinful sleep! how for thy sake am I like to be benighted in my Journey! I must walk without the Sun, darkness must cover the path of my feet, and I must bear the noise of doleful Creatures, because of my sinful sleep!* Now also he remembered the story that *Mistrust* and *Timorous* told him of, how they were frightened with the sight of the Lions. Then said *Cbristian* to himself again, These Beasts range in the night for their prey, and if they should meet with me in the dark, how should I shift them? how should I escape being by them torn in pieces? Thus he went on his way, but while he was thus bewailing his unhappy miscarriage, he lift up his eyes, and behold there was a very stately Palace before him, the name of which was *Beautiful*, and it stood just by the Highway side.

So I saw in my Dream, that he made haste and went forward, that if possible he might get Lodging there; now before he had gone far, he entered into a very narrow passage,

*Christian:
Andeth he:
Roll where
he lost it.*

which was about a furlong off of the Porter's Lodge, and looking very narrowly before him as he went, he espied two Lions in the way. Now, thought he, I see the dangers that *Mistrust* and *Timorous* were driven back by. (The Lions were chained, but he saw not the Chains.) Then he was afraid, and thought also himself to go back after them, for he thought nothing but death was before him. But the *Porter* at the Lodge, whose Name is *Watchful*, perceiving that *Christian* made a halt, as if he would go back, cried unto him, saying, Is thy strength so small? fear not the Lions, for they are 10 chained: and are placed there for trial of faith where it is; and for discovery of those that have none: keep in the midst 7 of the Path, and no hurt shall come unto thee.

Then I saw that he went on, trembling for fear of the Lions; but taking good heed to the directions of the *Porter*; he heard them roar, but they did him no harm. Then he clapt his hands, and went on, till he came and stood before the Gate where the *Porter* was¹. Then said *Christian* to the *Porter*, Sir, What house is this? and may I lodge here to night? The *Porter* answered, This House was built by the 20 Lord of the Hill, and he built it for the relief and security of Pilgrims. The *Porter* also asked whence he was, and whither he was going?

CHR. I am come from the City of *Destruction*, and am going to Mount *Zion*, but because the Sun is now set, I desire, if I may, to lodge here to night.

POR. *What is your name?*

CHR. My name is now *Christian*; but my name at the first was *Graceless*: I came of the Race of *Japhet*, whom God will 30 perswade to dwell in the Tents of *Shem*.

Gen. 9. 27.

POR. *But how doth it happen that you come so late? the Sun is set.*

CHR. I had been here sooner, but that, wretched man that I am! I slept in the *Arbor* that stands on the Hill side; nay,

¹ Difficult is behind, Fear is before,
Though he's got on the Hill, the Lions roar;
A Christian man is never long at ease,
When one fright's gone, another doth him seize.

I had notwithstanding that, been here much sooner, but that in my sleep I lost my evidence, and came without it to the brow of the Hill; and then feeling for it, and finding it not, I was forced with sorrow of heart to go back to the place where I slept my sleep, where I found it, and now I am come.

POR. Well, I will call out one of the Virgins of this place, who will, if she likes your talk, bring you in to the rest of the Family, according to the Rules of the House. So *Watchful* 10 the *Porter* rang a Bell, at the sound of which came out at the door of the House a grave and beautiful Damsel, named *Discretion*, and asked why she was called.

The *Porter* answered, This Man is in a Journey from the City of *Destruction* to Mount *Zion*, but being weary, and benighted, he asked me if he might lodge here to night; so I told him I would call for thee, who, after discourse had with him, mayest do as seemeth thee good, even according to the Law of the House.

Then she asked him whence he was, and whither he was 20 going, and he told her. She asked him also, how he got into the way, and he told her. Then she asked him, What he had seen, and met with in the way, and he told her; and last, she asked his name, so he said, It is *Cbristian*; and I have so much the more a desire to lodge here tonight, because, by what I perceive, this place was built by the Lord of the Hill, for the relief and security of Pilgrims. So she smiled, but the water stood in her eyes: and after a little pause, she said, I will call forth two or three more of the Family. So she ran to the door, and called out *Prudence*, *Piety*, and *Cbarity*, who after a 30 little more discourse with him, had him in to the Family; and many of them meeting him at the threshold of the house, said, Come in thou blessed of the Lord; this House was built by the Lord of the Hill, on purpose to entertain such Pilgrims in. Then he bowed his head, and followed them into the House. So when he was come in, and set down, they gave him something to drink; and consented together that until supper was ready, some of them should have some particular discourse with *Cbristian*, for the best improvement

of time: and they appointed *Piety*, and *Prudence*, and *Charity*, to discourse with him; and thus they began.

Piety discourses him.

PI. Come good Christian, since we have been so loving to you, to receive you into our House this night; let us, if perhaps we may better ourselves thereby, talk with you of all things that have happened to you in your Pilgrimage.

CHR. With a very good will, and I am glad that you are so well disposed.

PI. What moved you at first to betake yourself to a Pilgrims life?

How Christian was driven out of his own Country.

CHR. I was driven out of my Native Country, by a dreadful sound that was in mine ears, to wit, That unavoidable destruction did attend me, if I abode in that place where I was.

PI. But how did it happen that you came out of your Country this way?

How he got into the Way to Zion.

CHR. It was as God would have it, for when I was under the fears of destruction, I did not know whither to go; but by chance there came a man, even to me, (as I was trembling and weeping) whose name is *Evangelist*, and he directed me to the Wicket-Gate, which else I should never have found; and so set me into the way that hath led me directly to this House.

PI. But did you not come by the House of the Interpreter?

A rehearsal of what he saw in the way.

CHR. Yes, and did see such things there, the remembrance of which will stick by me as long as I live; specially three things, to wit, How Christ, in despite of Satan, maintains his work of Grace in the heart; how the Man had sinned himself quite out of hopes of Gods mercy; and also the Dream of him that thought in his sleep the day of Judgment was come.

PI. Why? Did you hear him tell his Dream?

CHR. Yes, and a dreadful one it was. I thought it made my heart ake as he was telling of it; but yet I am glad I heard it.

PI. Was that all that you saw at the House of the Interpreter?

CHR. No, he took me and had me where he shewed me a stately Palace, and how the People were clad in Gold that were in it; and how there came a venturous Man, and cut his

way through the armed men that stood in the door to keep him out; and how he was bid to come in, and win eternal Glory. Methought those things did ravish my heart; I would have stayed at that good Mans house a twelvemonth, but that I knew I had further to go.

PI. *And what saw you else in the way?*

CHR. Saw! Why I went but a little further, and I saw one, as I thought in my mind, hang bleeding upon the Tree; and the very sight of him made my burden fall off my back
 10 (for I groaned under a heavy burden) but then it fell down from off me. 'Twas a strange thing to me, for I never saw such a thing before: yea, and while I stood looking up, (for then I could not forbear looking) three shining ones came to me: one of them testified that my sins were forgiven me; another stript me of my rags, and gave me this brodered Coat which you see: and the third set the mark which you see, in my forehead, and gave me this sealed Roll (and with that he plucked it out of his bosom.)

PI. *But you saw more than this, did you not?*

20 CHR. The things that I have told you were the best: yet some other matters I saw, as namely I saw three Men, *Simple*, *Sloth*, and *Presumption*, lie asleep a little out of the way as I came, with Irons upon their heels; but do you think I could awake them? I also saw *Formalist* and *Hypocrisy* come tumbling over the wall, to go, as they pretended, to *Sion*, but they were quickly lost; even as I myself did tell them, but they would not believe. But, above all, I found it *hard* work to get up this Hill, and as *hard* to come by the Lions mouth; and truly if it had not been for the good Man, the Porter
 30 that stands at the Gate, I do not know but that, after all, I might have gone back again: but now I thank God I am here, and I thank you for receiving of me.

Then *Prudence* thought good to ask him a few questions, and desired his answer to them.

PRU. *Do you not think sometimes of the Country from whence you come?*

CHR. Yes, but with much shame and detestation; Truly,
 if I had been mindful of that Country from whence I came out,

Prudence discerns him. Christians thoughts of his Native Country. Heb. 11. 15. 16.

I might have had opportunity to have returned, but now I desire a better Country, that is, an Heavenly.

PRU. *Do you not yet bear away with you some of the things that then you were conversant withal?*

Christian
distasted
with carnal
cogitations.

Christians
choice.
Rom. 7.

CHR. Yes, but greatly against my will; especially my inward and carnal cogitations; with which all my Country-men, as well as myself, were delighted; but now all those things are my grief: and might I but chuse mine own things, I would chuse never to think of those things more; but when I would be doing of that which is best, that which is worst is 10 with me.

PRU. *Do you not find sometimes, as if those things were vanquished, which at other times are your perplexity?*

Christians
golden
hours.

CHR. Yes, but that is but seldom; but they are to me golden hours, in which such things happen to me.

PRU. *Can you remember by what means you find your annoyances at times, as if they were vanquished?*

How Chris-
tian gets
power
against his
corruptions.

CHR. Yes, when I think what I saw at the Cross, that will do it; and when I look upon my brodered Coat, that will do it; also when I look into the Roll that I carry in my bosom, 20 that will do it; and when my thoughts wax warm about whither I am going, that will do it.

PRU. *And what is it that makes you so desirous to go to Mount Zion?*

Why Chris-
tian would
be at Mount
Zion.

Isa. 95. 8.
Rev. 21. 4.

CHR. Why, there I hope to see him *alive*, that did hang *dead* on the Cross; and there I hope to be rid of all those things, that to this day are in me an annoyance to me; there they say there is no death, and there I shall dwell with such Company as I like best. For to tell you truth, I love him, because I was by him eased of my burden, and I am weary of 30 my inward sickness; I would fain be where I shall die no more, and with the Company that shall continually cry *Holy, Holy, Holy*.

Charity dis-
courses him.

Then said Charity to Christian, *Have you a family? are you a married man?*

CHR. I have a Wife and four small Children.

CHA. *And why did you not bring them along with you?*

Christians
love to his

CHR. Then Christian wept, and said, Oh how willingly

would I have done it, but they were all of them utterly averse Wife and Children.
to my going on Pilgrimage.

CHA. *But you should have talked to them, and have endeavoured to have shewen them the danger of being behind.*

CHR. So I did, and told them also what God had shewed to me of the destruction of our City; but I seemed to them as Gen. 19. 14.
one that mocked, and they believed me not.

CHA. *And did you pray to God that he would bless your counsel to them?*

10 CHR. Yes, and that with much affection; for you must think that my Wife and poor Children were very dear unto me.

CHA. *But did you tell them of your own sorrow, and fear of destruction? for I suppose that destruction was visible enough to you?*

CHR. Yes, over, and over, and over. They might also see Christian's fears of perishing might be read in his very countenance.
my fears in my countenance, in my tears, and also in my trembling under the apprehension of the Judgment that did hang over our heads; but all was not sufficient to prevail with
20 them to come with me.

CHA. *But what could they say for themselves why they came not?*

CHR. Why, my Wife was afraid of losing this World; and my Children were given to the foolish delights of youth: so The cause why his Wife and Children did not go with him.
what by one thing, and what by another, they left me to wander in this manner alone.

CHA. *But did you not with your vain life, damp all that you by words used by way of persuasion to bring them away with you?*

30 CHR. Indeed I cannot commend my life; for I am conscious to myself of many failings: therein, I know also that a man by his conversation, may soon overthrow what by argument or persuasion he doth labour to fasten upon others for their good: Yet, this I can say, I was very wary of giving them occasion, by any unseemly action, to make them averse to going on Pilgrimage. Yea, for this very thing, they would tell me I was too precise, and that I denied myself of sins Christian's good conversation before his Wife and Children.
(for their sakes) in which they saw no evil. Nay, I think

I may say, that, if what they saw in me did hinder them, it was my great tenderness in sinning against God, or of doing any wrong to my Neighbor.

1 John 3. 12.
Christian
clear of
their blood
if they
perish.
Ezek. 3. 19.

CHA. *Indeed, Cain hated his Brother, because his own works were evil, and his Brother's righteous; and if thy Wife and Children have been offended with thee for this, they thereby shew themselves to be implacable to good; and thou hast delivered thy soul from their blood.*

What Chris-
tian had to
his supper.
Their talk
at supper
time.

Now I saw in my Dream, that thus they sat talking together until supper was ready. So when they had made ready, they sat down to meat; Now the Table was furnished with fat things, and with Wine that was well refined; and all their talk at the Table, was about the LORD of the Hill: As namely, about what HE had done, and wherefore HE did what HE did, and why HE had builded that House: and by what they said, I perceived that HE had been a *great Warrior*, and had fought with and slain him that had the power of Death, but not without great danger to himself, which made me love him the more.

Heb. 2. 14.
15

For, as they said, and as I believe (said *Christian*) he did it ²⁰ with the loss of much blood; but that which put Glory of Grace into all he did, was, that he did it of pure love to his Country. And besides, there were some of them of the Household that said they had seen and spoke with him since he did die on the Cross; and they have attested, that they had it from his own lips, that he is such a lover of poor Pilgrims, that the like is not to be found from the East to the West.

Christ
makes
Princes of
Beggars.
1 Sam. 2. 8.
Ps. 113. 7.

They moreover gave an instance of what they affirmed, and that was, He had stript himself of his glory that he might do ³⁰ this for the Poor; and that they heard him say and affirm, That he would not dwell in the Mountain of *Zion* alone. They said moreover, That he had made many Pilgrims Princes, though by nature they were Beggars born, and their original had been the Dunghil.

Thus they discoursed together till late at night, and after they had committed themselves to their Lord for Protection, they betook themselves to rest. The Pilgrim they laid in

a large upper Chamber, whose window opened towards the Christians
 Sunrising; the name of the Chamber was *Peace*, where he ^{Red-chamber.}
 slept till break of day; and then he awoke and sang,

*Where am I now! is this the love and care
 Of Jesus for the men that Pilgrims are!
 Thus to provide! That I should be forgiven!
 And dwell already the next door to Heaven!*

So in the Morning they all got up, and after some more discourse, they told him that he should not depart, till they
 10 had shewed him the *Rarities* of that place. And first they had him into the Study, where they shewed him Records of the
 greatest Antiquity; in which, as I remember my Dream, they ^{Christian}
 shewed him first the Pedigree of the Lord of the Hill, that he ^{had into the Study, and what he saw there.}
 was the Son of the Ancient of Days, and came by an eternal Generation. Here also was more fully recorded the Acts that he had done, and the names of many hundreds that he had taken into his service; and how he had placed them in such Habitations that could neither by length of Days, nor decays of Nature, be dissolved.

20 Then they read to him some of the worthy Acts that some of his Servants had done. As how they had subdued Kingdoms, wrought Righteousness, obtained Promises, stopped the mouths of Lions, quenched the violence of Fire, escaped the edge of
 the Sword; out of weakness were made strong, waxed valiant ^{Heb. 11. 33.}
 in fight, and turned to flight the Armies of the *Aliens*. 34

Then they read again in another part of the Records of the House, where it was shewed how willing their Lord was to receive into his favour any, even any, though they in time past had offered great affronts to his Person and proceedings.
 30 Here also were several other Histories of many other famous things, of all which *Christian* had a view. As of things both Ancient and Modern; together with Prophecies and Predictions of things that have their certain accomplishment, both to the dread and amazement of enemies, and the comfort and solace of Pilgrims.

The next day they took him and had him into the Armory; ^{Christian}
 where they shewed him all manner of Furniture, which their ^{had into the Armory.}

Lord had provided for Pilgrims, as Sword, Shield, Helmet, Breast plate, *All Prayer*, and Shoes that would not wear out. And there was here enough of this to harness out as many men for the service of their Lord, as there be Stars in the Heaven for multitude.

Christian is
made to see
Ancient
Things.

They also shewed him some of the Engines with which some of his Servants had done wonderful things. They shewed him *Moses's* Rod, the Hammer and Nail with which *Jael* slew *Sisera*, the Pitchers, Trumpets, and Lamps too, with which *Gideon* put to flight the Armies of *Midian*. Then they shewed to him the Ox's goad wherewith *Sbamgar* slew six hundred men. They shewed him also the Jaw bone with which *Samson* did such mighty feats; they shewed him moreover the Sling and Stone with which *David* slew *Goliath* of *Gath*: and the Sword also with which their Lord will kill the Man of Sin, in the day that he shall rise up to the prey. They shewed him besides many excellent things, with which *Christian* was much delighted. This done, they went to their rest again.

Christian
shewed the
delectable
Mountains.

Isa. 33. 16,
17.

Then I saw in my Dream, that on the morrow he got up to go forwards, but they desired him to stay till the next day 20 also, and then said they, we will, (if the day be clear,) shew you the delectable Mountains, which they said, would yet further add to his comfort, because they were nearer the desired Haven than the place where at present he was. So he consented and staid. When the Morning was up they had him to the top of the House, and bid him look South, so he did; and behold at a great distance he saw a most pleasant Mountainous Country, beautified with Woods, Vineyards, Fruits of all sorts; Flowers also, with Springs and Fountains, very delectable to behold. Then he asked the name of the 30 Country, they said it was *Immanuels Land*; and it is as common, said they, as this *Hill* is, to and for all the Pilgrims. And when thou comest there, from thence, said they, thou mayest see to the Gate of the Cœlestial City, as the Shepherds that live there will make appear.

Christian
sets for-
ward.

Now he bethought himself of setting forward, and they were willing he should: but first, said they, let us go again into the Armory. So they did; and when he came there, they

harnessed him from head to foot with what was of proof, lest perhaps he should meet with assaults in the way. He being therefore thus accoutred walketh out with his friends to the Gate, and there he asked the *Porter* if he saw any Pilgrims pass by, Then the *Porter* answered, Yes.

CHR. Pray did you know him? said he.

POR. I asked his name, and he told me it was *Faithful*.

CHR. O, said *Christian*, I know him, he is my Townsman, my near Neighbor, he comes from the place where I was born: how far do you think he may be before?

POR. He is got by this time below the Hill.

CHR. Well, said *Christian*, good *Porter*, the Lord be with thee, and add to all thy blessings much increase, for the kindness that thou hast shewed to me.

Then he began to go forward, but *Discretion*, *Piety*, *Charity*, and *Prudence*, would accompany him down to the foot of the Hill. So they went on together, reiterating their former discourses till they came to go down the Hill. Then said *Christian*, As it was *difficult* coming up, so (so far as I can see) it is *dangerous* going down. Yes, said *Prudence*, so it is; for it is an hard matter for a man to go down into the valley of *Humiliation*, as thou art now, and to catch no slip by the way; therefore, said they, are we come out to accompany thee down the Hill. So he began to go down, but very warily, yet he caught a slip or too¹.

Then I saw in my Dream, that these good Companions, (when *Christian* was gone down to the bottom of the Hill,) gave him a loaf of Bread, a bottle of Wine, and a cluster of Raisins; and then he went on his way.

30 But now in this Valley of *Humiliation* poor *Christian* was hard put to it, for he had gone but a little way before he espied a foul *Fiend* coming over the field to meet him; his name is *Apollyon*. Then did *Christian* begin to be afraid, and to cast in his mind whether to go back, or to stand his ground.

¹ Whilst *Christian* is among his godly friends,
Their golden mouths make him sufficient 'mends,
For all his griefs, and when they let him go,
He's clad with northern steel from top to toe.

Christian no
Armor for
his back.

Christians
resolution
on the ap-
proach of
Apollyon.

But he considered again, that he had no Armor for his back, and therefore thought that to turn the back to him might give him greater advantage with ease to pierce him with his Darts; therefore he resolved to venture, and stand his ground. For thought he, had I no more in mine eye than the saving of my life, 'twould be the best way to stand.

So he went on, and *Apollyon* met him. Now the Monster was hideous to behold, he was cloathed with scales like a Fish (and they are his pride) he had Wings like a Dragon, feet like a Bear, and out of his belly came Fire and Smoke, and his mouth was as the mouth of a Lion. When he was come up to *Christian*, he beheld him with a disdainful countenance, and thus began to question with him.

APOL. *Whence come you, and whither are you bound?*

Discourse
between
Christian
and Apol-
lyon.

CHR. I am come from the City of *Destruction*, which is the place of all evil, and am going to the City of *Zion*.

APOL. *By this I perceive thou art one of my Subjects, for all that Country is mine; and I am the Prince and God of it. How is it then that thou hast ran away from thy King? Were it not that I hope thou mayest do me more service, I would strike thee now at one blow to the ground.*

Rom. 6. 23.

CHR. I was born indeed in your Dominions, but your service was hard, and your wages such as a man could not live on, for the wages of *Sin* is death; therefore when I was come to years, I did as other considerate persons do, look out if perhaps I might mend my self.

Apollyons
flattery.

APOL. *There is no Prince that will thus lightly lose his Subjects, neither will I as yet lose thee. But since thou complainest of thy service and wages be content to go back; what our Country will afford, I do here promise to give thee.* 30

CHR. But I have let myself to another, even to the King of Princes, and how can I with fairness go back with thee?

Apollyon
undervalues
Christ's
service.

APOL. *Thou hast done in this, according to the Proverb, changed a bad for a worse: but it is ordinary for those that have professed themselves his Servants, after a while to give him the slip, and return again to me: do thou so to, and all shall be well.*

CHR. I have given him my faith, and sworn my Allegiance

to him; how then can I go back from this, and not be hanged as a Traitor?

APOL. *Thou didst the same to me, and yet I am willing to pass by all, if now thou wilt yet turn again, and go back.* Apollyon pretends to be incredul.

CHR. What I promised thee was in my nonage; and besides, I count that the Prince under whose Banner now I stand, is able to absolve me; yea, and to pardon also what I did as to my compliance with thee: and besides, (O thou destroying Apollyon) to speak truth, I like his Service, his

10 Wages, his Servants, his Government, his Company, and Country better than thine: and therefore leave off to persuade me further, I am his Servant, and I will follow him.

APOL. *Consider again when thou art in cool blood, what thou art like to meet with in the way that thou goest. Thou knowest that for the most part, his Servants come to an ill end, because they are transgressors against me, and my ways. How many of them have been put to shameful deaths! and besides, thou countest his service better than mine, whereas he never came yet from the place where he is, to deliver any that served him out of our hands; but as for me, how many times, as all the World very well knows, have I delivered, either by power or fraud, those that have faithfully served me, from him and his, though taken by them, and so I will deliver thee.* Apollyon pleads the grievous ends of Christians to dissuade Christian from persisting in his way.

20

CHR. His forbearing at present to deliver them, is on purpose to try their love, whether they will cleave to him to the end: and as for the ill end thou sayest they come to, that is most glorious in their account. For for present deliverance, they do not much expect it; for they stay for their Glory, and then they shall have it, when their Prince

30 comes in his, and the Glory of the Angels.

APOL. *Thou hast already been unfaithful in thy service to him, and how dost thou think to receive wages of him?*

CHR. Wherein, O Apollyon, have I been unfaithful to him?

APOL. *Thou didst faint at first setting out, when thou wast almost choked in the Gulf of Dispond; thou didst attempt wrong ways to be rid of thy burden, whereas thou shouldst have stayed till thy Prince had taken it off: thou didst sinfully sleep and lose thy choice thing: thou wast also almost persuaded to go back, at* Apollyon pleads Christian's infirmities against him.

the sight of the Lions; and when thou talkest of thy Journey, and of what thou hast heard, and seen, thou art inwardly desirous of vain-glory in all that thou sayest or doest.

CHR. All this is true, and much more, which thou hast left out; but the Prince whom I serve and honour, is merciful, and ready to forgive: but besides, these infirmities possessed me in thy Country, for there I suckt them in, and I have groaned under them, been sorry for them, and have obtained pardon of my Prince.

*Apollyon in
a rage falls
upon Chris-
tian*

APOL. Then *Apollyon* broke out into a grievous rage, ¹⁰ saying, *I am an Enemy to this Prince: I hate his Person, his Laws, and People: I am come out on purpose to withstand thee.*

CHR. *Apollyon* beware what you do, for I am in the King's Highway, the way of Holiness, therefore take heed to your self.

*Christian
wounded in
his under-
standing,
faith and
conversa-
tion.*

APOL. Then *Apollyon* straddled quite over the whole breadth of the way, and said, I am void of fear in this matter, prepare thy self to die, for I swear by my Infernal Den, that thou shalt go no further, here will I spill thy soul; and with that, he threw a flaming Dart at his breast, but *Christian* had a ²⁰ Shield in his hand, with which he caught it, and so prevented the danger of that. Then did *Christian* draw, for he saw 'twas time to bestir him; and *Apollyon* as fast made at him, throwing Darts as thick as Hail; by the which, notwithstanding all that *Christian* could do to avoid it, *Apollyon* wounded him in his head, his hand and foot; this made *Christian* give a little back: *Apollyon* therefore followed his work amain, and *Christian* again took courage, and resisted as manfully as he could. This sore combat lasted for above half a day, even till *Christian* was almost quite spent. For you must know ³⁰ that *Christian* by reason of his wounds, must needs grow weaker and weaker.

*Apollyon
casteth down
to the
ground
Christian.*

Then *Apollyon* espying his opportunity, began to gather up close to *Christian*, and wrestling with him, gave him a dreadful fall; and with that, *Christian's* Sword flew out of his hand. Then said *Apollyon*, *I am sure of thee now*; and with that, he had almost prest him to death, so that *Christian* began to despair of life. But as God would have it, while *Apollyon* was

fetching of his last blow, thereby to make a full end of this good Man, *Christian* nimbly reached out his hand for his Sword, and caught it, saying, *Rejoice not against me, O mine Enemy! when I fall, I shall arise*; and with that, gave him a deadly thrust, which made him give back, as one that had received his mortal wound: *Christian* perceiving that, made at him again, saying, *Nay, in all these things we are more than Conquerors, through him that loved us*. And with that, *Apollyon* spread forth his Dragon's wings, and sped him away, that
 10 *Christian* saw him no more¹.

*Christian's
victory over
Apollyon.
Mic. 7. 8.*

*Rom. 8. 37.
James 4. 7.*

In this Combat no man can imagine, unless he had seen and heard as I did, what yelling, and hideous roaring *Apollyon* made all the time of the fight, he spake like a Dragon: and on the other side, what sighs and groans brast from *Christian's* heart. I never saw him all the while give so much as one pleasant look, till he perceived he had wounded *Apollyon* with his two edged Sword, then indeed he did smile, and look upward: but 'twas the dreadfulest sight that ever I saw.

*A brief relation of the
Combat by
the spectator.*

So when the Battle was over, *Christian* said, I will here give
 20 thanks to him that hath delivered me out of the mouth of the Lion; to him that did help me against *Apollyon*: and so he did, saying,

*Christian
gives God
thanks for
deliverance.*

*Great Beelzebub, the Captain of this Fiend,
 Design'd my ruin: therefore to this end
 He sent him barnest out, and be with rage
 That Hellish wns, did fiercely me engage:
 But blessed Michael helped me, and I
 By dint of Savord, did quickly make him fly:
 Therefore to him let me give lasting praise,
 And thank and bless his holy name always.*

30

Then there came to him an hand, with some of the leaves of the Tree of Life, the which *Christian* took, and applied to the wounds that he had received in the Battle, and was healed immediately. He also sat down in that place to eat Bread,

¹ A more unequal match can hardly be.
Christian must fight an Angel; but you see,
 The valiant man by handling Sword and Shield,
 Doth make him, tho' a Dragon, quit the Field.

Christian
goes on his
Journey
with his
Sword
drawn in
his hand.
The Valley
of the
shadow of
Death.

Jer. 2. 6.

and to drink of the Bottle that was given him a little before; so being refreshed, he addressed himself to his Journey, with his Sword drawn in his hand, for he said, I know not but some other Enemy may be at hand. But he met with no other affront from *Apollyon*, quite through this Valley.

Now at the end of this Valley, was another, called the Valley of the *Shadow of Death*, and *Christian* must needs go through it, because the way to the *Cœlestial City* lay through the midst of it. Now this Valley is a very solitary place. The Prophet *Jeremiah* thus describes it, *A Wilderness, a Land of Desarts, and of Pits, a Land of Drought, and of the shadow of death, a Land that no man (but a Christian) passeth through, and where no man dwelt.*

Now here *Christian* was worse put to it than in his fight with *Apollyon*, as by the sequel you shall see.

I saw then in my Dream, that when *Christian* was got to the Borders of the Shadow of Death, there met him two Men, Children of them that brought up an evil report of the good Land, making haste to go back: to whom *Christian* spake as follows,

The Chil-
dren of the
Spirits go
back.
Numb. 13. 32.

20

CHR. *Whither are you going?*

MEN. They said, Back, back; and we would have you to do so too, if either life or peace is prized by you.

CHR. *Why? what's the matter?* said *Christian*.

MEN. Matter! said they; we were going that way as you are going, and went as far as we durst; and indeed we were almost past coming back, for had we gone a little further, we had not been here to bring the news to thee.

CHR. *But what have you met with,* said *Christian?*

MEN. Why we were almost in the Valley of the Shadow of Death, but that by good hap we looked before us, and saw the danger before we came to it.

CHR. *But what have you seen,* said *Christian?*

MEN. Seen! why the Valley itself, which is as dark as pitch; we also saw there the *Hobgoblins*, *Satyrs*, and *Dragons* of the Pit: we heard also in that Valley a continual howling and yelling, as of a People under unutterable misery, who there sat bound in affliction and Irons: and over that Valley

Ps. 44. 19.
Ps. 107. 10.

hangs the discouraging Clouds of confusion; death also doth
always spread his wings over it: in a word, it is every whit
dreadful, being utterly without Order. Job 1. 5.
Ch. 10. 22.

CHR. *Then said Christian, I perceive not yet, by what you have
said, but that this is my way to the desired Haven.* Jer. 2. 6.

MEN. Be it thy way, we will not chuse it for ours. So they
parted, and *Christian* went on his way, but still with his Sword
drawn in his hand, for fear lest he should be assaulted.

I saw then in my Dream, so far as this Valley reached,
there was on the right hand a very deep Ditch; that Ditch Ps. 124. 3.
is it into which the blind have led the blind in all Ages, and
have both there miserably perished. Again, behold on the
left hand, there was a very dangerous Quag, into which, if
even a good man falls, he can find no bottom for his foot to
stand on. Into that Quag King David *once did fall*, and had
no doubt therein been smothered, had not He that is able,
pluckt him out.

The path-way was here also exceeding narrow, and there-
fore good *Christian* was the more put to it; for when he
sought in the dark to shun the ditch on the one hand, he was
ready to tip over into the mire on the other; also when he
sought to escape the mire, without great carefulness he would
be ready to fall into the ditch. Thus he went on, and I
heard him here sigh bitterly: for besides the dangers men-
tioned above, the pathway was here so dark, that oftentimes
when he lift up his foot to set forward, he knew not where, or
upon what he should set it next.

About the midst of this Valley, I perceived the mouth of
Hell to be, and it stood also hard by the wayside¹: Now
thought *Christian*, what shall I do? And ever and anon the
flame and smoke would come out in such abundance, with
sparks and hideous noises, (things that cared not for *Christians*
Sword, as did *Apollyon* before) that he was forced to put up
his Sword, and betake himself to another weapon called *All-* Eph. 6. 12.
Prayer, so he cried in my hearing, *O Lord I beseech thee deliver* Ps. 116. 4.

¹ Poor man! where art thou now? thy day is night.
Good man be not cast down, thou yet art right.
Thy way to Heaven lies by the gates of Hell;
Cheer up, hold out, with thee it shall go well.

Christian
 out to a
 stand, but
 for a while.

my Soul. Thus he went on a great while, yet still the flames would be reaching towards him: also he heard doleful voices, and rushings to and fro, so that sometimes he thought he should be torn in pieces, or trodden down like mire in the Streets. This frightful sight was seen, and these dreadful noises were heard by him for several miles together: and coming to a place, where he thought he heard a company of *Fiends* coming forward to meet him, he stopt, and began to muse what he had best to do. Sometimes he had half a thought to go back. Then again he thought he might be half way through the Valley; he remembred also how he had already vanquished many a danger: and that the danger of going back might be much more than for to go forward; so he resolved to go on. Yet the *Fiends* seemed to come nearer and nearer; but when they were come even almost at him, he cried out with a most vehement voice, *I will walk in the strength of the Lord God*; so they gave back, and came no further.

Christian
 made be-
 lieve that he
 spake blas-
 phemies,
 when thus
 Satan that
 suggested
 them into
 his mind.

One thing I would not let slip, I took notice that now poor *Christian* was so confounded, that he did not know his own voice; and thus I perceived it. Just when he was come over against the mouth of the burning Pit, one of the wicked ones got behind him, and stept up softly to him, and whisperingly suggested many grievous blasphemies to him, which he verily thought had proceeded from his own mind. This put *Christian* more to it than any thing that he met with before, even to think that he should now blaspheme him that he loved so much before; yet could he have helped it, he would not have done it: but he had not the discretion neither to stop his ears, nor to know from whence those blasphemies came.

P. 23. 4.

When *Christian* had travelled in this disconsolate condition some considerable time, he thought he heard the voice of a man, as going before him, saying, *Though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear none ill, for thou art with me.*

Then was he glad, and that for these reasons:

First, Because he gathered from thence that some who feared God were in this Valley as well as himself.

Secondly, For that he perceived God was with them, Job 9. 10. though in that dark and dismal state; and why not, thought he, with me? though by reason of the impediment that attends this place, I cannot perceive it.

Thirdly, For that he hoped (could he overtake them) to have company by and by. So he went on, and called to him that was before, but he knew not what to answer, for that he also thought himself to be alone. And by and by, the day broke: then said *Christian*, *He hath turned the shadow of death* Christian glad at break of d. 13. Amos 5. 8.
 10 *into the morning.*

Now morning being come, he looked back, not of desire to return, but to see, by the light of the day, what hazards he had gone through in the dark. So he saw more perfectly the Ditch that was on the one hand, and the Quag that was on the other; also how narrow the way was which lay betwixt them both; also now he saw the Hobgoblins, and Satyrs, and Dragons of the Pit, but all afar of; for after break of day, they came not nigh; yet they were discovered to him, according to that which is written, *He discovereth deep things* Job 12. 22.
 20 *out of darkness, and bringeth out to light the shadow of death.*

Now was *Christian* much affected with his deliverance from all the dangers of his solitary way, which dangers, though he feared them more before, yet he saw them more clearly now, because the light of the day made them conspicuous to him. And about this time the Sun was rising, and this was another mercy to *Christian*: for you must note, that though the first part of the Valley of the Shadow of death was dangerous, yet this second part which he was yet to go, was, if possible, far
 30 *more dangerous*: for from the place where he now stood, The second part of this Valley very dangerous. even to the end of the Valley, the way was all along set so full of Snares, Traps, Gins, and Nets here, and so full of Pits, Pitfalls, deep Holes and Shelvings down there, that had it now been dark, as it was when he came the first part of the way, had he had a thousand souls, they had in reason been cast away; but as I said, just now the Sun was rising. Then said he, *His candle shineth on my head, and by his light I go through* Job 29. 3.
darkness.

In this light therefore he came to the end of the Valley. Now I saw in my Dream, that at the end of this Valley lay blood, bones, ashes, and mangled bodies of men, even of Pilgrims that had gone this way formerly: And while I was musing what should be the reason, I espied a little before me a Cave, where two Giants, *Pope* and *Pagan*, dwelt in old time, by whose Power and Tyranny the Men whose bones, blood, ashes, &c. lay there, were cruelly put to death. But by this place *Christian* went without much danger, whereat I somewhat wondered; but I have learnt since, that *Pagan* has been 10 dead many a day; and as for the other, though he be yet alive, he is by reason of age, and also of the many shrewd brushes that he met with in his younger days, grown so crazy, and stiff in his joints, that he can now do little more than sit in his Cave's mouth, grinning at Pilgrims as they go by, and biting his nails, because he cannot come at them.

So I saw that *Christian* went on his way, yet at the sight of the *old Man*, that sat in the mouth of the *Cave*, he could not tell what to think, specially because he spake to him, though he could not go after him; saying, *You will never mend, till 20 more of you be burned*: but he held his peace, and set a good face on't, and so went by, and catcht no hurt. Then sang *Christian*,

*O world of wonders! (I can say no less)
That I should be preserv'd in that distress
That I have met with here! O blessed be
That hand that from it hath delivered me!
Dangers in darkness, Devils, Hell, and Sin,
Did compass me, while I this Vale was in:
Yea, Snares, and Pits, and Traps, and Nets did lie 30
My path about, that worthless silly I
Might have been catch't, intangled, and cast down:
But since I live, let JESUS wear the Crown.*

Now as *Christian* went on his way, he came to a little ascent, which was cast up on purpose that Pilgrims might see before them: up there therefore *Christian* went, and looking forward he saw *Faithful* before him, upon his Journey. Then

said *Christian* aloud, Ho, ho, So-ho; stay and I will be your Companion. At that *Faithful* looked behind him, to whom *Christian* cried again, Stay, stay, till I come up to you. But *Faithful* answered, No, I am upon my life, and the Avenger of Blood is behind me. At this *Christian* was somewhat moved, and putting to all his strength, he quickly got up with *Faithful*, and did also overrun him, so the *last was first*. Then did *Christian* vain-gloriously smile, because he had gotten the start of his Brother: but not taking good heed to his feet, he suddenly stumbled and fell, and could not rise again, until *Faithful* came up to help him.

Christian overtakes Faithful.

Then I saw in my Dream, they went very lovingly on together; and had sweet discourse of all things that had happened to them in their Pilgrimage; and thus *Christian's* *Faithful* began.

Christian's fall makes Faithful

CHR. *My honoured and well beloved Brother Faithful, I am glad that I have overtaken you; and that God has so tempered our spirits, that we can walk as Companions in this so pleasant a path.*

and he goes lovingly together.

20 FAITH. I had thought dear friend, to have had your company quite from our Town, but you did get the start of me; wherefore I was forced to come thus much of the way alone.

CHR. *How long did you stay in the City of Destruction, before you set out after me on your Pilgrimage?*

FAITH. Till I could stay no longer; for there was great talk presently after you was gone out, that our City would in short time with Fire from Heaven be burned down to the ground.

Their talk about the Country from whence they came.

30 CHR. *What! Did your Neighbors talk so?*

FAITH. Yes, 'twas for a while in every body's mouth.

CHR. *What, and did no more of them but you come out to escape the danger?*

FAITH. Though there was, as I said, a great talk thereabout, yet I do not think they did firmly believe it. For in the heat of the discourse, I heard some of them deridingly speak of you, and of your desperate Journey, (for so they called this your Pilgrimage) but I did believe, and do still, that the end

of our City will be with Fire and Brimstone from above: and therefore I have made mine escape.

CHR. *Did you bear no talk of Neighbor Pliable?*

FAITH. Yes *Christian*, I heard that he followed you till he came at the Slough of *Dispond*, where, as some said, he fell in; but he would not be known to have so done: but I am sure he was soundly bedabbled with that kind of dirt.

CHR. *And what said the Neighbors to him?*

How Pliable was accounted of when he got home.

FAITH. He hath, since his going back, been had greatly in derision, and that among all sorts of People: some do mock and despise him, and scarce will any set him on work. He is now seven times worse than if he had never gone out of the City.

CHR. *But why should they be so set against him, since they also despise the way that he forsook?*

Jer. 29. 18. 19.

FAITH. O, they say, Hang him, he is a Turn-Coat, he was not true to his profession. I think God has stirred up even his Enemies to hiss at him, and make him a Proverb, because he hath forsaken the way. 20

CHR. *Had you no talk with him before you came out?*

FAITH. I met him once in the Streets, but he leered away on the other side, as one ashamed of what he had done; so I spake not to him.

CHR. *Well, at my first setting out, I had hopes of that Man; but now I fear he will perish in the overthrow of the City, for it is happened to him, according to the true Proverb, The Dog is turned to his Vomit again, and the Sow that was washed to her cwallowing in the mire.*

2 Pet. 2. 22. The Dog and the Sow.

FAITH. They are my fears of him too. But who can hinder 30 that which will be?

CHR. Well Neighbor *Faithful*, said *Christian*, let us leave him; and talk of things that more immediately concern ourselves. Tell me now, what you have met with in the way as you came; for I know you have met with some things, or else it may be writ for a wonder.

FAITH. I escaped the Slough that I perceive you fell into, and got up to the Gate without that danger; only I met with

one whose name was *Wanton*, that had like to have done me ^{Faithful assaulted by Wanton.} a mischief. Gen. 39. 11. 12, 13

CHR. *'Twas well you escaped her Net; Joseph was hard put to it by her, and he escaped her as you did, but it had like to have cost him his life. But what did she do to you?*

FAITH. You cannot think (but that you know something) what a flattering tongue she had, she lay at me hard to turn aside with her, promising me all manner of content.

CHR. *Nay, she did not promise you the content of a good conscience.*

FAITH. You know what I mean, all carnal and fleshly content.

CHR. *Thank God you have escaped her: The abhorred of the Lord shall fall into her Ditch.* Prov. 22. 14.

FAITH. *Nay, I know not whether I did wholly escape her, or no.*

CHR. *Why, I trow you did not consent to her desires?*

FAITH. No, not to defile myself; for I remembered an old writing that I had seen, which saith, *Her steps take hold of hell.* Prov. 5. 5.
 So I shut mine eyes, because I would not be bewitched with her looks: then she railed on me, and I went my way. Job 31. 1.

CHR. *Did you meet with no other assault as you came?*

FAITH. When I came to the foot of the Hill called *Difficulty*, I met with a very aged Man, who asked me, *What I was, and whither bound?* I told him, That I was a Pilgrim, going to the *Cœlestial City*. Then said the Old Man, *Thou lookest like an honest fellow; Wilt thou be content to dwell with me, for the wages that I shall give thee?* Then I asked him his name, and where he dwelt? He said his name was *Adam*, *the first*, and I dwell in the *Town of Deceit*. I asked him then, What was his work? and what the wages that he would give? He told me, That his work was *many delights; and his wages, that I should be his Heir at last*. I further asked him, What House he kept, and what other Servants he had? So he told me, *That his House was maintained with all the dainties in the world, and that his Servants were those of his own begetting*. Then I asked, if he had any children? He said that he had but three Daughters, *The lust of the flesh, the lust of the eyes,* John 2. 16.

and the pride of life; and that I should marry them all, if I would. Then I asked, how long time he would have me live with him? And he told me As long as he lived himself.

CHR. *Well, and what conclusion came the Old Man and you to, at last?*

FAITH. Why, at first, I found myself somewhat inclinable to go with the Man, for I thought he spake very fair; But looking in his forehead as I talked with him, I saw there written, *Put off the old Man with his deeds.*

CHR. *And how then?*

10

FAITH. Then it came burning hot into my mind, whatever he said, and however he flattered, when he got me home to his House, he would sell me for a Slave. So I bid him forbear to talk, for I would not come near the door of his House. Then he reviled me, and told me that he would send such a one after me, that should make my way bitter to my Soul. So I turned to go away from him: but just as I turned myself to go thence, I felt him take hold of my flesh, and give me such a deadly twitch back, that I thought he had pull'd part of me after himself. This made me cry, *O wretched Man!* 20
So I went on my way up the Hill.

Rom. 7. 24

Now when I had got about half way up, I looked behind me, and saw one coming after me, swift as the wind; so he overtook me just about the place where the Settle stands.

CHR. *Just there, said Christian, did I sit down to rest me; but, being overcome with sleep, I there lost this Roll out of my bosom.*

FAITH. But good Brother hear me out: So soon as the Man overtook me, he was but a word and a blow: for down he knockt me, and laid me for dead. But when I was a little 30
come to myself again, I asked him wherefore he served me so? he said, Because of my secret inclining to *Adam the first*; and with that, he strook me another deadly blow on the breast, and beat me down backward, so I lay at his foot as dead as before. So when I came to myself again, I cried him mercy; but he said, I know not how to show mercy, and with that knockt me down again. He had doubtless made an end of me, but that one came by, and bid him forbear.

CHR. *Who was that, that bid him forbear?*

FAITH. I did not know him at first, but as he went by, I perceived the holes in his hands, and his side; then I concluded that he was our Lord. So I went up the Hill.

CHR. *That Man that overtook you, was Moses. He spareth* The temper of Moses.
none, neither knoweth he how to shew mercy to those that
transgress his Law.

FAITH. I know it very well, it was not the first time that he has met with me. 'Twas he that came to me when I dwelt securely at home, and that told me, He would burn my House over my head if I staid there.

CHR. *But did not you see the House that stood there on the top of that Hill, on the side of which Moses met you?*

FAITH. Yes, and the Lions too, before I came at it; but for the Lions, I think they were asleep, for it was about Noon; and because I had so much of the day before me, I passed by the Porter, and came down the Hill.

CHR. *He told me indeed that he saw you go by; but 'I wish you had called at the House; for they would have shewed you so many*
Rarities, that you would scarce have forgot them to the day of
your death. But pray tell me, Did you meet nobody in the Valley
of Humility?

FAITH. Yes, I met with one *Discontent*, who would willingly Faithful as-
saulted by
Discontent.
have perswaded me to go back again with him: his reason was, for that the Valley was altogether without *Honour*. He told me moreover, that there to go was the way to disobey all my Friends, as *Pride, Arrogancy, Self-Conceit, Worldly Glory*, with others, who he knew, as he said, would be very much offended, if I made such a Fool of myself as to wade through
this Valley.

CHR. *Well, and how did you answer him?*

FAITH. I told him, That although all these that he named Faithful
answer to
Discontent.
might claim kindred of me, and that rightly, (for indeed they were my Relations, *according to the flesh*) yet since I became a Pilgrim, they have disowned me, as I also have rejected them; and therefore they were to me now no more than if they had never been of my Lineage. I told him moreover, that as to this Valley, he had quite mis-represented the

Prov. 25. 13.
ch. 26. 16.

thing: *for before Honour is Humility, and a haughty spirit before a fall.* Therefore said I, I had rather go through this Valley to the Honour that was so accounted by the wisest, than chuse that which he esteemed most worth our affections.

CHR. *Met you with nothing else in that Valley?*

He is as-
saulted with
Shame.

FAITH. Yes, I met with *Shame*. But of all the Men that I met with in my Pilgrimage, he I think bears the wrong name: the other would be said nay, after a little argumentation, (and somewhat else) but this boldfaced *Shame*, would never have done.

10

CHR. *Why, what did he say to you?*

1 Cor. 1. 26.
ch. 3. 18.
Phil. 3. 7, 8.

John 7. 48.

FAITH. What! why he objected against Religion itself; he said it was a pitiful low sneaking business for a Man to mind Religion; he said that a tender conscience was an unmanly thing, and that for a Man to watch over his words and ways, so as to tie up himself from that hectoring liberty that the brave spirits of the times accustom themselves unto, would make me the Ridicule of the times. He objected also, that but few of the Mighty, Rich, or Wise, were ever of my opinion; nor any of them, neither, before they were 20 perswaded to be Fools, and to be of a voluntary fondness to venture the loss of all, *for no body else knows what.* He moreover objected the base and low estate and condition of those that were chiefly the Pilgrims of the times in which they lived: also their ignorance, and want of understanding in all natural Science. Yea, he did hold me to it at that rate also about a great many more things than here I relate; as, that it was a *shame* to sit whining and mourning under a Sermon, and a *shame* to come sighing and groaning home. That it was a shame to ask my Neighbor forgiveness for petty 30 faults, or to make restitution where I had taken from any. He said also that Religion made a man grow strange to the great, because of a few vices (which he called by finer names) and made him own and respect the base, because of the same Religious Fraternity. And is not this, said he, a shame?

CHR. *And what did you say to him?*

FAITH. Say! I could not tell what to say at the first. Yea, he put me so to it, that my blood came up in my face,

even this *Shame* fetch'd it up, and had almost beat me quite off. But at last I began to consider, *That that which is highly* Luke 16. 15.
esteemed among Men, is bad in abomination with God. And I thought again, This *Shame* tells me what men are, but it tells me nothing what *God*, or the *Word* of *God* is. And I thought moreover, that at the day of doom, we shall not be doomed to death or life, according to the hectoring spirits of the world; but according to the Wisdom and Law of the Highest. Therefore thought I, what *God* says is best, is
 10 best, though all the Men in the world are against it. Seeing then, that *God* prefers his Religion, seeing *God* prefers a tender Conscience, seeing they that make themselves Fools for the Kingdom of Heaven are wisest; and that the poor man that loveth *Christ* is richer than the greatest Man in the world that hates him; *Shame* depart, thou art an Enemy to my Salvation: shall I entertain thee against my Sovereign Lord? How then shall I look him in the face at his coming? Should I now be *ashamed* of his Ways and Servants, how can Mark 8. 38.
 I expect the blessing? But indeed this *Shame* was a bold
 20 Villain; I could scarce shake him out of my company; yea, he would be haunting of me, and continually whispering me in the ear, with some one or other of the infirmities that attend Religion: but at last I told him, 'Twas but in vain to attempt further in this business; for those things that he disdained, in those did I see most glory. And so at last I got past this importunate onc. And when I had shaken him off then I began to sing

*The trials that those men do meet withal,
 That are obedient to the Heavenly call,
 30 Are manifold, and suited to the flesh,
 And come, and come, and come again afresh;
 That now, or sometime else, we by them may
 Be taken, overcome, and cast away.
 O let the Pilgrims, let the Pilgrims then,
 Be vigilant, and quit themselves like men.*

CHR. *I am glad, my Brother, that thou didst withstand this Villain so bravely; for of all, as thou sayst, I think he has the*

wrong name: for he is so bold as to follow us in the Streets, and to attempt to put us to shame before all men; that is, to make us ashamed of that which is good: but if he was not himself audacious, he would never attempt to do as he does, but let us still resist him: for notwithstanding all his Bravadoes, he promoteth the Fool, and none else. The Wise shall Inherit Glory said Solomon, but shame shall be the promotion of Fools.

Prov. 3. 35.

FAITH. I think we must cry to him for help against shame, that would have us be valiant for Truth upon the Earth.

CHR. You say true. But did you meet nobody else in that Valley?

FAITH. No, not I, for I had Sunshine all the rest of the way, through that, and also through the Valley of the Shadow of Death.

CHR. 'Twas well for you, I am sure it fared far otherwise with me. I had for a long season, as soon almost as I entred into that Valley, a dreadful Combat with that foul Fiend Apollyon: yea, I thought verily he would have killed me; especially when he got me down, and crusht me under him, as if he would have crusht me to pieces. For as he threw me, my Sword flew out of my hand; nay he told me *He was sure of me*: but I cried to God, and he heard me, and delivered me out of all my troubles. Then I entred into the Valley of the Shadow of Death, and had no light for almost half the way through it. I thought I should have been killed there, over, and over. But at last day brake, and the Sun rose, and I went through that which was behind with far more ease and quiet.

Moreover, I saw in my Dream, that as they went on, Faithful, as he chanced to look on one side, saw a Man whose name is Talkative, walking at a distance besides them, (for in this place, there was room enough for them all to walk). He was a tall Man, and something more comely at a distance than at hand. To this Man Faithful addressed himself in this manner.

Talkative described.

FAITH. Friend, Whither away? Are you going to the Heavenly Country?

TALK. I am going to that same place.

FAITH. *That is well; then I hope we may have your good Company.*

TALK. With a very good will will I be your Companion.

FAITH. *Come on then, and let us go together, and let us spend our time in discoursing of things that are profitable.*

*Faithful and
Talkative
enter dis-
course.*

TALK. To talk of things that are good, to me is very acceptable, with you, or with any other; and I am glad that I have met with those that incline to so good a work. For to speak the truth, there are but few that care thus to spend
10 their time (as they are in their travels), but chuse much rather to be speaking of things to no profit, and this hath been a trouble to me.

*Talkative's
distlike of
bad dis-
course.*

FAITH. *That is indeed a thing to be lamented; for what things so worthy of the use of the tongue and mouth of men on Earth, as are the things of the God of Heaven?*

TALK. I like you wonderful well, for your saying is full of conviction; and I will add, What thing so pleasant, and what so profitable, as to talk of the things of God?

What things so pleasant? (that is, if a man hath any
20 delight in things that are wonderful) for instance, if a man doth delight to talk of the History or Mystery of things, or if a man doth love to talk of Miracles, Wonders, or Signs, where shall he find things recorded so delightful, and so sweetly penned, as in the holy Scripture?

FAITH. *That's true: but to be profited by such things in our talk should be that which we design.*

TALK. That is it that I said: for to talk of such things is most profitable, for by so doing, a Man may get knowledge
of many things, as of the vanity of earthly things, and the
30 benefit of things above: (thus in general) but more particularly, by this a man may learn the necessity of the New-birth, the insufficiency of our works, the need of Christs righteousness, etc. Besides, by this a man may learn by talk, what it is to repent, to believe, to pray, to suffer, or the like: by this also a Man may learn what are the great promises and consolations of the Gospel, to his own comfort. Further, by this a Man may learn to refute false opinions, to vindicate the truth, and also to instruct the ignorant.

*Talkative's
fine Dis-
course.*

FAITH. *All this is true, and glad am I to hear these things from you.*

TALK. Alas! the want of this is the cause that so few understand the need of Faith, and the necessity of a work of Grace in their Soul, in order to eternal life; but ignorantly live in the works of the Law, by which a man can by no means obtain the Kingdom of Heaven.

FAITH. *But by your leave, Heavenly knowledge of these, is the gift of God; no man attaineth to them by human industry, or only by the talk of them.* 10

O brave
Talkative.

TALK. All this I know very well, for a man can receive nothing except it be given him from Heaven; all is of Grace, not of works: I could give you an hundred Scriptures for the confirmation of this.

FAITH. *Well, then, said Faithful, what is that one thing, that we shall at this time found our discourse upon?*

O brave
Talkative.

TALK. What you will: I will talk of things Heavenly, or things Earthly; things Moral, or things Evangelical; things Sacred, or things Profane; things past, or things to come; things foreign, or things at home; things more Essential, or 20 things Circumstantial; provided that all be done to our profit.

Faithful
beguiled by
Talkative.

FAITH. Now did *Faithful* begin to wonder; and stepping to Christian, (for he walked all this while by himself,) he said to him, (but softly) *What a Brave Companion have we got! Surely this man will make a very excellent Pilgrim.*

Christian
makes a discovery
of
Talkative,
telling
Faithful who
he was.

CHR. At this *Christian* modestly smiled, and said, This man with whom you are so taken, will beguile with this tongue of his, twenty of them that know him not.

FAITH. *Do you know him then?* 30

CHR. Know him! Yes, better than he knows himself.

FAITH. *Pray what is he?*

CHR. His name is *Talkative*, he dwelleth in our Town; I wonder that you should be a stranger to him, only I consider that our Town is large.

FAITH. *Whose son is he? And whereabouts doth he dwell?*

CHR. He is the son of one *Saywell*, he dwelt in *Prating-row*; and he is known of all that are acquainted with him, by

the name of *Talkative* in *Prating-row*: and notwithstanding his fine tongue, he is but a sorry fellow.

FAITH. *Well, he seems to be a very pretty man.*

CHR. That is, to them that have not thorough acquaintance with him, for he is best abroad, near home he is ugly enough: your saying, That he is a *pretty man*, brings to my mind what I have observed in the work of the Painter, whose Pictures shew best at a distance; but very near, more displeasing.

FAITH. *But I am ready to think you do but jest, because you*
10 *smiled.*

CHR. God forbid that I should *jest*, (though I smiled) in this matter, or that I should accuse any falsely; I will give you a further discovery of him: This man is for any company, and for any *talk*; as he *talketh now* with you, so will he *talk* when he is on the *Ale-bench*: and the more drink he hath in his crown, the more of these things he hath in his mouth. Religion hath no place in his heart, or house, or conversation; all he hath, lieth in his *tongue*, and his Religion is to make a noise *therewith*.

20 FAITH. *Say you so! Than am I in this man greatly deceived.*

CHR. Deceived! you may be sure of it. Remember the Proverb, *They say and do not; but the Kingdom of God is not in* Matth 23. 3.
word, but in power. He *talketh* of Prayer, of Repentance, of 1 Cor. 4. 20.
Faith, and of the New Birth: but he knows but only to *talk* Talkative talks, but does not.
of them. I have been in his Family, and have observed him both at home and abroad; and I know what I say of him is the truth. His house is as empty of Religion, His house is empty of Religion.
as the Egg is of savour. There is there neither Prayer, nor sign of Repentance for sin: yea, the brute in his kind serves God
30 *far better than he.* He is the very stain, reproach, and shame He is a stain to Religion. Rom. 2. 24.
of Religion to all that know him; it can hardly have a good word in all that end of the Town where he dwells, through
him. Thus say the common People that know him, *A Saint abroad, and a Devil at home.* The Proverb that goes of him.
His poor Family finds it so, he is such a *churl*, such a railer at, and so unreasonable with his Servants, that they neither know how to do for, or speak to him. Men that have any dealings with him, say 'tis better
to deal with a Turk then with him, for fairer dealing they Men shun to deal with him.

shall have at their hands. This *Talkative*, if it be possible, will go beyond them, defraud, beguile, and over-reach them. Besides, he brings up his Sons to follow his steps; and if he findeth in any of them a *foolish timorousness* (for so he calls the first appearance of a tender conscience) he calls them fools and blockheads; and by no means will employ them in much, or speak to their commendations before others. For my part I am of opinion, that he has by his wicked life caused many to stumble and fall; and will be, if God prevent not, the ruin of many more. 10

FAITH. *Well, my Brother, I am bound to believe you; not only because you say you know him, but also because like a Christian, you make your reports of men. For I cannot think that you speak these things of ill will, but because it is even so as you say.*

CHR. Had I known him no more than you, I might perhaps have thought of him as at the first you did. Yea, had he received this report at *their* hands only that are enemies to Religion, I should have thought it had been a slander: (a Lot that often falls from bad mens mouths upon good mens Names and Professions:) But all these things, yea and a great many 20 more as bad, of my own knowledge I can prove him guilty of. Besides, good men are ashamed of him, they can neither call him *Brother* nor *Friend*; the very naming of him among them, makes them blush, if they know him.

FAITH. *Well, I see that Saying and Doing are two things, and hereafter I shall better observe this distinction.*

CHR. They are two things indeed, and are as diverse as are the Soul and the Body: for as the Body without the Soul, is

*The Carcass
of Religion.*

but a dead Carcass; so, Saying, if it be alone, is but a dead Carcass also. The Soul of Religion is the practick part: 30

James 1. 27.
see ver. 27.
23. 24. 25. 26

Pure Religion and undefiled, before God and the Father, is this, To visit the Fatherless and Widows in their affliction, and to keep himself unspotted from the World. This *Talkative* is not aware of, he thinks that *bearing* and *saying* will make a good Christian, and thus he deceiveth his own Soul. Hearing is but as the sowing of the Seed; talking is not sufficient to prove that fruit is indeed in the heart and life; and let us assure ourselves, that at the day of Doom men shall be judged according

See Matt. 13.
28-33, and
ch. 25. 14-46.

to their fruits. It will not be said then, *Did you believe?* but, were you *Doers*, or *Talkers* only? and accordingly shall they be judged. The end of the World is compared to our Harvest, and you know men at Harvest regard nothing but Fruit. Not that any thing can be accepted that is not of Faith; but I speak this to show you how insignificant the profession of *Talkative* will be at that day.

FAITH. *This brings to my mind that of Moses, by which he describeth the beast that is clean. He is such an one that parteth the Hoof, and cheweth the Cud: not that parteth the Hoof only, or that cheweth the Cud only. The Hare cheweth the Cud, but yet is unclean, because he parteth not the Hoof. And this truly resembleth Talkative; he cheweth the Cud, he seeketh knowledge, he cheweth upon the Word, but he divideth not the Hoof, he parteth not with the way of sinners; but as the Hare, retaineth the foot of a Dog, or Bear, and therefore he is unclean.*

Levit. 11. 3. Deut. 14. 7. Faithful countinced of the badness of Talkative.

CHR. You have spoken, for ought I know, the true Gospel sense of those Texts, and I will add another thing. *Paul* 1 Cor. 13. 1, calleth some men, yea and those great Talkers too, sounding 7.

20 *Brass, and Tinkling Cymbals; that is, as he expounds them in another place, Things without life, giving sound. Things without life, that is, without the true Faith and Grace of the Gospel; and consequently, things that shall never be placed in the Kingdom of Heaven among those that are the Children of life: Though their sound, by their talk, be as if it were the Tongue or voice of an Angel.*

Talkative like to things that sound without life.

FAITH. *Well, I was not so fond of his company at first, but I am as sick of it now. What shall we do to be rid of him?*

CHR. Take my advice, and do as I bid you, and you shall

30 find that he will soon be sick of your Company too, except God shall touch his heart and turn it.

FAITH. *What would you have me to do?*

CHR. Why, go to him, and enter into some serious discourse about the power of Religion: And ask him plainly (when he has approved of it, for that he will) whether this thing be set up in his Heart, House, or Conversation.

FAITH. Then Faithful stepped forward again, and said to Talkative: *Come, what cheer? how is it now?*

TALK. Thank you, Well. I thought we should have had a great deal of *Talk* by this time.

FAITH. *Well, if you will, we will fall to it now; and since you left it with me to state the question, let it be this: How doth the saving grace of God discover itself, when it is in the heart of man?*

*Talkative's
false dis-
covery of a
work of
grace.*

TALK. I perceive then that our talk must be *about the power of things*; Well, 'tis a very good question, and I shall be willing to answer you. And take my answer in brief thus. First, *Where the Grace of God is in the heart, it causeth there to a great outcry against sin.* Secondly,—

FAITH. *Nay bold, let us consider of one at once: I think you should rather say, It shows itself by inclining the Soul to abhor its sin.*

*To cry out
against sin,
no sign of
Grace.*

TALK. Why, what difference is there between crying out against, and abhorring of sin?

FAITH. *Oh! a great deal; a man may cry out against sin, of policy; but he cannot abhor it, but by virtue of a Godly antipathy against it: I have heard many cry out against sin in the Pulpit, who yet can abide it well enough in the heart, house, and* 20
conversation. Joseph's Mistress cried out with a loud voice, as if she had been very holy; but she would willingly, notwithstanding that, have committed uncleanness with him. Some cry out against sin, even as the Mother cries out against her Child in her lap, when she calleth it Slut and naughty Girl, and then falls to bugging and kissing it.

Gen. 30. 15.

TALK. You lie at the catch, I perceive.

FAITH. *No not I, I am only for setting things right. But what is the second thing whereby you would prove a discovery of a work of grace in the heart?* 30

TALK. Great knowledge of Gospel Mysteries.

*Great know-
ledge no
sign of
Grace.
1 Cor. 13. 2.*

FAITH. *This sign should have been first; but first or last, it is also false; for, Knowledge, great knowledge, may be obtained in the mysteries of the Gospel, and yet no work of grace in the Soul: Yea, if a man have all knowledge, he may yet be nothing, and so consequently be no child of God. When Christ said, Do you know all these things? and the Disciples had answered, Yes: He addeth, Blessed are ye, if ye do them. He doth not lay the blessing in*

the knowing of them, but in the doing of them. For there is a knowledge that is not attended with doing: He that knoweth his Masters will, and doth it not. A man may know like an Angel, and yet be no Christian: therefore your sign is not true. Indeed to know, is a thing that pleaseth Talkers and Boasters; but to do, is that which pleaseth God. Not that the heart can be good without knowledge, for without that the heart is naught. There is therefore knowledge and knowledge. Knowledge that resteth ^{Knowledge} in the bare speculation of things, and knowledge that is accompanied ^{and know-} ledge.

10 with the grace of faith and love, which puts a man upon doing even the will of God from the heart: the first of these will serve the Talker, but without the other the true Christian is not content. Give me understanding, and I shall keep thy Law, yea I shall observe it with my whole heart. ^{Psalm 119. 34. True know-}

TALK. You lie at the catch again, this is not for edification. ^{ledge attend-}

FAITH. Well, if you please, propound another sign how this work of grace discovereth itself where it is. ^{ed with}

TALK. Not I, for I see we shall not agree. ^{endeavour.}

FAITH. Well, if you will not, will you give me leave to do it?

20 TALK. You may use your liberty.

FAITH. A work of grace in the soul discovereth itself, either to ^{One good} him that hath it, or to standers by. ^{sign of}

To him that hath it, thus. It gives him conviction of sin, ^{John 16. 8.} especially of the defilement of his nature, and the sin of unbelief, ^{Rom. 7. 24.} (for the sake of which he is sure to be damned, if he findeth not ^{John 16. 9.} mercy at God's hand by faith in Jesus Christ.) This sight and ^{Mark 16. 16.} sense of things worketh in him sorrow and shame for sin; he ^{Ps. 38. 18.} findeth moreover revealed in him the Saviour of the World, and ^{Jer. 31. 19.} the absolute necessity of closing with him for life, at the which he ^{Gal. 2. 16.} findeth hungerings and thirstings after him, to which hungerings, ^{Acts 4. 12.} etc. the promise is made. Now according to the strength or weakness of his Faith in his Saviour, so is his joy and peace, so is his love to holiness, so are his desires to know him more, and also to serve him in this World. But though I say it discovereth itself thus unto him; yet it is but seldom that he is able to conclude that this is a work of Grace, because his corruptions now, and his abused reason, makes his mind to mis-judge in this matter; therefore in him that hath this work, there is required a very

^{Matth. 5. 6.}
^{Rev. 21. 6.}

sound Judgement, before he can with steadiness conclude that this is a work of Grace.

Rom. 10. 10.
Phil. 1. 27.
Matth. 5. 19.
John 14. 15.
Ps. 90. 23.
Job 22. 5. 6.
Ezek. 20. 43.

To others it is thus discovered.

1. By an experimental confession of his Faith in Christ. 2. By a life answerable to that confession, to wit, a life of holiness; heart-holiness, family-holiness, (if he hath a Family) and by Conversation-holiness in the World: which in the general teacheth him, inwardly to abhor his Sin, and himself for that in secret, to suppress it in his Family, and to promote holiness in the World; not by talk only, as an Hypocrite or Talkative Person may do: but by a practical Subjection in Faith, and Love, to the power of the word. And now Sir, as to this brief description of the work of Grace, and also the discovery of it, if you have ought to object, object; if not, then give me leave to propound to you a second question.

TALK. Nay, my part is not now to object, but to hear; let me therefore have your second question.

Another
good sign of
Grace.

FAITH. It is this, Do you experience the first part of this description of it? and doth your life and conversation testify the same? or standeth your Religion in Word or in Tongue, and not 20 in Deed and Truth? pray, if you incline to answer me in this, say no more than you know the God above will say Amen to; and also, nothing but what your Conscience can justify you in: For, not he that commendeth himself is approved, but whom the Lord commendeth. Besides, to say I am thus, and thus, when my Conversation, and all my Neighbors tell me I lye, is great wickedness.

Talkative
not pleased
with Faith-
ful's Ques-
tion.

TALK. Then Talkative at first began to blush, but recovering himself, Thus he replied, You come now to Experience, to Conscience, and God: and to appeal to him for justification 30 of what is spoken: This kind of discourse I did not expect, nor am I disposed to give an answer to such questions, because, I count not myself bound thereto, unless you take upon you to be a Catechiser; and, though you should so do, yet I may refuse to make you my Judge. But I pray will you tell me, why you ask me such questions?

The reasons
why Faithful
put to him
that ques-
tion.

FAITH. Because I saw you forward to talk, and because I knew not that you had ought else but notion. Besides, to tell you

all the Truth, I have heard of you, that you are a Man whose Religion lies in talk, and that your Conversation gives this your Mouth-profession the lye. They say You are a spot among ^{Faithful's} Christians, and that Religion fareth the worse for your ungodly ^{plain deal-} conversations that some already have stumbled at your wicked ^{ing to} ways, and that more are in danger of being destroyed thereby; your Religion, and an Ale-House, and Covetousness, and uncleanness, and swearing, and lying, and vain Company-keeping, etc. will stand together. The proverb is true of you, which is said ^{Talkative.} of a Whore, to wit, That she is a shame to all Women; so you are a shame to all Professors.

TALK. Since you are ready to take up reports, and to judge ^{Talkative} so rashly as you do, I cannot but conclude you are some ^{flings away} peevish, or melancholy Man, not fit to be discoursed with, and ^{from Faith-} so adieu.

CHR. Then came up *Christian*, and said to his Brother, I told you how it would happen, your words and his lusts could not agree; he had rather leave your company, than reform his life. But he is gone as I said; let him go; the loss ^{A good rid-} is no man's but his own; he has saved us the trouble of going ^{ance.} from him; for he continuing, as I suppose he will do, as he is, he would have been but a blot in our Company: besides, the Apostle says, *From such withdraw thyself.*

FAITH. But I am glad we had this little discourse with him, it may happen that he will think of it again; however, I have dealt plainly with him, and so am clear of his blood, if he perisbeth.

CHR. You did well to talk so plainly to him as you did, there is but little of this faithful dealing with men now a days; and that makes Religion to stink in the nostrils of ³⁰ many, as it doth: for they are these *Talkative* Fools, whose Religion is only in word, and are debauched and vain in their Conversation, that (being so much admitted into the Fellowship of the Godly) do stumble the World, blemish Christianity, and grieve the Sincere. I wish that all men would deal with such as you have done, then should they either be made more conformable to Religion, or the company of Saints would be too hot for them.

*How Talkative at first lifts up his Plumes!
How bravely doth he speak! how he presumes
To drive down all before him! but so soon
As Faithful talks of Heart-work, like the Moon
That's past the full, into the wane he goes;
And so will all, but he that Heart-work knows.*

Thus they went on talking of what they had seen by the way, and so made that way easy, which would otherwise, no doubt, have been tedious to them: for now they went through a Wilderness. 10

Now when they were got almost quite out of this Wilderness, Faithful chanced to cast his eye back, and espied one coming after them, and he knew him. Oh! said Faithful to his Brother, who comes yonder? Then Christian looked, and said, It is my good friend Evangelist. Ay, and my good friend too, said Faithful; for 'twas he that set me the way to the Gate. Now was Evangelist come up unto them, and thus saluted them.

Evangelist
overtakes
them again.

EVANG. Peace be with you, dearly beloved, and, peace be to your helpers. 20

They are
glad at the
sight of
them.

CHR. Welcome, welcome, my good Evangelist, the sight of thy countenance brings to my remembrance thy ancient kindness, and unwearied laboring for my eternal good.

FAITH. And, a thousand times welcome, said good Faithful; Thy company, O sweet Evangelist, how desirable is it to us, poor Pilgrims!

EVANG. Then, said Evangelist, How hath it fared with you, my friends, since the time of our last parting? what have you met with, and how have you behaved your selves?

Then Christian and Faithful told him of all things that 30 had happened to them in the way; and how, and with what difficulty they had arrived to that place.

It is exhortation to them.

EVANG. Right glad am I, said Evangelist; not that you met with trials, but that you have been victors, and for that you have (notwithstanding many weaknesses,) continued in the way to this very day.

I say, right glad am I of this thing, and that for mine own

sake and yours; I have sowed, and you have reaped, and the day is coming, when both he that sowed, and they that reaped shall rejoice together; that is, if you hold out: for, in due time ye shall reap, if you faint not. The Crown is before you, and it is an incorruptible one; so run that you may obtain it. Some there be that set out for this Crown, and after they have gone far for it, another comes in, and takes it from them? hold fast therefore that you have, let no man take your Crown. You are not yet out of the gun-shot of the Devil. You have not resisted unto blood, striving against sin. Let the Kingdom be always before you, and believe stedfastly concerning things that are invisible. Let nothing that is on this side the other world get within you; and above all, look well to your own hearts, and to the lusts thereof; for they are deceitful above all things, and desperately wicked: set your faces like a flint, you have all power in Heaven and Earth on your side.

CHR. *Then Christian thanked him for his exhortation, but told him awhile, that they would have him speak farther to them for their help, the rest of the way; and the rather, for that they well knew that he was a Prophet, and could tell them of things that might happen unto them; and also how they might resist and overcome them. To which request Faithful also consented. So Evangelist began as followeth.*

EVANG. My Sons, you have heard in the words of the truth of the Gospel, that you must through many tribulations enter into the Kingdom of Heaven. And again, that in every City, bonds and afflictions abide in you; and therefore you cannot expect that you should go long on your Pilgrimage without them, in some sort or other. You have found something of the truth of these testimonies upon you already, and more will immediately follow: for now, as you see, you are almost out of this Wilderness, and therefore you will soon come into a Town that you will by and by see before you: and in that Town you will be hardly beset with enemies, who will strain hard but they will kill you: and be you sure that one or both of you must seal the testimony which you hold, with blood: but be you faithful unto death, and the King will

*He whose
lot it will be
there to suf-
fer, will
have the
better of his
brother.*

give you a Crown of life. He that shall die there, although his death will be unnatural, and his pain perhaps great, he will yet have the better of his fellow; not only because he will be arrived at the Cœlestial City soonest, but because he will escape many miseries that the other will meet with in the rest of his Journey. But when you are come to the Town, and shall find fulfilled what I have here related, then remember your friend, and quit your selves like men; and commit the keeping of your souls to your God in well-doing, as unto a faithful Creator.

10

*Isa. 40. 17.
Eccl. 1. 2. 14.
chap. 2. 11.
17.*

Then I saw in my Dream, that when they were got out of the Wilderness, they presently saw a Town before them, and the name of that Town is *Vanity*; and at the town there is a Fair kept, called *Vanity-Fair*. It is kept all the Year long: it beareth the name of *Vanity-Fair*, because the Town where 'tis kept, is *lighter than Vanity*; and also, because all that is there sold, or that cometh thither, is *Vanity*. As is the saying of the wise, *All that cometh is Vanity*.

This Fair is no new erected business, but a thing of ancient standing; I will shew you the original of it.

20

*The Anti-
quity of this
Fair.*

Almost five thousand years ago, there were Pilgrims walking to the Cœlestial City, as these two honest persons are; and *Beelzebub*, *Apollyon*, and *Legion*, with their Companions, perceiving by the path that the Pilgrims made, that their way to the City lay through *this Town of Vanity*, they contrived here to set up a Fair¹; a Fair wherein should be sold of *all sorts of Vanity*, and that it should last all the year long. Therefore at *this Fair* are all such Merchandize sold, as Houses, Lands, Trades, Places, Honors, Preferments, Titles, Countries, Kingdoms, Lusts, Pleasures and Delights of all sorts, as Whores, Bawds, Wives, Husbands, Children, Masters, Servants, Lives, Blood, Bodies, Souls, Silver, Gold, Pearls, Precious Stones, and what not.

*The Mer-
chandize of
this Fair.*

¹ Behold Vanity Fair! the Pilgrims there
Are chain'd and stand beside;
Even so it was our Lord pass'd here,
And on Mount Calvary dy'd.

And moreover, at this Fair there is at all times to be seen Jugglings, Cheats, Games, Plays, Fools, Apes, Knaves, and Rogues, and that of every kind.

Here are to be seen too, and that for nothing, Thefts, Murders, Adulteries, False-swearers, and that of a blood-red colour.

And as in other fairs of less moment, there are the several Rows and Streets, under their proper names, where such and such Wares are vended: So here likewise, you have the 10 proper Places, Rows, Streets, (*viz.* Countreys and Kingdoms,) where the Wares of this Fair are soonest to be found: Here is the *Britain Row*, the *French Row*, the *Italian Row*, the *Spanish Row*, the *German Row*, where several sorts of Vanities are to be sold. But as in other fairs, some one Commodity is as the chief of all the fair, so the Ware of *Rome* and her Merchandize is greatly promoted in *this fair*: Only our *English Nation*, with some others, have taken a dislike thereat.

Now, as I said, the way to the Cœlestial City lies just 20 through *this Town*, where this lusty Fair is kept; and he that will go to the City, and yet not go through this Town, *must* 1 Cor. 5. 10. needs go out of the World. The Prince of Princes himself, Christ went when here, went through *this Town* to his own Country, and through this fair, that upon a Fair-day too: Yea, and as I think, it was *Beelzebub* Matth. 4. 8, 9. Luke 4. 5. 1. the chief Lord of this Fair, that invited him to buy of his Vanities; yea, would have made him Lord of the Fair, would he but have done him Reverence as he went through the Town. Yea, because he was such a person of Honour, *Beelzebub* had him from Street to Street, and shewed him all 30 the Kingdoms of the World in a little time, that he might, if possible, allure that Blessed One, to *cheapen* and *buy* some of his Vanities. But he had no mind to the Merchandize, and therefore left the Town, without laying out so much as one Farthing upon these Vanities. This Fair therefore is an Ancient thing, of long standing, and a very great Fair.

Now these Pilgrims, as I said, must needs go through this fair. Well, so they did; but behold, even as they entred into the fair, all the people in the fair were moved, and the Town

The fair in a hubbub about them. it self as it were in a Hubbub about them; and that for several reasons: For,

The first cause of the hubbub. First, The Pilgrims were cloathed with such kind of Raiment as was diverse from the Raiment of any that Traded in that *fair*. The people therefore of the *fair* made a great

1 Cor. 2. 7, 8. gazing upon them. Some said they were Fools, some they were Bedlams, and some they are Outlandish-men.

2nd Cause of the hubbub. Secondly, And as they wondred at their Apparel, so they did likewise at their Speech, for few could understand what they said; they naturally spoke the Language of *Canaan*, but 10 they that kept the *fair*, were the men of this World: so that from one end of the *fair* to the other, they seemed *Barbarians* each to the other.

Third cause of the hubbub. Thirdly, But that which did not a little amuse the Merchandizers, was, that these Pilgrims set very light by all their Wares, they cared not so much as to look upon them: and if they called upon them to buy, they would put

Ps. 119. 37. their fingers in their ears, and cry, *Turn away mine eyes from beholding vanity*; and look upwards, signifying that their Trade and Traffic was in Heaven. 20

Fourth cause of the hubbub. One chanced mockingly, beholding the carriages of the men, to say unto them, What will ye buy? But they, looking gravely upon him, said, *We buy the Truth*. At that,

They are mocked. there was an occasion taken to despise the men the more; some mocking, some taunting, some speaking reproachfully, and some calling upon others to smite them. At last things

The fair in a hubbub. came to an hubbub and great stir in the *fair*, in so much that all order was confounded. Now was word presently brought to the *Great One* of the *fair*, who quickly came down, and deputed some of his most trusty friends to take these men 30 into examination, about whom the *fair* was almost overturned.

They are examined. So the men were brought to examination; and they that sat upon them asked them whence they came, whither they went, and what they did there in such an unusual Garb? The men told them, that they were Pilgrims and Strangers in the World, and that they were going to their own Country, which was the Heavenly *Jerusalem*; and that they had given none occasion to the men of the Town, nor yet to the

They tell who they are, and whence they came.
Heb. 11. 13, 14, 15, 16.

Merchandizers, thus to abuse them, and to let them in their Journey. Except it was for that, when one asked them what they would buy, they said they would *buy the Truth*. But they that were appointed to examine them did not believe them to be any other than Bedlams and Mad, or else such as came to put all things into a confusion in the *fair*. Therefore they took them and beat them, and besmeared them with dirt, and then put them into the Cage, that they might be made a Spectacle to all the men of the *fair*. There therefore they

10 lay for some time, and were made the objects of any mans sport, or malice, or revenge. The Great One of the *fair* laughing still at all that befel them. But the men being patient, and not rendering railing for railing, but contrarywise blessing, and giving good words for bad, and kindness for injuries done, some men in the *fair* that were more observing, and less prejudiced than the rest, began to check and blame the baser sort for their continual abuses done by them to the men. They therefore in angry manner let fly at them again, counting them as bad as the men in the Cage, and

20 telling them that they seemed confederates, and should be made partakers of their misfortunes. The other replied, That for ought they could see, the men were quiet, and sober, and intended nobody any harm; and that there were many that traded in their *fair*, that were more worthy to be put into the Cage, yea, and Pillory too, than were the men that they had abused. Thus, after divers words had passed on both sides, (the men behaving themselves all the while very wisely and soberly before them,) they fell to some Blows, and did harm one to another. Then were these two poor men

30 brought before their Examiners again, and there charged as being guilty of the late Hubbub that had been in the *fair*. So they beat them pitifully, and hanged irons upon them, and led them in chains up and down the *fair*, for an example and a terror to others, lest any should further speak in their behalf, or join themselves unto them. But *Cbristian* and *Faithful* behaved themselves yet more wisely, and received the ignominy and shame that was cast upon them, with so much meekness and patience, that it won to their side (though but

They are not believed.

They are put in the Cage.

Their behaviour in the Cage.

The men of the fair do fall out among themselves about these two men.

They are made the Authors of this disturbance.

They are led up and down the fair in Chains for a terror to others.

Some of the men of the fair won to them.

Their adversaries resolve to kill them.

few in comparison of the rest) several of the men in the *fair*. This put the other party yet into a greater rage, insomuch that they concluded the death of these two men. Wherefore they threatned that the Cage nor irons should serve their turn, but that they should die, for the abuse they had done, and for deluding the men of the *fair*.

Then were they remanded to the Cage again until further order should be taken with them. So they put them in, and made their feet fast in the Stocks.

Here also they called again to mind what they had heard ¹⁰ from their faithful friend *Evangelist*, and was the more confirmed in their way and sufferings, by what he told them would happen to them. They also now comforted each other, that whose lot it was to suffer, that even he should have the best on't; therefore each man secretly wished that he might have that preferment; but committing themselves to the All-wise dispose of him that ruleth all things, with much content they abode in the condition in which they were, until they should be otherwise disposed of.

They are again put into the Cage and after brought to Tryal.

Then a convenient time being appointed, they brought ²⁰ them forth to their Tryal in order to their Condemnation. When the time was come, they were brought before their Enemies and arraigned; The Judge's name was Lord *Hate-good*. Their indictment was one and the same in substance, though somewhat varying in form; the Contents whereof was this.

Their Indictment.

That they were enemies to, and disturbers of their Trade; that they had made Commotions and Divisions in the Town, and had won a party to their own most dangerous opinions, in contempt of the Law of their Prince.

Faithful's answer for himself.

Then *Faithful* began to answer¹, That he had only set himself against that which had set itself against him that is higher than the highest. And said he, As for disturbance, I make none, being myself a man of Peace; the Parties that

30

¹ Now *Faithful* play the man, speak for thy God;
Fear not the wicked's malice nor their rod;
Speak boldly man, the truth is on thy side;
Die for it, and to life in triumph ride.

were won to us, were won by beholding our Truth and Innocence, and they are only turned from the worse to the better. And as to the King you talk of, since he is *Beelzebub*, the Enemy of our Lord, I defy him and all his Angels.

Then Proclamation was made, that they that had ought to say for their Lord the King against the Prisoner at the Bar, should forthwith appear and give in their evidence. So there came in three Witnesses, to wit, *Envy*, *Superstition*, and *Pickthank*. They were then asked, If they knew the Prisoner at the Bar? and what they had to say for their Lord the King against him?

Then stood forth *Envy*, and said to this effect; My Lord, *Envy begins*. I have known this man a long time, and will attest upon my Oath before this honourable Bench, That he is——

JUDGE. Hold, give him his Oath;

So they sware him. Then he said, My Lord, This man, notwithstanding his plausible name, is one of the vilest men in our Country; he neither regardeth Prince nor People, Law nor Custom: but doth all that he can to possess all men with certain of his disloyal notions, which he in the general calls Principles of Faith and Holiness. And in particular, I heard him once myself affirm, *That Christianity and the Customs of our Town of Vanity, were Diametrically opposite, and could not be reconciled*. By which saying, my Lord, he doth at once, not only condemn all our laudable doings, but us in the doing of them.

JUDGE. Then did the Judge say to him, Hast thou any more to say?

ENVY. My Lord I could say much more, only I would not be tedious to the Court. Yet if need be, when the other Gentlemen have given in their Evidence, rather than any thing shall be wanting that will dispatch him, I will enlarge my Testimony against him. So he was bid stand by. Then they called *Superstition*, and bid him look upon the Prisoner; they also asked, What he could say for their Lord the King against him? Then they sware him, so he began.

SUPER. My Lord, I have no great acquaintance with this *Superstition follows*. man, nor do I desire to have further knowledge of him;

However this I know, that he is a very pestilent fellow, from some discourse that the other day I had with him in this *Town*; for then talking with him, I heard him say, That our Religion was naught, and such by which a man could by no means please God: which sayings of his, my Lord, your Lordship very well knows, what necessarily thence will follow, *to wit*, That we still do worship in vain, are yet in our Sins, and finally shall be damned; and this is that which I have to say.

Then was *Picktbank* sworn, and bid say what he knew, ¹⁰ in behalf of their Lord the King against the Prisoner at the Bar.

*Picktbank's
Testimony.*

PICK. My Lord, and you gentlemen all, This fellow I have known of a long time, and have heard him speak things that ought not to be spoke. For he hath railed on our noble Prince *Beelzebub*, and hath spoke contemptibly of his honourable Friends, whose names are the Lord *Oldman*, the Lord *Carnal-delight*, the Lord *Luxurious*, the Lord *Desire of Vain-glory*, my old Lord *Lechery*, Sir *Having Greedy*, with all the rest of our Nobility; and he hath said moreover, that if all men ²⁰ were of his mind, if possible, there is not one of these Noble-men should have any longer a being in this Town. Besides, he hath not been afraid to rail on you, my Lord, who are now appointed to be his Judge, calling you an ungodly Villain, with many other such like vilifying terms, with which he hath bespattered most of the Gentry of our Town. When this *Picktbank* had told his tale, the Judge directed his speech to the Prisoner at the Bar, saying, Thou Runagate, Heretick, and Traitor, hast thou heard what these honest Gentlemen have witnessed against thee?

30

FAITH. *May I speak a few words in my own defence?*

JUDGE. Sirrah, Sirrah, thou deservest to live no longer, but to be slain immediately upon the place; yet that all men may see our gentleness towards thee, let us see what thou hast to say.

*Faithful's
defence of
himself.*

FAITH. 1. I say then in answer to what Mr. *Envy* hath spoken, I never said ought but this, *That what Rule, or Laws, or Custom, or People, were flat against the Word of God, are*

diametrically opposite to Christianity. If I have said amiss in this, convince me of my error, and I am ready here before you to make my recantation.

2. As to the second, to wit, Mr. *Superstition*, and his charge against me, I said only this, *That in the worship of God there is required a divine Faith; but there can be no divine Faith without a divine Revelation of the will of God: therefore whatever is thrust into the worship of God, that is not agreeable to divine Revelation, cannot be done but by an human Faith; which Faith*
 10 *will not be profit to Eternal life.*

3. As to what Mr. *Picketbank* hath said, I say, (avoiding terms, as that I am said to rail, and the like) That the Prince of this Town, with all the Rabblement his Attendants, by this Gentleman named, are more fit for a being in Hell, than in this Town and Country; *and so the Lord have mercy upon me.*

Then the Judge called to the Jury (who all this while stood by, to hear and observe) Gentlemen of the Jury, you see this man about whom so great an uproar hath been made in this
 15 Town: you have also heard what these worthy Gentlemen

20 have witnessed against him; also you have heard his reply and confession: It lieth now in your breasts to hang him, or save his life, But yet I think meet to instruct you into our Law.

There was an Act made in the days of *Pbaraob* the Great, Exod. 1. 22. Servant to our Prince, That lest those of a contrary Religion should multiply and grow too strong for him, their Males should be thrown into the River. There was also an Act made in the days of *Nebuchadnezzar* the Great, another of his
 25 Servants, that whoever would not fall down and worship his golden Image, should be thrown into a fiery Furnace. There
 30 was also an Act made in the days of *Darius*, That whoso, for
 some time, called upon any God but him, should be cast into the Lions' Den. Now the substance of these Laws this Rebel has broken, not only in thought (which is not to be borne) but also in word and deed; which must therefore needs be intolerable.

For that of *Pbaraob*, his Law was made upon a supposition, to prevent mischief, no Crime being yet apparent; but here is a Crime apparent. For the second and third, you see he

*The Judge
his speech to
the Jury.*

disputeth against our Religion ; and for the Treason he hath confessed, he deserveth to die the death.

*The Jury
and their
Names.*

Then went the Jury out, whose names were, Mr. *Blind-man*, Mr. *No-good*, Mr. *Malice*, Mr. *Love-lust*, Mr. *Live-loose*, Mr. *Heady*, Mr. *Higb-mind*, Mr. *Enmity*, Mr. *Lyar*, Mr. *Cruelty*, Mr. *Hate-light*, and Mr. *Implacable*, who every one gave in his private Verdict against him among themselves, and afterwards unanimously concluded to bring him in guilty before the Judge. And first Mr. *Blind-man* the Foreman, said, *I see clearly that this man is an Heretick*. Then said Mr. *No-good*, *10*
Away with such a fellow from the Earth. *Ay*, said Mr. *Malice*, *for I hate the very looks of him*. Then said Mr. *Love-lust*, *I could never endure him*. Nor I, said Mr. *Live-loose*, *for he would always be condemning my way*. *Hang him, hang him*, said Mr. *Heady*. *A sorry Scrub*, said Mr. *Higb-mind*. *My heart riseth against him*, said Mr. *Enmity*. *He is a Rogue*, said Mr. *Lyar*. *Hanging is too good for him*, said Mr. *Cruelty*. *Lets dispatch him out of the way*, said Mr. *Hate-light*. Then said Mr. *Implacable*, *Might I have all the World given me, I could not be reconciled to him, therefore let us forthwith bring him in*
guilty of death; And so they did, therefore he was presently condemned, To be had from the place where he was, to the place from whence he came, and there to be put to the most cruel death that could be invented¹.

*They con-
clude to
bring him
in guilty of
death.*

*The Cruel
death of
Faithful.*

*A Chariot
and Horses
wait to take
away
Faithful.*

They therefore brought him out, to do with him according to their Law ; and first they Scourged him, then they Buffeted him, then they Lanced his flesh with Knives ; after that, they Stoned him with Stones, then prickt him with their Swords, and last of all they burned him to Ashes at the Stake. Thus came *Faithful* to his end. Now, I saw that there stood behind *30*
the multitude, a Chariot and a couple of Horses, waiting for *Faithful*, who (so soon as his adversaries had dispatched him) was taken up into it, and straightway was carried up through

¹ Brave *Faithful*, Bravely done in word and deed ;
Judge, Witnesses, and Jury, have instead
Of overcoming thee, but shewn their rage,
When they are dead, thou'lt live, from age to age.

the Clouds, with sound of Trumpet, the nearest way to the Cælestial Gate. But as for *Christian*, he had some respite, and was remanded back to prison, so he there remained for a space. But he that over-rules all things, having the power of their rage in his own hand, so wrought it about, that *Christian* for that time escaped them, and went his way.

Christian is still alive.

And as he went he sang, saying,

Well, Faithful, thou hast faithfully profest
Unto thy Lord: with whom thou shalt be blest;
10 When Faithless ones, with all their vain delights,
Are crying out under their bellish plights.
Sing, Faithful, sing; and let thy name survive,
For though they kill'd thee, thou art yet alive.

The Song that Christian made of Faithful after his death.

Now I saw in my Dream, that *Christian* went not forth alone, for there was one whose name was *Hopeful*, (being made so by the beholding of *Christian* and *Faithful* in their words and behaviour, in their sufferings at the *fair*) who joyned himself unto him, and entering into a brotherly covenant, told him that he would be his Companion. Thus
20 one died to make Testimony to the Truth, and another rises out of his Ashes to be a Companion with *Christian*. This *Hopeful* also told *Christian*, that there were many more of the men in the *fair* that would take their time and follow after.

There is more of the men of the fair will follow.

So I saw that quickly after they were got out of the *fair*, they overtook one that was going before them, whose name was *By-ends*; so they said to him, What Country-man, Sir? and how far go you this way? He told them, That he came from the Town of *Fair-speech*, and he was going to the
30 Cælestial City, (but told them not his name.)

They overtake By-ends.

From *Fair-speech*, said *Christian*; is there any that be good *Prov. 26. 25* live there?

BY-ENDS. Yes, said *By-ends*, I hope.

CHR. Pray Sir, what may I call you?

BY-ENDS. I am a Stranger to you, and you to me; if you be going this way, I shall be glad of your Company; if not,
I must be content.

By-ends left to tell his name.

CHR. *This Town of Fair-speech, I have heard of it, and, as I remember, they say it's a Wealthy place.*

BY-ENDS. Yes, I will assure you that it is, and I have very many rich Kindred there.

CHR. *Pray, who are your Kindred there, if a man may be so bold?*

BY-ENDS. Almost the whole Town; and in particular, my Lord *Turn-about*, my Lord *Time-server*, my Lord *Fair-speech*, (from whose Ancestors that Town first took its name :) Also Mr. *Smooth-man*, Mr. *Facing-bothways*, Mr. *Any-thing*, and the 10 Parson of our Parish, Mr. *Two-tongues*, was my Mother's own Brother by Father's side: And, to tell you the Truth, I am a Gentleman of good Quality; yet my Great-Grandfather was but a Water-man, looking one way, and rowing another; and I got most of my Estate by the same occupation.

CHR. *Are you a married man?*

*The wife
and Kin-
dred of
By-ends.*

BY-ENDS. Yes, and my Wife is a very virtuous Woman, the Daughter of a virtuous Woman. She was my Lady *Fainings* Daughter, therefore she came of a very Honourable Family, and is arrived at such a pitch of Breeding, that she 20 knows how to carry it to all, even to Prince and Peasant.

*If there By-
ends differs
from others
in Religion.*

'Tis true, we somewhat differ in Religion from those of the stricter sort, yet but in two small points: First, we never strive against Wind and Tide. Secondly, we are always most zealous when Religion goes in his Silver Slippers; we love much to walk with him in the Street, if the Sun shines, and the people applaud it.

Then *Christian* stept a little a to-side to his fellow *Hopeful*, saying, It runs in my mind that this is one *By-ends* of *Fair-speech*, and if it be he, we have as very a Knave in our 30 Company as dwelleth in all these parts. Then said *Hopeful*, Ask him; methinks he should not be ashamed of his name. So *Christian* came up with him again, and said, Sir, you talk as if you knew something more than all the World doth, and if I take not my mark amiss, I deem I have half a guess of you: Is not your name Mr. *By-ends* of *Fair-speech*?

BY-ENDS. That is not my name, but indeed it is a Nick-name that is given me by some that cannot abide me, and

I must be content to bear it as a reproach, as other good men have born theirs before me.

CHR. *But did you never give an occasion to men to call you by this name?*

BY-ENDS. Never, never! the worst that ever I did to give them an occasion to give me this name, was, that I had always the luck to jump in my Judgment with the present way of the times, whatever it was, and my chance was to get thereby; but if things are thus cast upon me, let me count to them a blessing, but let not the malicious load me therefore with reproach.

CHR. *I thought indeed, that you was the man that I had heard of, and to tell you what I think, I fear this name belongs to you more properly than you are willing we should think it doth.*

BY-ENDS. Well, if you will thus imagine, I cannot help it. You shall find me a fair Company-keeper, if you will still admit me your associate.

CHR. *If you will go with us, you must go against Wind and Tide, the which, I perceive, is against your opinion: You must also own Religion in his Rags, as well as when in his Silver Slippers, and stand by him too, when bound in Irons, as well as when he walketh the Streets with applause.*

BY-ENDS. You must not impose, nor lord it over my Faith; leave me to my liberty, and let me go with you.

CHR. *Not a step further, unless you will do in what I propound, as we.*

Then said By-ends, I shall never desert my old Principles, since they are harmless and profitable. If I may not go with you, I must do as I did before you overtook me, even go by myself, until some overtake me that will be glad of my Company.

Now I saw in my dream, that Christian and Hopeful, forsook him, and kept their distance before him; but one of them looking back, saw three men following Mr. By-ends, and behold, as they came up with him, he made them a very low Congee, and they also gave him a Compliment. The men's names were Mr. Hold-the-World, Mr. Money-love, and Mr. Save-all; men that Mr. By-ends had formerly been acquainted

How By-ends got his name.

He desires to keep Company with Christian.

By-ends and Christian parts.

He has new Companions.

with; for in their minority they were schoolfellow, and were taught by one Mr. *Gripe-man*, a School-master in *Love-gain*, which is a market town in the County of *Coveting* in the North. This Schoolmaster taught them the art of getting, either by violence, cousenage, flattery, lying, or by putting on a guise of Religion; and these four Gentlemen had attained much of the art of their Master, so that they could each of them have kept such a School themselves.

Well when they had, as I said, thus saluted each other, Mr. *Money-love* said to Mr. *By-ends*, Who are they upon the 10 Road before us? For *Christian* and *Hopeful* were yet within view.

By-ends' Character
the Pilgrim

BY-ENDS. They are a couple of far country-men, that after *their mode*, are going on Pilgrimage.

MONEY-LOVE. Alas, why did they not stay that we might have had their good company, for *they*, and *we*, and *you* Sir, I hope, are all going on Pilgrimage.

BY-ENDS. We are so indeed, but the men before us are so rigid, and love so much their own notions, and do also so lightly esteem the Opinions of others; that let a man 20 be never so godly, yet if he jumps not with them in all things, they thrust him quite out of their company.

SAVE-ALL. That's bad; But we read of some, *that are righteous over-much*, and such men's rigidness prevails with them to judge and condemn all but themselves. But I pray *what* and *how* many, were the things wherein you differed.

BY-ENDS. Why they after their headstrong manner, conclude that it is duty to rush on their Journey *all* weathers, and I am for waiting for *Wind* and *Tide*. They are for hazarding all for God, at a clap, and I am for taking *all* advantages to 30 secure my life and estate. They are for holding *their notions*, though all other men are against them; but I am for Religion in what, and so far as the times, and my safety will bear it. They are for Religion, when in rags, and contempt; but I am for him when he walks in his golden slippers in the Sun-shine, and with applause.

HOLD-THE-WORLD. Ay, and hold you there still, good Mr. *By-ends*, for, for my part, I can count him but a fool,

that having the liberty to keep what he has, shall be so unwise as to lose it. Let us be wise as *Serpents*, 'tis best to make hay when the Sun shines; you see how the Bee lieth still all winter and bestirs her then only when she can have profit with pleasure. God sends sometimes Rain, and sometimes Sun-shine; if they be such fools to go through the first, yet let us be content to take fair weather along with us. For my part I like that Religion best, that will stand with the security of God's good blessings unto us; for who can imagine that
 10 is ruled by his reason, since God has bestowed upon us the good things of this life, but that he would have us keep them for his sake. *Abraham* and *Solomon* grew rich in Religion. And *Job* says, that a good man *shall lay up gold as dust*. But he must not be such as the men before us, if they be as you have described them.

SAVE-ALL. I think that we are all agreed in this matter, and therefore there needs no more words about it.

MONY-LOVE. No, there needs no more words about this matter indeed, for he that believes neither Scripture nor
 20 reason (and you see we have both on our side) neither knows his own liberty, nor seeks his own safety.

BY-ENDS. My Brethren, we are, as you see, going all on Pilgrimage, and for our better diversion from things that are bad, give me leave to propound unto you this question.

*Suppose a man, a Minister, or a Tradesman, &c. should have an advantage lie before him to get the good blessings of this life. Yet so, as that he can by no means come by them, except, in appearance at least, he becomes extraordinary Zealous in some points of Religion, that he meddled not with before, may he not use
 30 this means to attain his end, and yet be a right honest man?*

MONY-LOVE. I see the bottom of your question, and with these Gentlemen's good leave, I will endeavour to shape you an answer. And first to speak to your question, as it concerns a Minister himself. *Suppose a Minister, a worthy man, possessed but of a very small benefice, and has in his eye a greater, more fat, and plump by far; he has also now an opportunity of getting of it; yet so as by being more studious, by preaching more frequently and zealously, and because the temper of the people*

requires it, by altering of some of his principles; for my part I see no reason but a man may do this (provided he has a call,) ay, and more a great deal besides, and yet be an honest man. For why,

1. His desire of a greater benefice is lawful (this cannot be contradicted) since 'tis set before him by providence; so then, he may get it if he can, *making no question for conscience sake.*

2. Besides, his desire after that benefice makes him more studious, a more zealous preacher, &c. and so makes him a better man. Yea makes him better improve his parts, which is according to the mind of God. 10

3. Now as for his complying with the temper of his people, by dissenting, to serve them, some of his principles, this argueth, 1. That he is of a self-denying temper. 2. Of a sweet and winning deportment. 3. And so more fit for the Ministerial function.

4. I conclude then, that a Minister that changes a *small* for a *great*, should not, for so doing, be judged as covetous, but rather, since he is improved in his parts and industry thereby, be counted as one that pursues his call, and the opportunity put into his hand to do good. 20

And now to the second part of the question which concerns the *Tradesman* you mentioned: suppose such an one to have but a poor imploy in the world, but by becoming Religious, he may mend his market, perhaps get a rich wife, or more and far better customers to his shop. For my part I see no reason but that this may be lawfully done. For why,

1. To become religious is a vertue, by what means soever a man becomes so.

2. Nor is it unlawful to get a rich wife, or more custom to my shop.

3. Besides the man that gets these by becoming religious, gets that which is good, of them that are good, by becoming good himself; so then here is a good wife, and good customers, and good gain, and all these by becoming religious, which is good. Therefore to become religious to get all these is a good and profitable design. 30

This answer, thus made by this *Mr. Money-love* to *Mr. By-ends* question, was highly applauded by them all; wherefore

they concluded upon the whole, that it was most wholesome and advantageous. And because, as they thought, no man was able to contradict it, and because *Christian* and *Hopeful* was yet within call, they joyntly agreed to assault them with the question as soon as they overtook them, and the rather because they had opposed *Mr. By-ends* before. So they called after them, and they stopt, and stood still till they came up to them; but they concluded as they went, that not *Mr. By-ends*, but old *Mr. Hold-the-world* should propound the question to
 10 them, because, as they supposed, their answer to him would be without the remainder of that heat that was kindled betwixt *Mr. By-ends* and them, at their parting a little before.

So they came up to each other and after a short salutation, *Mr. Hold-the-World* propounded the question to *Christian* and his fellow, and bid them to answer it if they could.

CHR. Then said *Christian*, even a babe in Religion may answer ten thousand such questions. For if it be unlawful to follow Christ for loaves, as it is, *Jab. 6*. How much more
 abominable is it to make of him and religion a stalking horse
 20 to get and enjoy the world. Nor do we find any other than Heathens, Hypocrites, Devils and Witches that are of this opinion.

1. *Heathens*, for when *Hamor* and *Shechem* had a mind to the Daughter and Cattle of *Jacob*, and saw that there was no ways for them to come at them, but by becoming circumcised, they say to their companions; If every male of us be circumcised, as they are circumcised, shall not their Cattle, and their substance, and every beast of theirs be ours? Their Daughter and their Cattle were that which they sought
 30 to obtain, and their Religion the stalking horse they made use of to come at them. Read the whole story, *Gen. 34. 20, 21, 22, 23*.

2. The Hypocritical Pharisees were also of this Religion, long prayers were their pretence, but to get widows' houses were their intent, and greater damnation was from God their Judgment, *Luke 20. 46, 47*.

3. *Judas* the Devil was also of this Religion, he was religious for the bag, that he might be possessed of what was

therein; but he was lost, cast away, and the very Son of perdition.

4. *Simon* the witch was of this Religion too, for he would have had the Holy Ghost, that he might have got money therewith, and his sentence from *Peter's* mouth was according, *Acts* 8. 19, 20, 21, 22.

5. Neither will it out of my mind, but that that man that takes up Religion for the world, will throw away Religion for the world; for so surely as *Judas* designed the world in becoming religious, so surely did he also sell Religion, and his Master 10 for the same. To answer the question therefore affirmatively, as I perceive you have done, and to accept of as authentick such answer, is both Heathenish, Hypocritical and Devilish, and your reward will be according to your works. Then they stood staring one upon another, but had not wherewith to answer *Christian*. *Hopeful* also approved of the soundness of *Christian's* answer, so there was a great silence among them. Mr. *By-ends* and his company also staggered and kept behind, that *Christian* and *Hopeful* might outgo them. Then said *Christian* to his fellow, If these men cannot 20 stand before the sentence of men, what will they do with the sentence of God? & if they are mute when dealt with by vessels of clay, what will they do when they shall be rebuked by the flames of a devouring fire?

The ease
that Pil-
grims have
is but little
in this life.

Lucre Hill a
dangerous
Hill.

Then *Christian* and *Hopeful* out-went them, and went till they came at a delicate Plain, called *Ease*, where they went with much content; but that plain was but narrow, so they were quickly got over it. Now at the further side of that plain, was a little Hill called *Lucre*, and in that Hill a Silver-Mine, which some of them that had formerly gone that way, 30 because of the rarity of it, had turned aside to see; but going too near the brink of the pit, the ground being deceitful under them, broke, and they were slain; some also had been maimed there, and could not to their dying day be their own men again.

Demas at
the Hill
Lucre.

Then I saw in my Dream, that a little off the road, over against the Silver-Mine, stood *Demas* (Gentleman-like,) to call to Passengers to come and see: who said to *Christian* and

his Fellow; Ho, turn aside hither, and I will shew you a thing.

CHR. *What thing so deserving, as to turn us out of the way?*

DE. Here is a Silver-Mine, and some digging in it for Treasure; if you will come, with a little pains, you may richly provide for yourselves.

HOPE. Then said Hopeful, *Let us go see.*

CHR. Not I, said *Christian*; I have heard of this place before now, and how many have there been slain; and besides, that Treasure is a snare to those that seek it, for it hindreth them in their Pilgrimage. Then *Christian* called to *Demas*, saying, *Is not the place dangerous? bath it not bindred many in their Pilgrimage?*

DE. Not very dangerous, except to those that are careless: but withal, he *blusbed* as he spake.

CHR. Then said *Christian* to *Hopeful*, Let us not stir a step, but still keep on our way.

HOPE. *I will warrant you, when By-ends comes up, if he bath the same invitation as we, he will turn in thither to see.*

CHR. No doubt thereof, for his principles lead him that way, and a hundred to one but he dies there.

DE. Then *Demas* called again, saying, But will you not come over and see?

CHR. Then *Christian* roundly answered, saying, *Demas*, Thou art an Enemy to the right ways of the Lord in this way, and hast been already condemned for thine own turning aside, by one of his Majesty's Judges; and why seekest thou to bring us into the like condemnation? Besides, if we at all turn aside, our Lord the King will certainly hear thereof; and will there put us to shame, where we would stand with boldness before him.

Demas cried again, That he also was one of their fraternity; and that if they would tarry a little, he also himself would walk with them.

CHR. Then said *Christian*, What is thy name? is it not the same by the which I have called thee?

DE. Yes, my name is *Demas*, I am the son of *Abraham*.

CHR. I know you, *Gebazi* was your Great-Grandfather, and

He calls to Christian and Hopeful to come to him.

Hopeful tempted to go but Christian holds him back.

1102. 4. 18.

Christian roundeth up Demas. 2 Tim. 4. 10.

Matth. 26. 14. *Judas* your Father, and you have trod their steps. It is but
 15. chap. 27. a devilish prank that thou usest. Thy Father was hanged for
 3 4 5. a Traitor, and thou deservest no better reward. Assure thyself, that when we come to the King, we will do him word of this thy behaviour. Thus they went their way.

By this time *By-ends* and his companions was come again within sight, and they at the first beck went over to *Demas*.
By-ends goes over to Demas. Now whether they fell into the Pit by looking over the brink thereof; or whether they went down to dig, or whether they were smothered in the bottom, by the damps that commonly arise, of these things I am not certain: But this I observed, that they were never seen again in the way. Then sang Christian,

*By-ends and Silver-Demas both agree;
 One calls, the other runs, that be may be,
 A sharer in his Lucre: so these two
 Take up in this World, and no further go.*

They see a strange Monument. Now I saw, that just on the other side of this Plain, the Pilgrims came to a place where stood an old Monument, hard by the High-way-side, at the sight of which they were both concerned, because of the strangeness of the form thereof; for it seemed to them as if it had been a Woman transformed into the shape of a Pillar: here therefore they stood looking, and looking upon it, but could not for a time tell what they should make thereof. At last *Hopeful* espied written above upon the head thereof, a Writing in an unusual hand; but he being no Scholar, called to *Christian* (for he was learned) to see if he could pick out the meaning: so he came, and after a little laying of Letters together, he found the same to be this, *Remember Lot's Wife*. So he read it to his fellow; after which, they both concluded, that that was the Pillar of Salt into which *Lot's Wife* was turned for looking back with a covetous heart, when she was going from *Sodom* for safety, which sudden and amazing sight, gave them occasion of this discourse.

Gen. 19. 26.

CHR. Ah my brother, this is a seasonable sight, it came opportunely to us after the invitation which *Demas* gave us to come over to view the Hill *Lucre*: and had we gone over

as he desired us, and as thou wast inclining to do (my Brother) we had, for ought I know, been made ourselves like this Woman, a spectacle for those that shall come after to behold.

HOPE. I am sorry that I was so foolish, and am made to wonder that I am not now as *Lot's Wife*; for wherein was the difference 'twixt her sin and mine. She only looked back, and I had a desire to go see. Let Grace be adored, and let me be ashamed that ever such a thing should be in mine
10 heart.

CHR. Let us take notice of what we see here, for our help for time to come: *This woman* escaped one Judgment; for she fell not by the destruction of *Sodom*, yet she was destroyed by another; as we see, she is turned into a Pillar of Salt.

HOPE. True, and she may be to us both *Caution* and *Example*; *Caution* that we should shun her sin, or a sign of what judgment will overtake such as shall not be prevented by this caution. So *Korab*, *Datban*, and *Abiram*, with the two Numb. 26. 9. hundred and fifty men, that perished in their sin, did also ¹⁰ become a sign, or example to others to beware. But above all, I muse at one thing, to wit, how *Demas* and his fellows can stand so confidently yonder to look for that treasure, which this Woman, but for looking behind her, after (for we read not that she stept one foot out of the way) was turned into a pillar of Salt; specially since the Judgment which overtook her, did make her an example, within sight of where they are: for they cannot chuse but see her, did they but lift up their eyes.

CHR. It is a thing to be wondered at, and it argueth that
30 their heart is grown desperate in the case; and I cannot tell who to compare them to so fitly, as to them that pick Pockets in the presence of the Judge, or that will cut Purses under the Gallows. It is said of the men of *Sodom*, that they were Gen. 13. 1. sinners exceedingly, because they were sinners before the Lord; that is, in his eyesight; and notwithstanding the kindnesses that he had shewed them, for the land of *Sodom*, was now, like the Garden of *Eden* heretofore. This therefore provoked him ver. 10. the more to jealousy, and made their plague as hot as the fire

of the Lord out of Heaven could make it. And it is most rationally to be concluded, that such, even such as these are, that shall sin in the sight, yea, and that too in despite of such examples that are set continually before them, to caution them to the contrary, must be partakers of severest Judgments.

HOPE. Doubtless thou hast said the truth, but what a mercy is it, that neither thou, but especially I, am not made myself this example: this ministrereth occasion to us to thank God, to fear before him, and always to remember *Lot's Wife*.

I saw then, that they went on their way to a pleasant River, which *David the King* called *the River of God*; but *John*, *the River of the water of life*. Now their way lay just upon the bank of the River: here therefore *Christian* and his Companion walked with great delight. They drank also of the water of the River, which was pleasant and enlivening to their weary Spirits: besides, on the banks of this River on either side were *green Trees*, that bore all manner of Fruit; and the leaves of the Trees were good for Medicine; with the Fruit of these Trees they were also much delighted; and the leaves they eat to prevent Surfeits, and other Diseases that are incident to those that heat their blood by Travels. On either side of the River was also a Meadow, curiously beautified with Lilies; and it was green all the year long. In this Meadow they lay down and slept, for here they might *lie down safely*. When they awoke, they gathered again of the Fruit of the Trees, and drank again of the Water of the River, and then lay down again to sleep. Thus they did several days and nights. Then they sang:

*Behold ye how these Crystal streams do glide
(To comfort Pilgrims) by the Highway side;
The Meadows green, besides their fragrant smell,
Yield dainties for them: And be that can tell
What pleasant Fruit, yea Leaves, these Trees do yield,
Will soon sell all, that he may buy this Field.*

So when they were disposed to go on (for they were not, as yet, at their Journey's end) they eat and drank, and departed.

Now I beheld in my Dream, that they had not journeyed far, but the River and the way, for a time, parted. At which they were not a little sorry, yet they durst not go out of the way. Now the way from the River was rough, and their feet tender by reason of their Travels: *So the soul of the Pilgrims* Numb. 21. 4 *was much discouraged, because of the way.* Wherefore still as they went on, they wished for better way. Now a little before them, there was on the left hand of the Road, a *Meadow*, and a Stile to go over into it, and that *Meadow* is 10 called *By-Path-Meadow*. Then said *Christian* to his fellow, If this *Meadow* lieth along by our way side, lets go over into it. Then he went to the Stile to see, and behold a Path lay along by the way on the other side of the fence. 'Tis according to my wish said *Christian*, here is the easiest going; come good *Hopeful*, and let us go over. Ry-Path-Meander. One Temptation does make way for another.

HOPE. But how if this Path should lead us out of the way?

CHR. That's not like, said the other; look, doth it not go along by the way side? So *Hopeful*, being perswaded by his fellow, went after him over the Stile. When they were gone 20 over, and were got into the Path, they found it very easy for their feet; and withal, they looking before them, espied a Man walking as they did, (and his name was *Vain confidence*) so they called after him, and asked him whither that way led? he said, *To the Celestial Gate*. Look, said *Christian*, did not I tell you so? by this you may see we are right. So they followed, and he went before them. But behold the night came on, and it grew very dark, so that they that were behind lost the sight of him that went before. Strong Christians may lead weak ones out of the way. See what it is too suddenly to fall in with strangers.

He therefore that went before (*Vain confidence* by name) 30 not seeing the way before him, fell into a deep Pit, which was on purpose there made by the Prince of those grounds to catch *vain glorious* fools withal and was dashed to pieces with his fall. Isa. 9. 16. A Pit to catch the vain-glorious in.

Now *Christian* and his fellow heard him fall. So they called, to know the matter, but there was none to answer, only they heard a groaning. Then said *Hopeful*, Where are we now? Then was his fellow silent, as mistrusting that he had led him out of the way. And now it began to rain, and Reasoning between Christian and Hopeful.

thunder, and lighten in a very dreadful manner, and the water rose amain.

Then *Hopeful* groaned in himself, saying, *Oh that I had kept on my way!*

CHR. Who could have thought that this path should have led us out of the way?

HOPE. *I was afraid on't at very first, and therefore gave you that gentle caution. I would have spoke plainer, but that you are older than I.*

Christians
repentance
for leading
of his Bro-
ther out of
the way.

CHR. Good Brother be not offended, I am sorry I have ¹⁰ brought thee out of the way, and that I have put thee into such eminent danger; pray my Brother forgive me, I did not do it of an evil intent.

HOPE. *Be comforted my Brother for I forgive thee; and believe too, that this shall be for our good.*

CHR. I am glad I have with me a merciful Brother. But [➤] we must not stand thus; let's try to go back again.

HOPE. *But good Brother let me go before.*

CHR. No, if you please, let me go first; that if there be any danger, I may be first therein, because by my means we ²⁰ are both gone out of the way.

HOPE. *No, said Hopeful, you shall not go first, for your mind being troubled, may lead you out of the way again.* Then for their encouragement, they heard the voice of one saying, *Let thine heart be towards the High-way, even the way that thou wentest, turn again.* But by this time the Waters were greatly risen, by reason of which, the way of going back was very dangerous. (Then I thought that it is easier going out of the way when we are in, than going in when we are out.)¹ Yet they adventured to go back; but it was so dark, and the ³⁰ flood was so high, that in their going back, they had like to have been drowned nine or ten times.

Jer. 31. 21.
They are in
danger of
drowning
as they go
back.

Neither could they, with all the skill they had, get again to the Stile that night. Wherefore, at last, lighting under a little shelter, they sat down there till the day brake; but

¹ The Pilgrims now, to gratify the Flesh,
Will seek its ease; but Oh! how they afresh
Do thereby plunge themselves new grivens into:
Who seek to please the Flesh, themselves undo.

being weary, they fell asleep. Now there was not far from the place where they lay, a Castle, called Doubting-Castle, the owner whereof was Giant Despair, and it was in his grounds they now were sleeping; wherefore he getting up in the morning early, and walking up and down in his Fields, caught Christian and Hopeful asleep in his grounds. Then with a grim and surly voice he bid them awake, and asked them whence they were? and what they did in his grounds? They told him, they were Pilgrims, and that they had lost their way. Then said the Giant, You have this night trespassed on me, by trampling in, and lying on my grounds, and therefore you must go along with me. So they were forced to go, because he was stronger than they. They also had but little to say, for they knew themselves in a fault. The Giant therefore drove them before him, and put them into his Castle, into a very dark Dungeon, nasty and stinking to the spirit of these two men. Here then they lay, from Wednesday morning till Saturday night, without one bit of bread, or drop of drink, or any light, or any to ask how they did. They were therefore here in evil case, and were far from friends and acquaintance. Now in this place, Christian had double sorrow, because 'twas through his unadvised haste that they were brought into this distress.

Now Giant Despair had a Wife, and her name was Diffidence. So when he was gone to bed, he told his Wife what he had done, to wit, that he had taken a couple of Prisoners, and cast them into his Dungeon, for trespassing on his grounds. Then he asked her also what he had best to do further to them. So she asked him what they were, whence they came, and whither they were bound; and he told her: then she counselled him, that when he arose in the morning, he should beat them, without any mercy. So when he arose, he getteth him a grievous Crab-tree Cudgel, and goes down into the Dungeon to them; and there, first falls to rateing of them as if they were dogs, although they gave him never a word of distaste; then he falls upon them, and beats them fearfully, in such sort, that they were not able to help themselves, or to turn them upon the floor. This done, he withdraws and

They sleep in the grounds of Giant Despair.

He finds them in his ground and carries them to Doubting Castle.

The Grievousness of their Imprisonment.

Ps. 88. 18.

On Thursday Giant Despair beats his Prisoners.

leaves them, there to condole their misery, and to mourn under their distress. So all that day they spent the time in nothing but sighs and bitter lamentations. The next night she talking with her Husband about them further, and understanding that they were yet alive, did advise him to counsel them, to make away themselves. So when morning was come, he goes to them in a surly manner, as before, and perceiving them to be very sore with the stripes that he had given them the day before, he told them, that since they were never like to come out of that place, their only way ¹⁰ would be, forthwith to make an end of themselves, either with Knife, Halter, or Poison: For why, said he, should you chuse life, seeing it is attended with so much bitterness. But they desired him to let them go; with that he looked ugly upon them, and rushing to them, had doubtless made an end of them himself, but that he fell into one of his fits; (for he sometimes in sun-shine weather fell into fits) and lost (for a time) the use of his hand: wherefore he withdrew, and left them, (as before) to consider what to do. Then did the Prisoners consult between themselves, whether 'twas best ²⁰ to take his counsel or no: and thus they began to discourse.

*On Friday
Giant Des-
pair coun-
sels them to
kill them-
selves.*

*The Giant
sometimes
has fits.*

*Christian
crushed.*

Job 7. 15.

CHR. Brother, said *Christian*, what shall we do? the life that we now live is miserable; for my part I know not whether is best, to live thus, or to die out of hand? *My soul chooseth strangling rather than life*; and the Grave is more easy for me than this Dungeon. Shall we be ruled by the Giant?

*Hopeful
comforts
him.*

HOPE. *Indeed our present condition is dreadful, and death would be far more welcome to me than thus for ever to abide. But yet let us consider, the Lord of the Country to which we are* ³⁰ *going, hath said, Thou shalt do no murther, no not to another man's person; much more then are we forbidden to take his counsel to kill ourselves. Besides, he that kills another, cannot but commit murder upon his body; but for one to kill himself, is to kill body and soul at once. And moreover, my Brother, thou talkest of ease in the Grave; but hast thou forgotten the Hell, whither for certain the murderers go? for no murderer hath eternal life, etc. And, let us consider again, that all the Law is not in the band of Giant*

Despair. Others, so far as I can understand, have been taken by him, as well as we; and yet have escaped out of his hand. Who knows but that God that made the world may cause that Giant Despair may die; or that, at some time or other he may forget to lock us in; or, but he may in short time have another of his fits before us, and may lose the use of his limbs; and if ever that should come to pass again, for my part, I am resolved to pluck up the heart of a man, and to try my utmost to get from under his band. I was a fool that I did not try to do it before: but how-
 10 ever, my Brother, let's be patient, and endure a while; the time may come that may give us a happy release: but let us not be our own murderers. With these words Hopeful at present did moderate the mind of his Brother; so they continued together (in the dark) that day, in their sad and doleful condition.

Well, towards evening the Giant goes down into the Dungeon again, to see if his Prisoners had taken his counsel; but when he came there, he found them alive, and truly, alive was all: for now, what for want of Bread and Water, and by reason of the Wounds they received when he beat them, they
 20 could do little but breathe. But, I say, he found them alive; at which he fell into a grievous rage, and told them, that seeing they had disobeyed his counsel, it should be worse with them than if they had never been born.

At this they trembled greatly, and I think that Christian fell into a Swoon; but coming a little to himself again, they renewed their discourse about the Giant's counsel; and whether yet they had best to take it or no. Now Christian again seemed to be for doing it, but Hopeful made his second reply
 as followeth. Christian still dejected.

30 HOPE. My Brother, said he, remembrest thou not how valiant thou hast been heretofore. Apollyon could not crush thee, nor could all that thou didst bear, or see, or feel in the Valley of the Shadow of Death. What hardship, terror, and amazement hast thou already gone through, and art thou now nothing but fear? Thou seest that I am in the Dungeon with thee, a far weaker man by nature than thou art: also this Giant has wounded me as well as thee, and hath also cut off the Bread and Water from my mouth; and with thee I mourn without the light: but let's exercise a little

Hopeful comforts him again, by calling former things to remembrance.

more patience. Remember how thou playedst the man at Vanity Fair, and wast neither afraid of the Chain nor Cage; nor yet of bloody Death: wherefore let us (at least to avoid the shame, that becomes not a Christian to be found in) bear up with patience as well as we can.

Now night being come again, and the *Giant* and his Wife being in bed, she asked him concerning the Prisoners, and if they had taken his counsel: To which he replied, They are sturdy Rogues, they chuse rather to bear all hardship than to make away themselves. Then said she, Take them into the Castle-yard to morrow, and show them the *Bones* and *Skulls* of those that thou hast already dispatch'd; and make them believe, e're a week comes to an end, thou also wilt tear them in pieces, as thou hast done their fellows before them.

On Saturday the *Giant* threatened, that shortly he would pull them in pieces.

So when the morning was come, the *Giant* goes to them again, and takes them into the Castle-yard, and shews them as his Wife had bidden him. These, said he, were Pilgrims as you are, once, and they trespassed in my grounds as you have done; and when I thought fit, I tore them in pieces; and so within ten days I will do you. Go get you down to your Den again; and with that he beat them all the way thither. They lay therefore all day on *Saturday* in a lamentable case, as before. Now when night was come, and when Mrs. *Diffidence* and her Husband, the *Giant*, were got to bed, they began to renew their discourse of their Prisoners: and withal, the old *Giant* wondered, that he could neither by his blows, nor counsel, bring them to an end. And with that his Wife replied, I fear, said she, that they live in hope that some will come to relieve them, or that they have pick-locks about them; by the means of which they hope to escape. And, sayest thou so, my dear? said the *Giant*, I will therefore search them in the morning.

Well, on *Saturday* about midnight they began to pray, and continued in Prayer till almost break of day.

A Key in Christian's bosom called Promise, opens any Lock in Doubting Castle.

Now a little before it was day, good *Christian*, as one half amazed, brake out in this passionate Speech, What a fool, quoth he, am I thus to lie in a stinking Dungeon, when I may as well walk at liberty! I have a Key in my bosom, called Promise,

that will, I am persuaded, open any Lock in Doubting Castle. Then said Hopeful, That's good news; good Brother pluck it out of thy bosom and try.

Then Christian pulled it out of his bosom, and began to try at the Dungeon door, whose bolt (as he turned the Key) gave back, and the door flew open with ease, and Christian and Hopeful both came out. Then he went to the outward door that leads into the Castle yard, and with his Key opened the door also. After he went to the Iron Gate, for that must be
 10 opened too, but that Lock went damnable hard, yet the Key did open it; then they thrust open the Gate to make their escape with speed, but that Gate, as it opened, made such a creaking, that it waked Giant Despair, who hastily rising to pursue his Prisoners, felt his Limbs to fail, for his fits took him again, so that he could by no means go after them. Then they went on, and came to the King's high-way again, and so were safe, because they were out of his Jurisdiction. J

Now when they were gone over the Stile, they began to contrive with themselves what they should do at that Stile,
 20 to prevent those that should come after, from falling into the hands of Giant Despair. So they consented to erect there a Pillar, and to engrave upon the side thereof *Over this Stile is the Way to Doubting-Castle, which is kept by Giant Despair, who despiseth the King of the Celestial Country, and seeks to destroy his holy Pilgrims.* Many therefore that followed after, read what was written, and escaped the danger. This done, they sang as follows.

*A Pillar
erected by
Christian
and his
fellows.*

*Out of the way we went, and then we found
 What 'twas to tread upon forbidden ground:
 30 And let them that come after have a care,
 Lest heedlessness makes them, as we, to fare:
 Lest they, for trespassing, his prisoners are,
 Whose Castle's Doubting, and whose name's Despair.*

They went then, till they came to the Delectable Mountains, which Mountains belong to the Lord of that Hill, of which we have spoken before; so they went up to the Mountains, to behold the Gardens and Orchards, the Vineyards,
 The delectable mountains. L
 They are refreshed in the mountains.

and Fountains of water; where also they drank, and washed themselves, and did freely eat of the Vineyards. Now there was on the tops of these Mountains Shepherds feeding their flocks, and they stood by the high-way side¹. The Pilgrims therefore went to them, and leaning upon their staves, (as is common with weary Pilgrims, when they stand to talk with any by the way,) they asked, *Whose delectable Mountains are these? and whose be the sheep that feed upon them?*

*Talk with
the Shep-
herds.*

John 10 11.

SHEP. These Mountains are *Immanuel's Land*, and they are within sight of his City, and the sheep also are his, and he 10 laid down his life for them.

CHR. *Is this the way to the Celestial City?*

SHEP. You are just in your way.

CHR. *How far is it thither?*

SHEP. Too far for any but those that *shall* get thither indeed.

CHR. *Is the way safe, or dangerous?*

Heb. 12 9.

SHEP. Safe for those for whom it is to be safe, but *transgressors shall fall therein*.

CHR. *Is there in this place any relief for Pilgrims that are 20 weary and faint in the way?*

Heb. 13 1, 2.

SHEP. The Lord of these Mountains hath given us a charge, *Not to be forgetful to entertain strangers*: Therefore the good of the place is even before you.

I saw also in my Dream, that when the Shepherds perceived that they were way-faring men, they also put questions to them, (to which they made answer as in other places,) as, *Whence came you?* and, *How got you into the way?* and, *By what means have you so persevered therein?* For but few of them that begin to come hither, do shew their face 30 on these Mountains. But when the Shepherds heard their answers, being pleased therewith, they looked very lovingly upon them; and said, *Welcome to the delectable Mountains*.

*The shep-
herds wel-
come them.
The Names
of the shep-
herds.*

The Shepherds, I say, whose names were *Knowledge, Expe-*

¹ Mountains delectable they now ascend,
Where Shepherds be, which to them do commend
Alluring things, and things that cautious are,
Pilgrims are steady kept by faith and fear.

rience, *Watchful*, and *Sincere*, took them by the hand, and had them to their Tents, and made them partake of that which was ready at present. They said moreover, We would that you should stay here a while, to be acquainted with us, and yet more to solace yourselves with the good of these delectable Mountains. They told them, That they were content to stay; and so they went to their rest that night, because it was very late.

Then I saw in my Dream that in the morning the Shepherds called up *Christian* and *Hopeful* to walk with them upon the Mountains. So they went forth with them, and walked a while, having a pleasant prospect on every side. Then said the Shepherds one to another, Shall we shew these Pilgrims some wonders? So when they had concluded to do it, they had them first to the top of an Hill called *Error*, which was very steep on the furthest side, and bid them look down to the bottom. So *Christian* and *Hopeful* lookt down, and saw at the bottom several men dashed all to pieces by a fall that they had from the top. Then said *Christian*, What meaneth
 20 this? The Shepherds answered; Have you not heard of them that were made to err, by hearkening to *Hymeneus* and *Philetus*, as concerning the Faith of the Resurrection of the Body? They answered, Yes. Then said the Shepherds, Those that you see lie dashed in pieces at the bottom of this Mountain, *are they*: and they have continued to this day unburied (as you see) for an example to others to take heed how they clamber too high, or how they come too near the brink of this Mountain.

*They are
shown won-
ders.
The Moun-
tain of
Error.*

*2 Tim. ii. 17.
18.*

Then I saw that they had them to the top of another
 30 Mountain, and the name of that is *Caution*; and bid them look afar off. Which when they did, they perceived as they thought, several men walking up and down among the Tombs that were there. And they perceived that the men were blind, because they stumbled sometimes upon the Tombs, and because they could not get out from among them. Then said *Christian*, *What means this?*

*Mount
Caution.*

The Shepherds then answered, Did you not see a little below these Mountains a *Stile* that led into a Meadow on

the left hand of this way? They answered, Yes. Then said the Shepherds, From that Stile there goes a path that leads directly to *Doubting-Castle*, which is kept by *Giant Despair*; and these men (pointing to them among the Tombs) came once on Pilgrimage, as you do now, even till they came to that same *Stile*. And because the right way was rough in that place, they chose to go out of it into that Meadow, and there were taken by *Giant Despair*, and cast into *Doubting-Castle*; where, after they had a while been kept in the Dungeon, he at last did put out their eyes, and led them among those 10 Tombs, where he has left them to wander to this very day; that the saying of the wise Man might be fulfilled, *He that wandereth out of the way of understanding shall remain in the Congregation of the dead*. Then *Christian* and *Hopeful* looked one upon another, with tears gushing out; but yet said nothing to the Shepherds.

Then I saw in my Dream, that the Shepherds had them to another place, in a bottom, where was a door in the side of an Hill; and they opened the door, and bid them look in. They looked in therefore, and saw that within it was very 20 dark, and smoaky; they also thought that they heard there a rumbling noise as of fire, and a cry of some tormented, and that they smelt the scent of Brimstone. Then said *Christian*, *What means this?* The Shepherds told them, saying, this is a By-way to Hell, a way that Hypocrites go in at; namely, such as sell their Birth-right, with *Esau*: such as sell their Master, with *Judas*: such as blaspheme the Gospel, with *Alexander*: and that lie and dissemble, with *Ananias* and *Sapphira* his wife.

A by-way
to Hell.

>

HOPE. Then said *Hopeful* to the Shepherds, *I perceive that 30 these had on them, even every one, a shew of Pilgrimage as we have now; had they not?*

SHEP. Yes, and held it a long time too.

HOPE. *How far might they go on Pilgrimage in their day, since they notwithstanding were thus miserably cast away?*

SHEP. Some further, and some not so far as these Mountains.

Then said the Pilgrims one to another, *We had need cry to the Strong for strength.*

SHEP. Ay, and you will have need to use it when you have it, too.

By this time the Pilgrims had a desire to go forwards, and the Shepherds a desire they should; so they walked together towards the end of the Mountains. Then said the Shepherds one to another, Let us here shew to the Pilgrims the Gates of the Cœlestial City, if they have skill to look through our Perspective Glass. The Pilgrims then lovingly accepted the motion: so they had them to the top of an high Hill, called
 10 Clear, and gave them their Glass to look. Then they essayed to look, but the remembrance of that last thing that the Shepherds had shewed them made their hand shake, by means of which impediment they could not look steadily through the Glass; yet they thought they saw something like the Gate, and also some of the Glory of the place.

*The Shep-
herds Per-
spective-
glass.
The Hill
Clear.*

*The fruit of
slavish fear.*

*Thus by the Shepherds, Secrets are reveal'd,
Which from all other men are kept conceal'd:
Come to the Shepherds then, if you would see
Things deep, things hid, and that mysterious be.*

20 When they were about to depart, one of the Shepherds gave them a note of the way, Another of them bid them beware of the flatterer, The third, bid them take heed that they sleep not upon the Incubanted Ground, and the fourth, bid them God speed. So I awoke from my Dream.

*A two-fold
caution.*

And I slept, and dreamed again, and saw the same two Pilgrims going down the Mountains along the High-way towards the City. Now a little below these Mountains, on the left hand, lieth the Country of Conceit, from which Country there comes into the way in which the Pilgrims walked, a
 30 little crooked Lane. Here therefore they met with a very brisk Lad, that came out of that Country; and his name was Ignorance. So Christian asked him, From what parts he came? and whither he was going?

*The Country
of Conceit,
out of which
came Ignor-
ance.*

IGN. Sir, I was born in the Country that lieth off there, a little on the left hand; and I am going to the Cœlestial City.

*Christian
and Ignor-
ance hath
some talk.*

CHR. But how do you think to get in at the Gate, for you may find some difficulty there.

IGN. As other good People do, said he.

CHR. *But what have you to shew at that Gate, that may cause that the Gate should be opened to you?*

*The ground
of Ignorance's hope.*

IGN. I know my Lords will, and I have been a good liver, I pay every man his own; I Pray, Fast, pay Tithes, and give Alms, and have left my Country for whither I am going.

CHR. *But thou camest not in at the Wicket-gate, that is at the head of this way; thou camest in hither through that same crooked Lane; and therefore I fear, however thou mayest think of thyself, when the reckoning day shall come, thou wilt have laid to thy charge that thou art a Thief and a Robber, instead of getting admittance into the City.*

He saith to every one that he is a fool.

IGN. Gentlemen, ye be utter strangers to me, I know you not; be content to follow the Religion of your Country, and I will follow the Religion of mine. I hope all will be well. And as for the Gate that you talk of, all the World knows that that is a great way off of our Country. I cannot think that any man in all our parts doth so much as know the way to it; nor need they matter whether they do or no, since we have, as you see, a fine pleasant green Lane, that comes down 20 from our Country the next way into it.

Pr. 26. 12.

Ecc. 10. 3.

How to carry it to a fool.

When Christian saw that the man was wise in his own conceit, he said to Hopeful whisperingly, *There is more hopes of a fool than of him.* And said moreover *When he that is a fool walketh by the way, his wisdom faileth him, and he saith to every one that he is a fool.* What, shall we talk further with him? or out-go him at present? and so leave him to think of what he hath heard already; and then stop again for him afterwards, and see if by degrees we can do any good of him? Then said Hopeful: 30

*Let Ignorance a little while now muse
On what is said, and let him not refuse
Good Counsel to imbrace, lest he remain
Still Ignorant of what's the chiefest gain.
God saith, Those that no understanding have
(Although he made them) them he will not save.*

HOPE. He further added, It is not good, I think, to say all

to him at once, let us pass him by, if you will, and talk to him anon, *even as he is able to bear it.*

So they both went on, and Ignorance he came after. Now when they had passed him a little way, they entered into a very dark Lane, where they met a man whom seven Devils had bound with seven strong Cords, and were carrying of him back to the door that they saw in the side of the Hill. Now good *Christian* began to tremble, and so did *Hopeful* his Companion: yet as the Devils led away the man, *Christian* looked to see if he knew him, and he thought it might be one *Turn-away* that dwelt in the *Town of Apostacy*. But he did not perfectly see his face, for he did hang his head like a Thief that is found. But being gone past, *Hopeful* looked after him, and espied on his back a Paper with this Inscription, *Wanton Professor, and damnable Apostate*. Then said *Christian* to his Fellow, Now I call to remembrance that which was told me of a thing that happened to a good man hereabout. The name of the man was *Little-Faith*, but a good man, and he dwelt in the *Town of Sincere*. The thing was this; at the entering in of this passage there comes down from *Broad-way-gate* a Lane called *Dead-man's-lane*; so called, because of the Murders that are commonly done there. And this *Little-Faith* going on Pilgrimage, as we do now, chanced to sit down there and slept. Now there happened, at that time, to come down that Lane from *Broad-way-gate* three Sturdy Rogues, and their names were *Faint-heart*, *Mistrust*, and *Guilt*, (three brothers) and they espying *Little-Faith* where he was, came galloping up with speed. Now the good man was just awaked from his sleep, and was getting up to go on his Journey. So they came all up to him, and with threatening Language bid him stand. At this, *Little-faith* looked as white as a Clout, and had neither power to fight nor fly. Then said *Faint-heart*, Deliver thy Purse; but he making no haste to do it, (for he was loth to lose his Money,) *Mistrust* ran up to him, and thrusting his hand into his Pocket, pull'd out thence a bag of Silver. Then he cried out, Thieves, thieves. With that, *Guilt* with a great Club that was in his hand, strook *Little-Faith* on the head, and

Matt. 17. 45.
Prov. 5. 22.

The destruction of one Turn-away.

Christian telleth his Companion a story of Little-Faith.

Broad-way-gate.
Dead-man's Lane.

Little-Faith robbed by Faint-heart, Mistrust, and Guilt.

They got away his Silver, and knockt him down.

with that blow fell'd him flat to the ground, where he lay bleeding as one that would bleed to death. All this while the Thieves stood by: but at last, they hearing that some were upon the Road, and fearing lest it should be one *Great-grace* that dwells in the City of *Good-confidence*, they betook themselves to their heels, and left this good man to shift for himself. Now after a while, *Little-faith* came to himself, and getting up, made shift to scrabble on his way. This was the story.

HOPE. *But did they take from him all that ever he had?* 10

*Little-Faith
lost not his
best things.*

CHR. No: the place where his Jewels were, they never ransack'd, so those he kept still; but as, I was told, the good man was much afflicted for his loss. For the Thieves got most of his spending Money. That which they got not (as I said) were Jewels, also he had a little odd Money left, but scarce enough to bring him to his Journeys end; nay, (if I was not mis-informed) he was forced to beg as he went, to keep himself alive, (for his Jewels he might not sell.) But beg, and do what he could, *he went* (as we say) *with many a hungry belly*, the most part of the rest of the way. 20

*1 Pet. 4. 18.
Little-Faith
forced to beg
to his Jour-
neys end.*

HOPE. *But is it not a wonder they got not from him his Certificate, by which he was to receive his admittance at the Celestial gate?*

*He kept not
his best
Things by
his own
Cunning.
1 Tim. 1. 14.*

CHR. 'Tis a wonder, but they got not that: though they mist it not through any good cunning of his, for he being dismayed with their coming upon him, had neither power nor skill to hide any thing: so 'twas more by good Providence than by his endeavour, that they mist of *that good thing*.

HOPE. *But it must needs be a comfort to him, that they got not this Jewel from him.* 30

1 Pet. 1. 9.

CHR. It might have been great comfort to him, had he used it as he should; but they that told me the story, said, That he made but little use of it all the rest of the way; and that because of the dismay that he had in their taking away of his Money: indeed he forgot it a great part of the rest of the Journey; and besides, when at any time, it came into his mind, and he began to be comforted therewith, then would

fresh thoughts of his loss come again upon him, and those thoughts would swallow up all.

HOPE. *Alas poor Man! this could not but be a great grief* He is pained by both.
unto him.

CHR. Grief! Ay, a grief indeed, would it not have been so to any of us, had we been used as he, to be robbed and wounded too, and that in a strange place, as he was? 'Tis a wonder he did not die with grief, poor heart! I was told, that he scattered almost all the rest of the way with nothing
10 but doleful and bitter complaints. Telling also to all that over-took him, or that he over-took in the way as he went, where he was robbed, and how; who they were that did it, and what he lost; how he was wounded, and that he hardly escaped with life.

HOPE. *But 'tis a wonder that his necessities did not put him upon selling, or pawning some of his Jewels, that he might have wherewith to relieve himself in his Journey.*

CHR. Thou talkest like one upon whose head is the Shell to this very day: For what should he *pawn* them? or to
20 whom should he sell them? In all that Country where he was Robbed, his Jewels were not accounted of, nor did he want that relief which could from thence be administred to him; besides, had his Jewels been missing at the Gate of the Celestial City, he had (and that he knew well enough) been excluded from an Inheritance there; and that would have been worse to him than the appearance and villany of ten thousand Thieves.

HOPE. *Why art thou so tart my Brother? Esau sold his* Heb. 12. 16.
Birth-right, *and that for a mess of Pottage; and that Birth-*
30 *right was his greatest Jewel; and if he, why might not Little-*
Faith do so too?

CHR. *Esau* did sell his Birth-right indeed, and so do many besides; and by so doing, exclude themselves from the chief blessing, as also that *Caitiff* did. But you must put a difference betwixt *Esau* and *Little-faith*, and also betwixt their Estates. *Esau's* Birth-right was typical, but *Little-faith's* Jewels were not so. *Esau's* belly was his God, but *Little-*
30 *faith's* belly was not so. *Esau's* want lay in his fleshly A discourse about Esau and Little-Faith. Esau was ruled by his lust.

Gen. 25. 32. appetite, *Little-faith's* did not so. Besides, *Esau* could see no further than to the fulfilling of his Lusts, *For I am at the point to die*, said he, *and what good will this Birth-right do me?* But *Little-faith*, though it was his lot to have but a *little faith*, was by his *little faith* kept from such extravagances; and made to see and prize his Jewels more, than to sell them, as *Esau* did his Birth-right. You read not any where that *Esau* had *faith*, no not so much as a little. Therefore no marvel, if where the flesh only bears sway (as it will in that Man where *no faith* is to resist) if he sells his *Birth-right*, and his 10 Soul and all, and that to the Devil of Hell; for it is with such, as it is with the Ass, *Who in her occasions cannot be turned away*. When their minds are set upon their Lusts, they will have them whatever they cost. But *Little-faith* was of another temper, his mind was on things Divine; his livelihood was upon things that were Spiritual, and from above. Therefore to what end should he that is of such a temper sell his Jewels, (had there been any that would have bought them) to fill his mind with empty things? Will a man give a penny to fill his belly with hay? or can you persuade the *Turtle-dove* 20 to live upon Carrion, like the *Crow*? Though *faithless* ones, can for carnal Lusts, pawn, or mortgage, or sell what they have, and themselves outright to boot; yet they that have *faith*, *saving faith*, though but a *little* of it, cannot do so. Here therefore, my Brother, is thy mistake.

Esau never had faith.

Jer. 2. 24.

Little-Faith could not live upon Esau's Pottage.

A comparison between the Turtle-dove and the Crow.

HOPE. *I acknowledge it; but yet your severe reflection had almost made me angry.*

CHR. Why, I did but compare thee to some of the Birds that are of the brisker sort, who will run to and fro in trodden paths with the shell upon their heads: but pass by that, and 30 consider the matter under debate, and all shall be well betwixt thee and me.

HOPE. *But Christian, These three fellows, I am persuaded in my heart, are but a company of Cowards: would they have run else, think you, as they did, at the noise of one that was coming on the road? Why did not Little-faith pluck up a greater heart? He might, methinks, have stood one brush with them, and have yielded when there was no remedy.*

Hopeful swaggers.

CHR. That they are Cowards, many have said, but few have found it so in the time of Trial. As for a *great heart*, *Little-faith* had none; and I perceive by thee, my brother, hadst thou been the Man concerned, thou art but for a brush, and then to yield. And verily, since this is the height of thy Stomach now they are at a distance from us, should they appear to thee, as they did to him, they might put thee to second thoughts.

But consider again, they are but Journeymen-Thieves, they to serve under the King of the Bottomless pit; who, if need be, will come in to their aid himself, and his voice is *as the roaring of a Lion*. I myself have been engaged as this *Little-faith* was, and I found it a terrible thing. These three Villains set upon me, and I beginning like a *Christian* to resist, they gave but a call, and in came their Master. I would, as the saying is, have given my life for a penny; but that, as God would have it, I was cloathed with Armour of proof. Ay, and yet though I was so harnessed, I found it hard work to quit myself like a man; no man can tell what in that Combat attends to us, but he that hath been in the Battle himself.

HOPE. Well, but they ran, you see, when they did but suppose that one Great-grace was in the way.

CHR. True, they have often fled, both they and their Master, when *Great-grace* hath but appeared, and no marvel, for he is *the King's Champion*. But I tro, you will put some difference between *Little-faith* and the *King's Champion*; all the King's Subjects are not his Champions: nor can they, when tried, do such feats of War as he. Is it meet to think that a little child should handle *Goliath* as *David* did? or that there should be to the strength of an *Ox* in a *Wren*? Some are strong, some are weak, some have *great* faith, some have *little*: this man was one of the weak, and therefore he went to the walls.

HOPE. I would it had been *Great-grace*, for their sakes.

CHR. If it had been he, he might have had his hands full. For I must tell you, That though *Great-grace* is excellent good at his Weapons, and has and can, so long as he keeps them at Sword's point, do well enough with them: yet if they get within him, even *Faint-heart*, *Mistrust*, or the other, it shall

go hard but they will throw up his heels. And when a man is down, you know what can he do.

Whoso looks well upon *Great-grace's* face, shall see those Scars and Cuts there, that shall easily give demonstration of what I say. Yea once I heard he should say, (and that when he was in the Combat) *We despaired even of life*: How did these sturdy Rogues and their Fellows make *David* groan, mourn, and roar? Yea, *Heman*, and *Hezekiah* too, though Champions in their day, were forced to bestir them, when by these assaulted; and yet, that notwithstanding, they had their 10 Coats soundly brushed by them. *Peter* upon a time would go try what he could do; but, though some do say of him that he is the Prince of the Apostles, they handled him so, that they made him at last afraid of a sorry Girl.

Job 41. 26.
Leviathan's
sturdiness.

Besides, their King is at their Whistle, he is never out of hearing; and if at any time they be put to the worst, he, if possible, comes in to help them. And of him it is said, *The Sword of him that layeth at him cannot hold the Spear, the Dart, nor the Habergeon. He esteemeth Iron as Straw, and Brass as rotten Wood. The Arrow cannot make him flee. Slingstones are 20 turned with him into stubble, Darts are counted as stubble, he laugheth at the shaking of a Spear. What can a man do in this case? 'Tis true, if a man could at every turn have Job's Horse, and had skill and courage to ride him, he might do notable things. For his neck is clothed with Thunder, he will not be afraid as the Grasshopper, the glory of his Nostrils is terrible, he paweth in the Valley, rejoyleth in his strength, and goeth out to meet the armed men. He mocketh at fear, and is not affrighted, neither turneth back from the Sword. The quiver rattleth against him, the glittering Spear, and the shield. He swalloweth the 30 ground with fierceness and rage, neither believeth he that it is the sound of the Trumpet. He saith among the Trumpets, Ha, ha; and he smelleth the Battel afar off, the thundring of the Captains, and the shoutings.*

Job 39. 29.
The excellent
mettle that is
in Job's
Horse.

But for such footmen as thee and I are, let us never desire to meet with an enemy, nor vaunt as if we could do better, when we hear of others that they have been foiled, nor be tickled at the thoughts of our own manhood, for such

commonly come by the worst when tried. Witness *Peter*, of whom I made mention before. He would swagger, Ay he would: He would, as his vain mind prompted him to say, do better, and stand more for his Master, than all men: But who so foiled, and run down by these *Villains*, as he?

When therefore we hear that such Robberies are done on the King's High-way, two things become us to do; first to go out Harnessed, and to be sure *to take a Shield with us*. For it was for want of that, that he that laid so lustily at *Leviathan* could not make him yield. For indeed, if that be wanting, he fears us not at all. Therefore he that had skill, hath said, *Above all take the Shield of Faith, wherewith ye shall be able to* Eccl. 6. 16. *quench all the fiery darts of the wicked.*

'Tis good also that we desire of the King a Convoy, yea that he will go with us himself. This made *David* rejoyce when in the Valley of the Shadow of Death; and *Moses* was rather for dying where he stood, than to go one step without his God. O my Brother, if he will but go along with us, what need we be afraid of ten thousands that shall set themselves against us, but without him, *the proud helpers full under* 'Tis good to have a Convoy. Ez. 33. 15. Ps. 3. 5. 6. 7. 8. Ps. 27. 1, 2, 3. Isa. 10. 4. Job 9. 10. *the slain.*

I for my part have been in the fray before now, and though (through the goodness of him that is best) I am as you see alive: yet I cannot boast of my manhood. Glad shall I be, if I meet with no more such brunts, though I fear we are not got beyond all danger. However, since the Lion and the Bear hath not as yet devoured me, I hope God will also deliver us from the next uncircumcised *Philistine*.

30 *Poor Little-faith! Hast been among the Thieves?
Wast robb'd! Remember this, Who so believes
And gets more faith, shall then a Victor be
Over ten thousand, else scarce over three.*

So they went on, and *Ignorance* followed. They went then till they came at a place where they saw a way put itself into their way, and seemed withal to lie as straight as the way which they should go; and here they knew not which of the two to take, for both seemed straight before them; there-

*The flatterer
finds them.*

*Christian
and his fel-
low deluded.*

*They are
taken in
a Net.*

*They bewail
their condi-
tions.*

Prov. 29. 5

Ps. 17. 4

*A shining
one comes to
them with a
whip in his
hand.*

*Prov. 29. 5.
Dan. 11. 32.
2 Cor. 11. 13.
14.*

fore here they stood still to consider. And as they were thinking about the way, behold a man black of flesh, but covered with a very light Robe, came to them and asked them, Why they stood there? They answered, They were going to the Cœlestial City, but knew not which of these ways to take. Follow me, said the man, it is thither that I am going. So they followed him in the way that but now came into the road, which by degrees turned, and turned them so from the City that they desired to go to, that in little time their faces were turned away from it; yet they followed 10 him. But by and by, before they were aware, he led them both within the compass of a Net, in which they were both so entangled that they knew not what to do; and with that, the white robe fell off the black man's back; then they saw where they were. Wherefore there they lay crying sometime, for they could not get themselves out.

CHR. Then said Christian to his fellow, Now do I see my self in an error. Did not the Shepherds bid us beware of the flatterers? As is the saying of the Wise man, so we have found it this day: *A man that flattereth his Neighbour, spreadeth 20 a Net for his feet.*

HOPE. They also gave us a note of directions about the way, for our more sure finding thereof: but therein we have also forgotten to read, and have not kept ourselves from the Paths of the destroyer. Here David was wiser than we; for saith he, *Concerning the works of men, by the word of thy lips, I have kept me from the Paths of the destroyer.* Thus they lay bewailing themselves in the Net. At last they espied a shining One coming towards them, with a whip of small cord in his hand. When he was come to the place where 30 they were, He asked them whence they came? and what they did there? They told him, That they were poor Pilgrims going to *Sion*, but were led out of their way, by a black man, clothed in white, who bid us, said they, follow him; for he was going thither too. Then said he with the Whip, it is *Flatterer*, a false Apostle, that hath transformed himself into an Angel of light. So he rent the Net, and let the men out. Then said he to them, Follow me, that I may set you in your

way again; so he led them back to the way, which they had left to follow the *Flatterer*. Then he asked them, saying, *They are examined and convicted of forgetfulness.* Where did you lie the last night? They said, with the Shepherds upon the delectable Mountains. He asked them then, If they had not of them Shepherds *a note of direction for the way?* They answered, Yes. But did you, said he, when you was at a stand, pluck out and read your note? They answered, No. He asked them why? They said they forgot. He asked, moreover, If the Shepherds did not bid them
 10 beware of the *Flatterer*? They answered, Yes; But we did not imagine, said they, that this fine-spoken man had been he. *He answers fine spoken. Rom. 16. 18.*
 Then I saw in my Dream, that he commanded them to *lie down*; which when they did, he chastised them sore, to teach *1 Dent. 25. 2. 2 Chron. 6. 26, 27.* them the good way wherein they should walk; and as he chastised them, he said, *As many as I love, I rebuke and chasten; Rev. 3. 19.* be zealous therefore, and repent. This done, he bids them go on their way, and take good heed to the other directions of the Shepherds. So they thanked him for all his kindness, and went softly along the right way. *They are whipt, and sent on their way.*

20 *Come hither, you that walk along the way;
 See how the Pilgrims fare, that go astray!
 They catch'd are in an intangling Net,
 'Cause they good Counsel lightly did forget:
 'Tis true, they rescu'd were, but yet you see
 They're scourg'd to boot: Let this your caution be.*

Now after a while, they perceived afar off, one coming softly and alone, all along the High-way to meet them. Then said *Christian* to his fellow, Yonder is a man with his back toward *Sion*, and he is coming to meet us.

30 *HOPE.* I see him, let us take heed to ourselves now, lest he should prove a *Flatterer* also. So he drew nearer and nearer, and at last came up unto them. His name was *Atteist*, *The Atheist meets them.* and he asked them whither they were going?

CHR. We are going to the Mount *Sion*.

Then *Atteist* fell into a very great Laughter.

CHR. What is the meaning of your Laughter?

He laughs at them.

ATHEIST. I laugh to see what ignorant persons you are, to

take upon you so tedious a Journey; and yet are like to have nothing but your travel for your pains.

They reason together.

CHR. *Why man? Do you think we shall not be received?*

ATHEIST. Received! There is no such place as you Dream of, in all this World.

CHR. *But there is in the World to come.*

*Jer. 22. 13.
Eccles. 30.
15.*

ATHEIST. When I was at home in mine own Country I heard as you now affirm, and, from that hearing went out to see, and have been seeking this City this twenty years: but find no more of it, than I did the first day I set out. 10

CHR. *We have both heard and believe that there is such a place to be found.*

The Atheist takes up his content in this World.

ATHEIST. Had not I, when at home, believed, I had not come thus far to seek. But finding none, (and yet I should, had there been such a place to be found, for I have gone to seek it further than you) I am going back again, and will seek to refresh myself with the things that I then cast away, for hopes of that which I now see is not.

Christian reproth his Brother.

Hopeful's gracious answer.

2 Cor. 5. 7.

CHR. Then said *Christian to Hopeful*, his Fellow, *Is it true which this man hath said?* 20

A remembrance of former chastisements is an help against present temptations.

*Prov. 29. 27.
Heb. 12. 39.*

HOPE. Take heed, he is one of the *Flatterers*; remember what it hath cost us once already for our harkning to such kind of Fellows. What! no Mount *Sion*! Did we not see from the delectable Mountains the Gate of the City? Also, are we not now to walk by Faith? Let us go on, said *Hopeful*, lest the man with the Whip overtakes us again.

You should have taught me that Lesson, which I will round you in the ears withal; *Cease, my son, to hear the Instruction that causeth to err from the words of knowledge.* I say, my Brother, cease to hear him, and let us believe to the saving of 30 the Soul.

A fruit of an honest heart.

1 John 2. 21.

CHR. *My Brother, I did not put the question to thee, for that I doubted of the truth of our belief myself: but to prove thee, and to fetch from thee a fruit of the honesty of thy heart. As for this man, I know that he is blinded by the god of this World: Let thee and I go on, knowing that we have belief of the Truth, and no lie is of the Truth.*

HOPE. Now do I rejoyce in the hope of the Glory of God:

So they turned away from the man; and he, laughing at them, went his way.

I saw then in my Dream, that they went till they came into a certain Country, whose Air naturally tended to make one drowsy, if he came a stranger into it. And here *Hopeful* began to be very dull and heavy of sleep, wherefore he said unto *Christian*, I do now begin to grow so drowsy that I can scarcely hold up mine eyes; let us lie down here and take one Nap.

10 CHR. *By no means*, said the other, *lest sleeping, we never awake more.* Christian keeps him awake.

HOPE. Why my Brother? sleep is sweet to the Labouring man; we may be refreshed if we take a Nap.

CHR. *Do you not remember that one of the Shepherds bid us beware of the Incubanted ground? He meant by that, that we should beware of sleeping; wherefore let us not sleep as do others,* 1 Thes. 5. 6. *but let us watch and be sober.*

HOPE. I acknowledge myself in a fault, and had I been here alone, I had by sleeping run the danger of death. I see 20 it is true that the wise man saith, *Two are better than one.* Eccles. 4. 9. *Hitherto hath thy Company been my mercy; and thou shalt have a good reward for thy labour.*

CHR. *Now then*, said *Christian*, *to prevent drowsiness in this place, let us fall into good discourse.* To prevent drowsiness they fall to good discourse.

HOPE. With all my heart, said the other.

CHR. *Where shall we begin?* Good discourse prevents drowsiness.

HOPE. Where God began with us. But do you begin, if you please.

30 *When Saints do sleepy grow, let them come hither,
And bear how these two Pilgrims talk together:
Yea, let them learn of them, in any wise,
Thus to keep ope their drowsy slum'ring eyes.
Saints' fellowship, if it be manag'd well,
Keeps them awake, and that in spite of hell.* The Dreamer's note.

CHR. Then *Christian* began and said, *I will ask you a question. How came you to think at first of doing as you do now?* They began at the beginning of their conversion.

HOPE. Do you mean, How came I at first to look after the good of my Soul?

CHR. *Yes, that is my meaning.*

HOPE. I continued a great while in the delight of those things which were seen and sold at our *fair*; things which, as I believe now, would have (had I continued in them still) drowned me in perdition and destruction.

CHR. *What things were they?*

Hopeful's
life before
conversion.

HOPE. All the Treasures and Riches of the World. Also I delighted much in Rioting, Revelling, Drinking, Swearing, Lying, Uncleaness, Sabbath-breaking, and what not, that tended to destroy the Soul. But I found at last, by hearing 10 and considering of things that are Divine, which indeed I heard of you, as also of beloved *Faithful*, that was put to death for his Faith and good-living in *Vanity-fair*, *That the end of these things is death*. And that for these things' sake, the wrath of God cometh upon the children of disobedience.

Rom. 6 21,
22, 23
Eph. 5. 6.

CHR. *And did you presently fall under the power of this conviction?*

Hopeful at
first shuts
his eyes
against the
light.

HOPE. No, I was not willing presently to know the evil of sin, nor the damnation that follows upon the commission of it, but endeavoured, when my mind at first began to be shaken 20 with the word, to shut mine eyes against the light thereof.

CHR. *But what was the cause of your carrying of it thus to the first workings of God's blessed Spirit upon you?*

Reasons of
his retiding
of light.

HOPE. The causes were, 1. I was ignorant that this was the work of God upon me. I never thought that, by awakenings for sin, God at first begins the conversion of a sinner. 2. Sin was yet very sweet to my flesh, and I was loth to leave it. 3. I could not tell how to part with mine old Companions; their presence and actions were so desirable unto me. 4. The hours in which convictions were upon me, were 30 such troublesome and such heart-affrighting hours, that I could not bear, no not so much as the remembrance of them upon my heart.

CHR. *Then as it seems, sometimes you got rid of your trouble.*

HOPE. Yes verily, but it would come into my mind again, and then I should be as bad, nay worse, than I was before.

CHR. *Why, what was it that brought your sins to mind again.*

HOPE. Many things, as,

1. If I did but meet a good man in the Streets; or,
2. If I have heard any read in the Bible; or,
3. If mine Head did begin to Ake; or,
4. If I were told that some of my Neighbors were sick;

*When he
had lost his
sense of sin,
what
brought it
again.*

or,

5. If I heard the Bell toll for some that were dead; or,
6. If I thought of dying myself; or,
7. If I heard that sudden death happened to others.
8. But especially, when I thought of myself, that I must
10 quickly come to Judgment.

CHR. *And could you at any time with ease get off the guilt of sin, when by any of these ways it came upon you?*

HOPE. No, not latterly, for then they got faster hold of my Conscience. And then, if I did but think of going back to sin (though my mind was turned against it) it would be double torment to me.

CHR. *And how did you do then?*

HOPE. I thought I must endeavour to mend my life, for
else thought I, I am sure to be damned.

20 CHR. *And did you endeavour to mend?*

*When he
could no
longer shake
off his guilt
by sinful
courses, then
he endeavoured to
mend*

HOPE. Yes, and fled from, not only my sins, but sinful Company too; and betook me to Religious Duties, as Praying, Reading, weeping for Sin, speaking Truth to my Neighbors, etc. These things I did, with many others, too much here to relate.

CHR. *And did you think yourself well then?*

HOPE. Yes, for a while; but at the last my trouble came tumbling upon me again, and that over the neck of all my Reformations.

*Then he
thought
himself
well.*

30 CHR. *How came that about, since you was now Reformed?*

HOPE. There were several things brought it upon me, especially such sayings as these; *All our righteousnesses are as filthy rags. By the works of the Law no man shall be justified. When you have done all things, say, we are unprofitable: with many more the like.* From whence I began to reason with myself thus: If *all* my righteousnesses are filthy rags, if by the deeds of the Law, *no* man can be justified; And if, when we have done *all*, we are yet unprofitable: Then 'tis but a folly

*Reformation at last
could not
help, and
why.
Isa. 64. 6.
Gala. 3. 16.
1. Luk. 17. 10.*

*His being a
debtor by
the Law
troubled
him.*

to think of Heaven by the Law. I further thought thus: If a Man runs an 100l. into the Shop-keeper's debt, and after that shall pay for all that he shall fetch; yet his old debt stands still in the Book uncrossed, for the which the Shop-keeper may sue him, and cast him into Prison till he shall pay the debt.

CHR. *Well, and how did you apply this to yourself?*

HOPE. Why, I thought thus with myself: I have by my sins run a great way into God's Book, and that my now reforming will not pay off that score; therefore I should think still under all my present amendments, But how shall I be freed from that damnation that I have brought myself in danger of by my former transgressions?

CHR. *A very good application: but pray go on.*

*His spying
bad things
in his best
duties, trou-
bled him.*

HOPE. Another thing that hath troubled me, even since my late amendments, is, that if I look narrowly into the best of what I do now, I still see sin, new sin, mixing itself with the best of that I do. So that now I am forced to conclude, that notwithstanding my former fond conceits of myself and duties, I have committed sin enough in one duty to send me to Hell, though my former life had been faultless. 20

CHR. *And what did you do then?*

*This made
him break
his mind to
Faithful,
who told
him the
way to be
saved.*

> HOPE. Do! I could not tell what to do, till I brake my mind to *Faithful*; for he and I were well acquainted: And he told me, That unless I could obtain the righteousness of a man that never had sinned, neither mine own, nor all the righteousness of the World could save me.

CHR. *And did you think he spake true?*

HOPE. Had he told me so when I was pleased and satisfied with mine own amendments, I had called him Fool for his pains: but now, since I see my own infirmity, and the sin 30 that cleaves to my best performance, I have been forced to be of his opinion.

CHR. *But did you think, when at first he suggested it to you, that there was such a man to be found, of whom it might justly be said, That he never committed sin?*

*At which he
started at
present.*

HOPE. I must confess the words at first sounded strangely, but after a little more talk and company with him, I had full conviction about it.

CHR. *And did you ask him what man this was, and how you must be justified by him?*

HOPE. Yes, and he told me it was the Lord Jesus, that dwelleth on the right hand of the most High : and thus, said he, you must be justified by him, even by trusting to what he hath done by himself in the days of his flesh, and suffered when he did hang on the Tree. I asked him further, How that man's righteousness could be of that efficacy, to justify another before God? And he told me, He was the mighty God, and did what he did, and died the death also, not for himself, but for me; to whom his doings, and the worthiness of them should be imputed, if I believed on him.

CHR. *And what did you do then?*

HOPE. I made my objections against my believing, for that I thought he was not willing to save me. He doubts of acceptance.

CHR. *And what said Faithful to you then?*

HOPE. He bid me go to him and see. Then I said, It was presumption : but he said, No; for I was invited to come. Then he gave me a Book of Jesus his inditing, to encourage me the more freely to come. And he said concerning that Book, That every jot and tittle thereof stood firmer than Heaven and earth. Then I asked him, What I must do when I came? and he told me, I must entreat upon my knees, with all my heart and soul, the Father to reveal him to me. Then I asked him further, How I must make my supplication to him? And he said, Go, and thou shalt find him upon a mercy-seat, where he sits all the year long, to give pardon and forgiveness to them that come. I told him that I knew not what to say when I came : and he bid me say to

this effect, *God be merciful to me a sinner, and make me to know and believe in Jesus Christ; for I see that if his righteousness had not been, or I have not faith in that righteousness, I am utterly cast away. Lord, I have heard that thou art a merciful God, and hast ordained that thy Son Jesus Christ should be the Saviour of the World; and moreover, that thou art willing to bestow him upon such a poor sinner as I am, (and I am a sinner indeed) Lord take therefore this opportunity, and magnify thy grace in the Salvation of my soul, through thy Son Jesus Christ, Amen.*

CHR. *And did you do as you were bidden ?*

He prays.

HOPE. Yes ; over, and over, and over.

CHR. *And did the Father reveal his Son to you ?*

HOPE. Not at the first, nor second, nor third, nor fourth, nor fifth, no, nor at the sixth time neither.

CHR. *What did you do then ?*

HOPE. What ! why I could not tell what to do.

CHR. *Had you not thoughts of leaving off praying ?*

He thought to leave off praying.

HOPE. Yes, an hundred times, twice told.

He durst not leave off praying, and why.

CHR. *And what was the reason you did not ?*

10

HOPE. I believed that that was true which had been told me ; *to wit*, That without the righteousness of this Christ, all the World could not save me : and therefore thought I with myself, If I leave off, I die ; and I can but die at the throne of Grace. And withal, this came into my mind, *If it tarry, wait for it, because it will surely come, and will not tarry.* So I continued praying until the Father shewed me his Son.

Habb. 2. 3.

CHR. *And how was he revealed unto you ?*

Eph. 1. 18, 19.

Christ is revealed to him, and how.

HOPE. I did not see him with my bodily eyes, but with the eyes of mine understanding ; and thus it was. One day I was 20 very sad, I think sadder than at any one time in my life ; and this sadness was through a fresh sight of the greatness and vileness of my sins. And as I was then looking for nothing but *Hell*, and the everlasting damnation of my Soul, suddenly, as I thought, I saw the Lord Jesus look down from Heaven upon me, and saying, *Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved.*

Acts 16. 30, 31.

But I replied, Lord, I am a great, a very great sinner ; and he answered, *My grace is sufficient for thee.* Then I said, But Lord, what is believing ? And then I saw from that saying, 30 [*He that cometh to me shall never hunger, and he that believeth on me shall never thirst*] that believing and coming was all one ; and that he that came, that is, ran out in his heart and affections after salvation by Christ, he indeed believed in Christ. Then the water stood in mine eyes, and I asked further, But Lord, may such a great sinner as I am, be indeed accepted of thee, and be saved by thee ? And I heard him say, *And him that cometh to me, I will in no wise cast out.*

John 6. 37.

Then I said, But how, Lord, must I consider of thee in my coming to thee, that my faith may be placed aright upon thee? Then he said, *Christ Jesus came into the World to save sinners.* 1 Tim. 1. 15
He is the end of the Law for righteousness to every one that Rom. 10. 4
believes. He died for our sins, and rose again for our justification. chap. 4. 25
He loved us, and washed us from our sins in his own blood. He Rev. 1. 5
is Mediator between God and us. He ever liveth to make inter- Heb. 7. 24.
cession for us. From all which I gathered that I must look for
 righteousness in his person, and for satisfaction for my sins by his
 10 blood; that what he did in obedience to his Father's Law, and
 in submitting to the penalty thereof, was not for himself, but
 for him that will accept it for his Salvation, and be thankful.
 And now was my heart full of joy, mine eyes full of tears,
 and mine affections running over with love to the Name,
 People, and Ways of Jesus Christ.

CHR. *This was a Revelation of Christ to your soul indeed. But tell me particularly what effect this had upon your spirit.*

HOPE. It made me see that all the World, notwithstanding
 all the righteousness thereof, is in a state of condemnation.
 20 It made me see that God the Father, though he be just, can
 justly justify the coming sinner. It made me greatly ashamed
 of the vileness of my former life, and confounded me with the
 sense of mine own Ignorance; for there never came thought
 into mine heart before now that shewed me so the beauty of
 Jesus Christ. It made me love a holy life, and long to do
 something for the Honour and Glory of the name of the
 Lord Jesus. Yea I thought, that had I now a thousand
 gallons of blood in my body, I could spill it all for the sake
 of the Lord Jesus.

30 I then saw in my Dream, that *Hopeful* looked back and saw
Ignorance, whom they had left behind, coming after. *Lock*,
 said he to *Christian*, *bow far yonder Youngster lieth behind.*

CHR. Ay, Ay, I see him; he careth not for our Company.

HOPE. *But I tro, it would not have hurt him, had he kept
 pace with us hitherto.*

CHR. That's true, but I warrant you he thinketh otherwise.

HOPE. *That I think he doth, but however let us tarry for him.* Young Ignorance comes up again.
 So they did.

Their talk. Then Christian said to him, *Come away man; why do you stay so behind?*

IGN. I take my pleasure in walking alone, even more a great deal than in Company; unless I like it the better.

Then said Christian to Hopeful (but softly) *Did I not tell you, he cared not for our Company. But however, come up, and let us talk away the time in this solitary place.* Then directing his Speech to Ignorance, he said, *Come, how do you? how stands it between God and your Soul now?*

Ignorance's
hope, and
the ground
of it.

IGN. I hope well, for I am always full of good motions 10 that come into my mind to comfort me as I walk.

CHR. *What good motions? pray tell us.*

IGN. Why, I think of God and Heaven.

CHR. *So do the Devils and damned Souls.*

IGN. But I think of them, and desire them.

Prov. 13. 4.

CHR. *So do many that are never like to come there:* The Soul of the Sluggard desires and hath nothing.

IGN. But I think of them, and leave all for them.

CHR. *That I doubt; for leaving of all is an hard matter, yea a harder matter then many are aware of. But why, or by what, art thou persuaded that thou hast left all for God and Heaven?*

IGN. My heart tells me so.

Prov. 28. 28.

CHR. *The wise man says,* He that trusts his own heart is a fool.

IGN. This is spoken of an evil heart, but mine is a good one.

CHR. *But how dost thou prove that?*

IGN. It comforts me in hopes of Heaven.

CHR. *That may be through its deceitfulness; for a mans heart may minister comfort to him in the hopes of that thing for which he yet has no ground to hope.*

IGN. But my heart and life agree together, and therefore my hope is well grounded.

CHR. *Who told thee that thy heart and life agree together?*

IGN. My heart tells me so.

CHR. *Ask my Fellow if I be a Thief. Thy heart tells thee so! Except the word of God beareth witness in this matter, other Testimony is of no value.*

IGN. But is it not a good heart that has good thoughts? And is not that a good life that is according to God's Commandments?

CHR. *Yes, that is a good heart that hath good thoughts, and that is a good life that is according to God's Commandments. But it is one thing indeed to have these, and another thing only to think so.*

IGN. Pray what count you good thoughts, and a life according to God's Commandments?

10 CHR. *There are good thoughts of divers kinds, some respecting ourselves, some God, some Christ, and some other things.*

IGN. What be good thoughts respecting ourselves?

CHR. *Such as agree with the Word of God.*

What are good thoughts.

IGN. When does our thoughts of ourselves agree with the Word of God?

CHR. *When we pass the same Judgment upon ourselves which the Word passes. To explain myself; the Word of God saith of persons in a natural condition, There is none Righteous, there is none that doth good. It saith also, That every imagination* Rom. 3. 10. Gen. 6. 5.
 20 *of the heart of man is only evil, and that continually. And again, The imagination of man's heart is evil from his Youth. Now then, when we think thus of ourselves, having sense thereof, then are our thoughts good ones, because according to the Word of God.*

IGN. I will never believe that my heart is thus bad.

CHR. *Therefore thou never hadst one good thought concerning thyself in thy life. But let me go on: As the Word passeth a Judgment upon our HEART, so it passeth a Judgment upon our WAYS; and when our thoughts of our HEARTS and WAYS agree with the Judgment which the Word giveth of both, then are*
 30 *both good, because agreeing thereto.*

IGN. Make out your meaning.

CHR. *Why, the Word of God saith, That man's ways are* Ps. 105. 5. Prov. 2. 12. Rom. 3. 12.
crooked ways, not good, but perverse. It saith, They are naturally out of the good way, that they have not known it. Now when a man thus thinketh of his ways, I say when he doth sensibly, and with heart-humiliation thus think, then hath he good thoughts of his own ways, because his thoughts now agree with the judgment of the Word of God.

IGN. What are good thoughts concerning God?

CHR. *Even (as I have said concerning ourselves) when our thoughts of God do agree with what the Word saith of him. And that is, when we think of his Being and Attributes as the Word hath taught: of which I cannot now discourse at large. But to speak of him with reference to us, then we have right thoughts of God, when we think that he knows us better than we know ourselves, and can see sin in us, when and where we can see none in ourselves; when we think he knows our inmost thoughts, and that our heart with all its depths is always open unto his eyes. Also when we think that all our Righteousness stinks in his Nostrils, and that therefore he cannot abide to see us stand before him in any confidence even of all our best performances.*

IGN. Do you think that I am such a fool, as to think God can see no further than I? or that I would come to God in the best of my performances?

CHR. *Why, how dost thou think in this matter?*

IGN. Why, to be short, I think I must believe in Christ for Justification.

CHR. *How! think thou must believe in Christ, when thou seest not thy need of him! Thou neither seest thy original, or actual infirmities, but hast such an opinion of thyself, and of what thou doest, as plainly renders thee to be one that did never see a necessity of Christ's personal righteousness to justify thee before God: How then dost thou say, I believe in Christ?*

IGN. I believe well enough for all that.

CHR. *How dost thou believe?*

The Faith of Ignorance.

IGN. I believe that Christ died for sinners, and that I shall be justified before God from the curse, through his gracious acceptance of my obedience to his Law. Or thus, Christ makes my Duties that are Religious acceptable to his Father by virtue of his Merits; and so shall I be justified.

CHR. *Let me give an answer to this confession of thy faith.*

1. *Thou believest with a Fantastical Faith, for this faith is nowhere described in the Word.*

2. *Thou believest with a False Faith, because it taketh Justification from the personal righteousness of Christ, and applies it to thy own.*

3. *This faith maketh not Christ a Justifier of thy person, but of thy actions; and of thy person for thy actions' sake, which is false.*

4. *Therefore this faith is deceitful, even such as will leave thee under wrath, in the day of God Almighty. For true Justifying Faith puts the soul (as sensible of its lost condition by the Law) upon flying for refuge unto Christ's righteousness: (Which righteousness of his, is not an act of grace, by which he maketh for Justification thy obedience accepted with God, but his personal obedience to the Law in doing and suffering for us, what that required at our hands.) This righteousness, I say, true faith accepteth, under the skirt of which, the soul being shrouded, and by it presented as spotless before God, it is accepted, and acquit from condemnation.*

IGN. What! would you have us trust to what Christ in his own person has done without us! This conceit would loosen the reins of our lust, and tolerate us to live as we list. For what matter how we live, if we may be justified by Christ's personal righteousness from all, when we believe it?

20 CHR. Ignorance is thy name, and as thy name is, so art thou; *even this thy answer demonstrateth what I say. Ignorant thou art of what Justifying righteousness is, and as ignorant how to secure thy Soul through the faith of it, from the heavy wrath of God. Yea, thou also art ignorant of the true effects of saving faith in this righteousness of Christ, which is, to bow and win over the heart to God in Christ, to love his Name, his Word, Ways, and People; and not as thou ignorantly imaginest.*

HOPE. Ask him if ever he had Christ revealed to him from Heaven?

30 IGN. *What! You are a man for revelations! I believe that Ignorance what both you, and all the rest of you say about that matter, is them. but the fruit of distracted brains.*

HOPE. Why man! Christ is so hid in God from the natural apprehensions of all flesh, that he cannot by any man be savingly known, unless God the Father reveals him to them.

IGN. *That is your faith, but not mine; yet mine I doubt not, is as good as yours: though I have not in my head so many* *He speaks* *reproach-* *fully of* *what he* *knows not.* *submissies as you.*

CHR. Give me leave to put in a word: You ought not so slightly to speak of this matter: for this I will boldly affirm, (even as my good companion hath done) that no man can know Jesus Christ but by the Revelation of the Father: yea, and faith too, by which the soul layeth hold upon Christ (if it be right) must be wrought by the exceeding greatness of his mighty power; the working of which faith, I perceive, poor *Ignorance*, thou art ignorant of. Be awakened then, see thine own wretchedness, and fly to the Lord Jesus; and by his righteousness, which is the righteousness of God, (for he himself is God) thou shalt be delivered from condemnation.

Matt. 11. 27.

1 Cor. 12. 3.

Eph. 1. 18, 19.

The talk
breaks up.

IGN. You go so fast, I cannot keep pace with you; do you go on before, I must stay awhile behind.

Then they said,

*Well Ignorance, wilt thou yet foolish be
To slight good Counsel, ten times given thee?
And if thou yet refuse it, thou shalt know
Ere long the evil of thy doing so.
Remember man in time, stoop, do not fear,
Good Counsel taken well, saves; therefore bear. 20
But if thou yet shalt slight it, thou wilt be
The loser (Ignorance) I'll warrant thee.*

Then *Christian* addressed thus himself to his fellow.

CHR. Well, come my good *Hopeful*, I perceive that thou and I must walk by ourselves again.

So I saw in my Dream, that they went on apace before, and *Ignorance* he came hobbling after. Then said *Christian* to his companion, *It pities me much for this poor man, it will certainly go ill with him at last.*

HOPE. Alas, there are abundance in our Town in his condition; whole Families, yea, whole Streets, (and that of Pilgrims too) and if there be so many in our parts, how many think you, must there be in the place where he was born?

CHR. *Indeed the Word saith, He hath blinded their eyes, lest they should see, &c. But now we are by ourselves, what do you think of such men? Have they at no time, think you, convictions of sin, and so consequently fears that their state is dangerous?*

HOPE. Nay, do you answer that question yourself, for you are the elder man.

CHR. *Then I say sometimes (as I think) they may, but they being naturally ignorant, understand not that such convictions tend to their good; and therefore they do desperately seek to stifle them, and presumptuously continue to flatter themselves in the way of their own hearts.*

HOPE. I do believe as you say, that fear tends much to Men's good and to make them right, at their beginning to go The good use of fear.
10 on Pilgrimage.

CHR. *Without all doubt it doth, if it be right: for so says the word, The fear of the Lord is the beginning of Wisdom.* Job 28. 28. Ps. 111. 10. Prov. 1. 7. ch. 9. 10.

HOPE. How will you describe right fear?

CHR. *True, or right fear, is discovered by three things.* Right fear.

1. By its rise. It is caused by saving convictions for sin.

2. It driveth the soul to lay fast hold of Christ for Salvation.

3. It begetteth and continueth in the soul a great reverence of God, his word, and ways, keeping it tender, and making it
20 afraid to turn from them, to the right hand, or to the left, to anything that may dishonour God, break its peace, grieve the Spirit, or cause the Enemy to speak reproachfully.

HOPE. Well said, I believe you have said the truth. Are we now almost got past the enchanted ground?

CHR. *Why, are you weary of this discourse?*

HOPE. No verily, but that I would know where we are.

CHR. *We have not now above two miles further to go thereon.*

*But let us return to our matter. Now the Ignorant know not that such convictions that tend to put them in fear, are for their
30 good, and therefore they seek to stifle them.* 172. Ignorant persons stifle convictions. 1. In general.

HOPE. How do they seek to stifle them?

CHR. 1. They think that those fears are wrought by the Devil (though indeed they are wrought of God) and thinking so, they resist them, as things that directly tend to their overthrow. 2. They also think that these fears tend to the spoiling of their faith, (when alas for them, poor men that they are! they have none at all) and therefore they harden their hearts against them. 3. They presume they ought 2. In particular.

not to fear, and therefore, in despite of them, wax presumptuously confident. 4. They see that these fears tend to take away from them their pitiful old self-holiness, and therefore they resist them with all their might.

HOPE. I know something of this myself; for before I knew myself it was so with me.

CHR. *Well, we will leave at this time our Neighbor Ignorance by himself, and fall upon another profitable question.*

HOPE. With all my heart, but you shall still begin.

*Talk about
one Temporary.*

CHR. *Well then, did you not know about ten years ago, one Temporary in your parts, who was a forward man in Religion then?*

*Where he
dwelt.*

HOPE. Know him! Yes, he dwelt in *Graceless*, a Town about two miles off of *Honesty*, and he dwelt next door to one *Turn-back*.

*He was
forwardly
once.*

CHR. *Right, he dwelt under the same roof with him. Well, that man was much awakened once; I believe that then he had some sight of his sins, and of the wages that was due thereto.*

HOPE. I am of your mind, for (my House not being above three miles from him) he would oftentimes come to me, and so that with many tears. Truly I pitied the man, and was not altogether without hope of him; but one may see it is not every one that cries, *Lord, Lord*.

CHR. *He told me once, That he was resolved to go on Pilgrimage as we go now; but all of a sudden he grew acquainted with one Save-self, and then he became a stranger to me.*

HOPE. Now since we are talking about him, let us a little enquire into the reason of the sudden backsliding of him and such others.

CHR. *It may be very profitable, but do you begin.*

30

HOPE. Well then, there are in my judgment four reasons for it.

*Reasons
why forward-
ly ones
go back.*

1. Though the Consciences of such men are awakened, yet their minds are not changed: therefore when the power of guilt weareth away, that which provoked them to be Religious ceaseth. Wherefore they naturally turn to their own course again: even as we see the Dog that is sick of what he hath eaten, so long as his sickness prevails he vomits and

casts up all; not that he doth this of a free mind (if we may say a Dog has a mind) but because it troubleth his Stomach; but now when his sickness is over, and so his Stomach eased, his desires being not at all alienate from his vomit, he turns him about and licks up all. And so it is true which is written, *The Dog is turned to his own vomit again.* This, I say, being 1 Pet. 2. 22. hot for heaven, by virtue only of the sense and fear of the torments of Hell, as their sense of Hell and the fears of damnation chills and cools, so their desires for Heaven and
 10 Salvation cool also. So then it comes to pass that when their guilt and fear is gone, their desires for Heaven and Happiness die, and they return to their course again.

2. Another reason is, they have slavish fears that do overmaster them. I speak now of the fears that they have of men: *For the fear of men bringeth a snare.* So then, though Prov. 29. 25. they seem to be hot for Heaven, so long as the flames of Hell are about their ears, yet when that terror is a little over, they betake themselves to second thoughts: namely, that 'tis good to be wise, and not to run (for they know not what) the
 20 hazard of losing all; or at least, of bringing themselves into unavoidable and unnecessary troubles: and so they fall in with the world again.

3. The shame that attends Religion lies also as a block in their way; they are proud and haughty, and Religion in their eye is low and contemptible. Therefore when they have lost their sense of Hell and wrath to come, they return again to their former course.

4. Guilt, and to meditate terror, are grievous to them, they like not to see their misery before they come into it. Though
 30 perhaps the sight of it first, if they loved that sight, might make them fly whither the righteous fly and are safe; but because they do, as I hinted before, even shun the thoughts of guilt and terror, therefore, when once they are rid of their awakenings about the terrors and wrath of God, they harden their hearts gladly, and chuse such ways as will harden them more and more.

CHUR. *You are pretty near the business, for the bottom of all is, for want of a change in their mind and will. And therefore*

they are but like the Felon that standeth before the Judge; he quakes and trembles, and seems to repent most heartily: but the bottom of all is the fear of the Halter, not of any detestation of the offence; as is evident, because, let but this man have his liberty, and he will be a Thief, and so a Rogue still; whereas, if his mind was changed, he would be otherwise.

HOPE. Now I have shewed you the reasons of their going back, do you show me the manner thereof.

CHR. *So I will willingly.*

*How the
Apostate
goes back.*

1. They draw off their thoughts, all that they may, from the remembrance of God, Death, and Judgment to come.

2. Then they cast off by degrees private Duties, as Closet-Prayer, curbing their lusts, watching, sorrow for sin, and the like.

3. Then they shun the company of lively and warm Christians.

4. After that, they grow cold to publick Duty, as Hearing, Reading, Godly Conference, and the like.

5. Then they begin to pick holes, as we say, in the Coats of some of the Godly, and that devilishly; that they may have a seeming colour to throw Religion (for the sake of some infirmity they have spied in them) behind their backs.

6. Then they begin to adhere to, and associate themselves with carnal, loose, and wanton men.

7. Then they give way to carnal and wanton discourses in secret; and glad are they if they can see such things in any that are counted honest, that they may the more boldly do it through their example.

8. After this, they begin to play with little sins openly.

9. And then, being hardened, they shew themselves as they are. Thus being launched again into the gulf of misery, unless a Miracle of Grace prevent it, they everlastingly perish in their own deceivings.

ISA. 66. 4.

Now I saw in my Dream, that by this time the Pilgrims were got over the Enchanted Ground, and entering in the Country of *Beulah*, whose Air was very sweet and pleasant, the way lying directly through it, they solaced themselves there for a season. Yea, here they heard continually the

CANT. 2. 10,
22, 23.

singing of Birds, and saw every day the flowers appear in the earth, and heard the voice of the Turtle in the Land. In this Country the Sun shineth night and day; wherefore this was beyond the Valley of the *Shadow of Death*, and also out of the reach of Giant *Despair*; neither could they from this place so much as see *Doubting-Castle*. Here they were within sight of the City they were going to: also here met them some of the Inhabitants thereof; for in this Land ^{Angels.} the shining Ones commonly walked, because it was upon
 10 the Borders of Heaven. In this Land also the contract between the Bride and the Bridegroom was renewed; Yea here, *as the Bridegroom rejoiceth over the Bride, so did their God* ^{Im. 62. 5.} *rejoice over them.* Here they had no want of Corn and Wine; ^{Ver. 2.} for in this place they met with abundance of what they had sought for in all their Pilgrimage. Here they heard voices from out of the City, loud voices; saying, *Say ye to the daughter of Zion, Behold thy Salvation cometh, behold, his reward is* ^{Ver. 12.} *with him.* Here all the Inhabitants of the Country called them, *The holy People, The redeemed of the Lord, Sought out,* ^{Ver. 12.}
 20 etc.

Now as they walked in this Land, they had more rejoicing than in parts more remote from the Kingdom to which they were bound; and drawing near to the City, they had yet a more perfect view thereof. It was builded of Pearls and precious Stones, also the Street thereof was paved with Gold, so that by reason of the natural glory of the City, and the reflection of the Sun-beams upon it, *Christian*, with desire fell sick, *Hopeful* also had a fit or two of the same Disease. Wherefore here they lay by it a while, crying out because of
 30 their pangs, *If you see my Beloved, tell him that I am sick of* ^{Can. 5. 2.} *love.*

But being a little strengthened, and better able to bear their sickness, they walked on their way, and came yet nearer and nearer, where were Orchards, Vineyards and Gardens, and their Gates opened into the High-way. Now as they came up to these places, behold the Gardener stood in the way; to whom the Pilgrims said, Whose goodly Vineyards and Gardens are these? He answered, They are the King's, and are planted ^{Deut. 23. 24.}

here for his own delights, and also for the Solace of Pilgrims. So the Gardener had them into the Vineyards, and bid them refresh themselves with Dainties. He also shewed them *there* the King's walks, and the *Arbors* where he delighted to be. And here they tarried and slept.

Now I beheld in my Dream, that they talked more in their sleep at this time, than ever they did in all their Journey; and being in a muse thereabout, the Gardener said even to me Wherefore musest thou at the matter? It is the nature of the fruit of the Grapes of these Vineyards to go down so sweetly, as to cause the lips of them that are asleep to speak.

So I saw that when they awoke, they addressed themselves to go up to the City. But, as I said, the reflections of the Sun upon the City (for the City was pure Gold) was so extremely glorious, that they could not, as yet, with open face behold it, but through an *Instrument* made for that purpose. So I saw, that as they went on, there met them two men, in Raiment that shone like Gold, also their faces shone as the light.

These men asked the Pilgrims whence they came? and they told them; they also asked them, Where they had lodg'd, what difficulties, and dangers, what comforts and pleasures they had met in the way? and they told them. Then said the men that met them, You have but two difficulties more to meet with, and then you are in the City.

Christian then and his Companion asked the men to go along with them, so they told them they would; but, said they, you must obtain it by your own faith. So I saw in my Dream that they went on together till they came in sight of the Gate.

Now I further saw that betwixt them and the Gate was a River, but there was no Bridge to go over, the River was very deep. At the sight therefore of this River, the Pilgrims were much stounded; but the men that went with them, said, You must go through, or you cannot come at the Gate.

The Pilgrims then began to enquire if there was no other way to the Gate; to which they answered, Yes, but there hath not any, save two, to wit, *Enoch* and *Elijah*, been per-

Death.

Death is not unknown to nature, though by it we pass out

mitted to tread that path, since the foundation of the World, ^{of this} nor shall, until the last Trumpet shall sound. The Pilgrims, ^{World into} then, especially *Christian*, began to dispond in his mind, and ^{Glory.} looked this way and that, but no way could be found by them, ^{1 Cor. 15. 51.} by which they might escape the River. Then they asked the men, if the Waters were all of a depth? They said, No; yet they could not help them in that Case, for said they: *You* ^{Angels help} *shall find it deeper or shallower, as you believe in the King of the* ^{us not com-} *place.* ^{fortably} ^{through} ^{death.}

- 10 They then addressed themselves to the Water; and entring, *Christian* began to sink, and crying out to his good friend *Hopeful* he said, I sink in deep Waters, the Billows go over my head, all his Waves go over me, *Selab.*

Then said the other, Be of good cheer, my Brother, I feel the bottom, and it is good. Then said *Christian*, Ah my friend, the sorrows of death have compassed me about, I shall not see the Land that flows with Milk and Honey. And with that, a great darkness and horror fell upon *Christian*, so that he could not see before him; also here he in great ^{*Christian's*} ^{conflict of} ^{the hour of} ^{death.} ³⁰ measure lost his senses, so that he could neither remember nor orderly talk of any of those sweet refreshments that he had met with in the way of his Pilgrimage. But all the words that he spake still tended to discover that he had horror of mind, and hearty fears that he should die in that River, and never obtain entrance in at the Gate: here also, as they that stood by perceived, he was much in the troublesome thoughts of the sins that he had committed, both since and before he began to be a Pilgrim. 'Twas also observed, that he was troubled with apparitions of Hobgoblins and Evil Spirits. For ever ³⁰ and anon he would intimate so much by words. *Hopeful* therefore here had much ado to keep his Brother's head above water, yea sometimes he would be quite gone down, and then ere a while he would rise up again half dead. *Hopeful* also would endeavour to comfort him, saying, Brother, I see the Gate, and men standing by it to receive us. But *Christian* would answer: 'Tis you, 'tis you they wait for, you have been *Hopeful* ever since I knew you. And so have you, said he to *Christian*. Ah Brother, said he, surely if I was right, he would

now arise to help me; but for my sins he hath brought me into the snare, and hath left me. Then said *Hopeful*, My Brother, you have quite forgot the Text, where it's said of the wicked, *There is no band in their death, but their strength is firm: they are not troubled as other men, neither are they plagued like other men.* These troubles and distresses that you go through in these Waters, are no sign that God hath forsaken you, but are sent to try you, whether you will call to mind that which heretofore you have received of his goodness, and live upon him in your distresses.

10

Christian delivered from his fears in death.

Isa. 43. 2.

1

The Angels do wait for them as soon as they are passed out of this world.

They have put off mortality.

Then I saw in my Dream, that *Christian* was in a muse a while; to whom also *Hopeful* added this word, *Be of good cheer, Jesus Christ maketh thee whole:* And with that, *Christian* brake out with a loud voice, Oh I see him again! and he tells me, *When thou passest through the waters, I will be with thee, and through the Rivers, they shall not overflow thee.* Then they both took courage, and the enemy was after that as still as a stone, until they were gone over. *Christian* therefore presently found ground to stand upon; and so it followed that the rest of the River was but shallow. Thus they got over.²⁰ Now upon the bank of the River, on the other side, they saw the two shining men again, who there waited for them. Wherefore being come up out of the River, they saluted them saying, *We are ministring Spirits, sent forth to minister for those that shall be Heirs of Salvation.* Thus they went along towards the Gate. Now you must note that the City stood upon a mighty hill, but the Pilgrims went up that hill with ease, because they had these two men to lead them up by the Arms; also they had left their Mortal Garments behind them in the River; for though they went in with them, they came out ³⁰ without them. They therefore went up here with much agility and speed, though the foundation upon which the City was framed was higher than the Clouds. They therefore went up through the regions of the Air, sweetly talking as they went, being comforted, because they safely got over the River, and had such glorious Companions to attend them.

The talk they had with the shining Ones, was about the Glory of the place, who told them, that the beauty, and glory

of it was inexpressible. There, said they, is the Mount *Sion*, the Heavenly *Jerusalem*, the innumerable company of Angels, Heb. 12. 22. and the Spirits of Just men made perfect. You are going 23. 24. now, said they, to the Paradise of God, wherein you shall see Rev. 2. 7. the Tree of Life, and eat of the never-fading fruits thereof: Rev. 3. 4. and when you come there you shall have white Robes given you, and your walk and talk shall be every day with the King, even all the days of Eternity. There you shall not see again Rev. 22. 1. such things as you saw when you were in the lower Region upon the Earth, to wit, sorrow, sickness, affliction, and death, *for the former things are passed away*. You are going now to *Abraham*, to *Isaac*, and *Jacob*, and to the Prophets; men that 122. 57. 1. 2. God hath taken away from the evil to come, and that are now 122. 65. 14. resting upon their Beds, each one walking in his righteousness. The men then asked, What must we do in the holy place? To whom it was answered, You must there receive the comfort of all your toil, and have joy for all your sorrow; you must reap what you have sown, even the fruit of all your Prayers and Tears, and sufferings for the King by the way. Gal. 6. 7.

10 In that place you must wear Crowns of Gold, and enjoy the perpetual sight and Visions of the *Holy One*, *for there you shall* 1 John 3. 2. *see him as he is*. There also you shall serve him continually with praise, with shouting and thanksgiving, whom you desired to serve in the World, though with much difficulty, because of the infirmity of your flesh. There your eyes shall be delighted with seeing, and your ears with hearing the pleasant voice of the mighty One. There you shall enjoy your friends again, that are got thither before you; and there you shall with joy receive even every one that follows into the Holy Place

30 after you. There also you shall be clothed with Glory and Majesty, and put into an equipage fit to ride out with the King of Glory. When he shall come with sound of Trumpet in the Clouds, as upon the wings of the wind, you shall come with him; and when he shall sit upon the Throne of Judgment, you shall sit by him; yea, and when he shall pass Sentence upon all the workers of Iniquity, let them be Angels or Men, you also shall have a voice in that Judgment, because they were his and your Enemies. Also when he shall

again return to the City, you shall go too, with sound of Trumpet, and be ever with him.

Now while they were thus drawing towards the Gate, behold a company of the Heavenly Host came out to meet them¹: to whom it was said by the other two shining Ones, These are the men that have loved our Lord, when they were in the World; and that have left all for his holy Name, and he hath sent us to fetch them, and we have brought them thus far on their desired Journey; that they may go in and look their Redeemer in the face with joy. Then the Heavenly¹⁰ Host gave a great shout, saying, *Blessed are they that are called the Marriage supper of the Lamb*:

There came out also at this time to meet them several of the Kings Trumpeters, cloathed in white and shining Raiment, who with melodious noises and loud, made even the Heavens to echo with their sound. These Trumpeters saluted *Christian* and his Fellow with ten thousand welcomes from the world: and this they did with shouting, and sound of Trumpet.

This done, they compassed them round on every side;²⁰ some went before, some behind, and some on the right hand, some on the left (as 'twere to guard them through the upper Regions) continually sounding as they went, with melodious noise, in notes on high; so that the very sight was to them that could behold it, as if Heaven it self was come down to meet them. Thus therefore they walked on together, and as they walked, ever and anon, these Trumpeters, even with joyful sound, would, by mixing their Musick with looks and gestures, still signify to *Christian* and his Brother, how welcome they were into their company, and with what gladness³⁰ they came to meet them. And now were these two men, as 'twere, in Heaven, before they came at it; being swallowed up with the sight of Angels, and with hearing of their melodious notes. Here also they had the City itself in view,

¹ Now, now look how the holy Pilgrims ride,
Clouds are their Chariots, Angels are their Guide:
Who would not here for him all Hazards run,
That thus provides for him when this World's done?

and they thought they heard all the Bells therein to ring, to welcome them thereto: but above all, the warm, and joyful thoughts that they had about their own dwelling there, with such company, and that for ever and ever. Oh! by what tongue or pen can their glorious joy be expressed? And thus they came up to the Gate.

Now when they were come up to the Gate, there was written over it, in Letters of Gold, *Blessed are they that do his com-
mandments, that they may have right to the Tree of life; and may* Rev. iii. 14.
10 *enter in through the Gates into the City.*

Then I saw in my Dream, that the shining men bid them call at the Gate; the which when they did, some from above looked over the Gate, to wit, *Enoch, Moses, and Elijah*, etc. to whom it was said, These Pilgrims are come from the City of *Destruction*, for the love that they bear to the King of this place: and then the Pilgrims gave in unto them each man his Certificate, which they had received in the beginning. Those therefore were carried in to the King, who when he had read them, said, Where are the men? To whom it was answered,
20 They are standing without the Gate, the King then commanded to open the Gate, *That the righteous Nation*, said he, Isa. xli. 2.
that keepeth truth may enter in.

Now I saw in my Dream, that these two men went in at the Gate; and lo, as they entered, they were transfigured, and they had Raiment put on that shone like Gold. There was also that met them with Harps and Crowns, and gave them to them; the Harp to praise withal, and the Crowns in token of honor. Then I heard in my Dream that all the Bells in the City Rang again for joy, and that it was said
30 unto them, *Enter ye into the joy of your Lord.* I also heard the men themselves, that they sang with a loud voice, saying, *Blessing, Honour, Glory, and Power, be to him that sitteth upon* Rev. v. 13.
the Throne, and to the Lamb for ever and ever. 14.

Now just as the Gates were opened to let in the men, I looked in after them; and behold, the City shone like the Sun, the Streets also were paved with Gold, and in them walked many men, with Crowns on their heads, Palms in their hands, and golden Harps to sing praises withal.

There were also of them that had wings, and they answered one another without intermission, saying, *Holy, Holy, Holy, is the Lord*. And after that, they shut up the Gates: which when I had seen, I wished myself among them.

Now while I was gazing upon all these things, I turned my head to look back, and saw *Ignorance* come up to the River side; but he soon got over, and that without half that difficulty which the other two men met with. For it happened that there was then in that place one *Vain-hope* a Ferry-man, that with his Boat helped him over: so he, as the other I saw, did ascend the Hill to come up to the Gate, only he came alone; neither did any man meet him with the least encouragement. When he was come up to the Gate, he looked up to the writing that was above; and then began to knock, supposing that entrance should have been quickly administered to him. But he was asked by the men that lookt over the top of the Gate, Whence came you? and what would you have? He answered, I have eat and drank in the presence of the King, and he has taught in our Streets. Then they asked him for his Certificate, that they might go in and shew it to the King. So he fumbled in his bosom for one, and found none. Then said they, Have you none? But the man answered never a word. So they told the King, but he would not come down to see him, but commanded the two shining Ones that conducted *Christian* and *Hopeful* to the City, to go out and take *Ignorance* and bind him hand and foot, and have him away. Then they took him up, and carried him through the air to the door that I saw in the side of the Hill, and put him in there. Then I saw that there was a way to Hell, even from the Gates of Heaven, as well as from the City of *Destruction*. So I awoke, and behold it was a Dream.

FINIS.

The Conclusion.

Now Reader, I have told my Dream to thee;
 See if thou canst Interpret it to me;
 Or to thyself, or Neighbor: but take heed
 Of mis-interpreting; for that, instead
 Of doing good, will but thyself abuse:
 By mis-interpreting evil issues.

5

Take heed also, that thou be not extream,
In playing with the out-side of my Dream:
Nor let my figure, or similitude,
 Put thee into a laughier or a feud;
 Leave this for Boys and Fools; but as for thee
 Do thou the substance of my matter see.

10

Put by the Curtains, look within my Vail;
 Turn up my Metaphors and do not fail
 There, if thou seekest them, such things to find,
 As will be helpful to an honest mind.

15

What of my dross thou findest there, be bold
 To throw away, but yet preserve the Gold.
 What if my Gold be wrapped up in Ore?
 None throws away the Apple for the Core.
 But if thou shalt cast all away as vain,
 I know not but 'twill make me dream again.

20

THE END.

THE
PILGRIMS PROGRESS

FROM
THIS WORLD
TO
THAT WHICH IS TO COME

THE SECOND PART

DELIVERED UNDER THE SIMILITUDE OF A

DREAM

WHEREIN IS SET FORTH

THE MANNER OF THE SETTING OUT OF CHRISTIAN'S
WIFE AND CHILDREN, THEIR DANGEROUS JOURNEY,
AND SAFE ARRIVAL AT THE
DESIRED COUNTRY

BY

JOHN BUNYAN

I have used similitudes. Moses 12. 30.

THE
AUTHORS WAY OF SENDING FORTH
HIS
SECOND PART
OF THE
PILGRIM.

*GO, now my little Book, to every place
Where my first Pilgrim has but shewn his Face:
Call at their door: If any say, who's there?
Then answer thou, Christiana is here.
If they bid thee come in, then enter thou 5
With all thy boys. And then, as thou know'st how,
Tell who they are, also from whence they came;
Perhaps they'l know them, by their looks, or name.
But if they should not, ask them yet again
If formerly they did not Entertain 10
One Christian a Pilgrim; If they say
They did, and was delighted in his way:
Then let them know that those related were
Unto him, yea, his Wife and Children are.
Tell them that they have left their House and Home, 15
Are turned Pilgrims, seek a World to come:
That they have met with hardships in the way,
That they do meet with troubles night and Day;*

*That they have trod on Serpents, fought with Devils,
Have also overcome a many evils.
Yea tell them also of the next, who have
Of love to Pilgrimage been stout and brave
Defenders of that way, and how they still
Refuse this World, to do their Father's will.*

5

*Go, tell them also of those dainty things,
That Pilgrimage unto the Pilgrim brings.
Let them acquainted be, too, how they are
Beloved of their King, under his care;
What goodly Mansions for them he provides,
Tho' they meet with rough Winds, and swelling tides.
How brave a calm they will enjoy at last,
Who to their Lord, and by his ways bold fast.*

10

*Perhaps with heart and hand they will embrace
Thee, as they did my firstling, and will grace
Thee, and thy fellows, with such cheer and fair,
As shew will, they of Pilgrims lovers are.*

15

1. Object.

*But how if they will not believe of me
That I am truly thine, cause some there be
That counterfeit the Pilgrim, and his name,
Seek by disguise to seem the very same.
And by that means have wrought themselves into
The bands and houses of I know not who.*

20

25

Answer.

*'Tis true, some have of late, to Counterfeit
My Pilgrim, to their own, my Title set;
Yea others, half my name and Title too
Have stitched to their Book, to make them do;
But yet they by their Features do declare
Themselves not mine to be, whose'er they are.*

30

*If such thou meet'st with, then thine only way
Before them all, is, to say out thy say,
In thine own native Language, which no man
Now useth, nor with ease dissemble can.*

35

*If after all, they still of you shall doubt,
Thinking that you like Gipsies go about,
In naughty-wise the country to defile,
Or that you seek good People to beguile
With things unwarrantable: send for me 5
And I will Testifie you Pilgrims be;
Yea, I will Testifie that only you
My Pilgrims are: and that alone will do.*

2. Object.

But yet, perhaps, I may enquire for him 10
Of those that wish him damned life and limb.
What shall I do, when I at such a door,
For *Pilgrims* ask, and they shall rage the more?

Answer.

*Fright not thyself, my Book, for such Bugbears 15
Are nothing else but ground for groundless fears:
My Pilgrim's Book has travell'd Sea and Land,
Yet could I never come to understand,
That it was slighted, or turned out of Door
By any Kingdom, were they Rich or Poor. 20
In France and Flanders where men kill each other,
My Pilgrim is esteem'd a Friend, a Brother.
In Holland too, 'tis said, as I am told,
My Pilgrim is with some, worth more than Gold.
Highlanders, and Wild-Irish can agree 25
My Pilgrim should familiar with them be.
'Tis in New-England under such advance,
Receives there so much loving Countenance,
As to be Trim'd, new-Cloth'd, and Deck'd with Gems,
That it may shew its Features, and its limbs, 30
Yet more, so comely doth my Pilgrim walk,
That of him thousands daily Sing and talk.
If you draw nearer home, it will appear
My Pilgrim knows no ground of shame, or fear;
City, and Country will him entertain, 35*

*With Welcome Pilgrim. Yea, they can't refrain
From smiling, if my Pilgrim be but by,
Or shew his head in any Company.*

*Brave Galants do my Pilgrim hug and love,
Esteem it much, yea, value it above
Things of a greater bulk, yea, with delight,
Say my Lark's-leg is better than a Kite.*

5

*Young Ladies, and young Gentlewomen too,
Do no small kindness to my Pilgrim shew;
Their Cabinets, their Bosoms, and their Hearts
My Pilgrim has, 'cause he to them imparts,
His pretty riddles, in such wholesome strains
As yields them profit double to their pains
Of reading. Yea, I think I may be bold
To say some prize him far above their Gold.*

10

15

*The very Children that do walk the street,
If they do but my Holy Pilgrim meet,
Salute him well, will wish him well, and say,
He is the only Stripling of the Day.*

*They that have never seen him, yet admire
What they have heard of him, and much desire
To have his company, and hear him tell
Those Pilgrim stories which he knows so well.*

20

*Yea, some who did not love him at the first,
But call'd him Fool, and Noddy, say they must
Now they have seen and heard him, him commend,
And to those whom they love, they do him send.*

25

*Wherefore my Second Part, thou need'st not be
Afraid to shew thy Head: none can hurt thee,
That wish but well to him, that went before;
'Cause thou com'st after with a second store
Of things as good, as rich, as profitable,
For Young, for Old, for Stag's-ring and for Stable.*

30

3. Object.

*But some there be that say, he laughs too loud;
And some do say his Head is in a Cloud.*

35

Some say, his Words and Stories are so dark,
They know not how, by them, to find his mark.

Answer.

*One may (I think) say, both his laughs and cries,
May well be guess't at by his watry Eyes. 5*
*Some things are of that Nature as to make
One's fancie Checkle while his Heart doth ake:
When Jacob saw his Rachel with the Sheep,
He did at the same time both kiss and weep.
Whereas some say a Cloud is in his Head, 10*
*That doth but shew how Wisdom's covered
With its own mantles: and to stir the mind
To a search after what it fain would find,
Things that seem to be hid in words obscure,
Do but the Godly mind the more allure, 15*
*To study what those Sayings should contain,
That speak to us in such a Cloudy strain.
I also know, a dark Similitude
Will on the Fancie more itself intrude,
And will stick faster in the Heart and Head, 20*
*Than things from Similes not borrowed.
Wherefore, my Book, let no discouragement
Hinder thy travels. Behold, thou art sent
To Friends not foes: to Friends that will give place
To thee, thy Pilgrims and thy words embrace. 25*
*Besides, what my first Pilgrim left conceal'd,
Thou my brave Second Pilgrim, hast reveal'd;
What Christian left lock't up and went his way,
Sweet Christiana opens with her Key.*

∴ Object.

30

But some love not the method of your first:
Romance they count it, throw't away as dust,
If I should meet with such, what should I say?
Must I slight them as they slight me, or nay?

Answer.

My Christiana, if with such thou meet,
 By all-means in all loving-wise, them greet;
 Render them not reviling for revile;
 But if they frown, I pretbee on them smile: 5
 Perhaps 'tis Nature, or some ill report
 Has made them thus dispise, or thus retort.
 Some love no Cheese, some love no Fish, and some
 Love not their Friends, nor their own House or Home;
 Some start at Pig, slight Chicken, love not Fowl, 10
 More than they love a Cuckow or an Owl:
 Leave such, my Christiana, to their choice,
 And seek those, who to find thee will rejoyce;
 By no means strive, but in all bumble wise,
 Present thee to them in thy Pilgrim's guise. 15
 Go then, my little Book, and shew to all
 That entertain, and bid thee welcome shall,
 What thou shalt keep close, shut up from the rest,
 And wish what thou shalt shew them may be blest
 To them for good, may make them chuse to be 20
 Pilgrims, better by far, than thee or me.
 Go then, I say, tell all men who thou art;
 Say, I am Christiana, and my part
 Is now with my four Sons to tell you what
 It is for men to take a Pilgrims lot. 25
 Go also tell them who, and what they be,
 That now do go on Pilgrimage with thee;
 Say, here's my neighbor Mercy, she is one,
 That has long-time with me a Pilgrim gone:
 Come see her in her Virgin Face, and learn 30
 'Twixt Idle ones and Pilgrims to discern.
 Yea let young Damsels learn of her to prue,
 The world which is to come, in any wise.
 When little Tripping Maidens follow God,
 And leave old doting Sinners to his Rod; 35
 'Tis like those Days wherein the young ones cried
 Hosannah to whom old ones did deride.

Next tell them of old Honest, who you found
 With his white hairs treading the Pilgrim's ground;
 Yea, tell them how plain-hearted this man was,
 How after his good Lord he bare his Cross:
 Perhaps with some gray Head this may prevail, 5
 With Christ to fall in Love, and Sin bewail.

Tell them also how Master Fearing went
 On Pilgrimage, and how the time he spent
 In Solitariness, with Fears and Cries,
 And how at last, he won the Joyful Prize. 10
 He was a good Man, though much down in Spirit,
 He is a good Man, and doth Life inherit.

Tell them of Master Feeblemind also,
 Who, not before, but still behind would go;
 Shew them also how he had like been slain, 15
 And how one Great-Heart did his life regain:
 This man was true of Heart, tho' weak in grace,
 One might true Godliness read in his Face.

Then tell them of Master Ready-to-halt,
 A Man with Crutches, but much without fault: 20
 Tell them how Master Feeble-mind and he
 Did love, and in Opinions much agree.
 And let all know, tho' weakness was their chance
 Yet sometimes one could Sing, the other Dance.

Forget not Master Valiant-for-the-Truth, 25
 That Man of courage, tho' a very Youth.
 Tell every one his Spirit was so stout,
 No Man could ever make him face about;
 And how Great-Heart and he could not forbear,
 But put down Doubting Castle, slay Despair. 30

Overlook not Master Despondancie,
 Nor Much-afraid his Daughter, tho' they lie
 Under such Mantles as may make them look
 (With some) as if their God had them forsook. 35
 They softly went, but sure, and at the end,
 Found that the Lord of Pilgrims was their Friend.
 When thou hast told the World of all these things,
 Then turn about, my Book, and touch these strings:

*Which, if but touched will such Musick make,
They'll make a Cripple dance, a Giant quake.*

*These Riddles that lie couch't within thy breast,
Freely propound, expound: and for the rest
Of thy mysterious lines, let them remain
For those whose nimble Fancies shall them gain.*

5

*Now may this little Book a blessing be,
To those that love this little Book and me;
And may its buyer have no cause to say,
His money is but lost or thrown away:
Tea may this Second Pilgrim yield that Fruit
As may with each good Pilgrim's fancy suit;
And may it perswade some that go astray,
To turn their Foot and Heart to the right way.*

10

Is the Hearty Prayer

15

of the Author,

JOHN BUNYAN.

THE
PILGRIMS PROGRESS:
IN THE SIMILITUDE OF A
DREAM.

THE SECOND PART.

Courteous Companions, some-time since, to tell you my Dream that I had of *Christian* the Pilgrim, and of his dangerous Journey toward the Coelestial Country, was pleasant to me, and profitable to you. I told you then also what I saw concerning his *Wife* and *Children*, and how unwilling they were to go with him on Pilgrimage; insomuch that he was forced to go on his Progress without them, for he durst not run the danger of that destruction which he feared would come by staying with them, in the City of Destruction.

¹⁰ Wherefore as I then shewed you, he left them and departed.

Now it hath so happened, thorough the Multiplicity of Business, that I have been much hindred and kept back from my wonted Travels into those Parts whence he went, and so could not till now obtain an opportunity to make further enquiry after whom he left behind, that I might give you an account of them. But having had some concerns that way of late, I went down again thitherward. Now having taken up my Lodgings in a Wood about a mile off the place, as I slept I dreamed again.

²⁰ And as I was in my Dream, behold, an aged Gentleman came by where I lay; and because he was to go some part of the way that I was travelling, methought I got up and

went with him. So as we walked, and as Travellers usually do, I was as if we fell into discourse, and our talk happened to be about *Christian* and his Travels: For thus I began with the old man.

Sir, said I, *what Town is that there below, that lieth on the left hand of our way?*

Then said Mr. *Sagacity*, for that was his name, It is the City of *Destruction*, a populous place, but possessed with a very ill conditioned and idle sort of People.

I thought that was that City, quoth I, *I went once myself* 10 *through that Town, and therefore know that this report you give of it, is true.*

SAG. Too true, I wish I could speak truth in speaking better of them that dwell therein.

Well Sir, quoth I, *then I perceive you to be a well meaning man: and so one that takes pleasure to hear and tell of that which is good; pray did you never hear what happened to a man some time ago in this Town (whose name was Christian) that went on Pilgrimage up towards the higher Regions?*

SAG. Hear of him! Ay, and I also heard of the Molesta- 20 tions, Troubles, Wars, Captivities, Cries, Groans, Frights and Fears that he met with, and had in his Journey. Besides, I must tell you, all our Country rings of him; there are but few Houses that have heard of him and his doings, but have sought after and got the *Records* of his Pilgrimage; yea, I think I may say, that that his hazardous Journey, has got a many well-wishers to his ways. For though when he was here, he was *Fool* in every man's mouth, yet now he is gone, he is highly commended of all. For, 'tis said he lives bravely where he is: yea many of them, that are resolved never to 30 run his hazards, yet have their mouths water at his gains.

They may, quoth I, *well think, if they think any thing that is true, that he liveth well where he is, for he now lives at and in the Fountain of Life, and has what he has without labour and sorrow, for there is no grief mixed therewith.*

SAG. Talk! The people talk strangely about him. Some say, that he now walks in *White*, that he has a Chain of Gold about his Neck, that he has a Crown of Gold, beset with

Christians
are well
spoken of
when gone:
they called
Fools while
they are
here.

Pearls, upon his head. Others say that the shining ones that sometimes shewed themselves to him in his Journey, are become his Companions, and that he is as familiar with them in the place where he is, as here one Neighbor is with another. Besides 'tis confidently affirmed concerning him, that the King of the place where he is, has bestowed upon him already a very rich and pleasant Dwelling at Court, and that he every day eateth and drinketh, and walketh, and talketh with him, and receiveth of the smiles and favours of him that is Judge of all there. Moreover, it is expected of some that his Prince, the Lord of that Country, will shortly come into these parts, and will know the reason, if they can give any, why his Neighbors set so little by him, and had him so much in derision when they perceived that he would be a Pilgrim.

For they say, that now he is so in the affections of his Prince, and that his *Sovereign* is so much concerned with the *Indignities* that were cast upon *Christian* when he became a Pilgrim, that he will look upon all as if done unto himself; and no marvel, for 'twas for the love that he had to his Prince, that he ventured as he did.

I dare say, quoth I, I am glad on it; I am glad for the poor man's sake, for that now he has rest from his labour, and for that he now reapeth the benefit of his Tears with Joy: and for that he has got beyond the Gun-shot of his Enemies, and is out of the reach of them that hate him. I also am glad for that a rumour of these things is noised abroad in this Country. Who can tell but that it may work some good effect on some that are left behind? But, pray Sir, while it is fresh in my mind, do you hear anything of his Wife and Children? poor hearts, I wonder in my mind what they do!

SAG. Who! *Christiana*, and her Sons! They are like to do as well as did *Christian* himself, for though they all play'd the Fool at the first, and would by no means be perswaded by either the tears or the entreaties of *Christian*, yet second thoughts have wrought wonderfully with them; so they have packt up and are also gone after him.

Better and better, quoth I. But what! Wife and Children and all?

SAG. 'Tis true, I can give you an account of the matter, for I was upon the spot at the instant, and was thoroughly acquainted with the whole affair.

Then, said I, a man it seems may report it for a truth?

SAG. You need not fear to affirm it, I mean that they are all gone on Pilgrimage, both the good Woman and her four Boys. And being we are, as I perceive, going some considerable way together, I will give you an account of the whole of the matter.

This *Christiana* (for that was her name from the day that 10 she with her Children betook themselves to a *Pilgrim's* life,) after her Husband was gone *over the River*, and she could hear of him no more, her thoughts began to work in her mind. First, for that she had lost her Husband, and for that the loving bond of that Relation was utterly broken betwixt them. For you know, said he to me, nature can do no less but entertain the living with many a heavy Cogitation in the remembrance of the loss of loving Relations. This therefore of her Husband did cost her many a Tear. But this was not all, for *Christiana* did also begin to consider with herself, 20 whether her unbecoming behaviour towards her Husband, was not one cause that she saw him no more, and that in such sort he was taken away from her. And upon this, came into her mind by *swarms*, all her unkind, unnatural, and ungodly Carriages to her dear Friend: which also clogged her Conscience, and did load her with guilt. She was moreover much broken with calling to remembrance the restless Groans, brinish Tears and self-bemoanings of her Husband, and how she did harden her heart against all his entreaties, and loving persuasions (of her and her Sons) to go with him, yea, there 30 was not any thing that *Christian* either said to her, or did before her, all the while that his burden did hang on his back, but it returned upon her like a flash of lightning, and rent the Caul of her Heart in sunder. Specially that bitter outcry of his, *What shall I do to be saved*, did ring in her ears most dolefully.

Then said she to her Children, Sons, we are all undone. I have sinned away your Father, and he is gone; he would

1 part, page
144.

Mark this
you that are
cheerful to
your godly
Relations.

1 part, page
12, 13.

have had us with him; but I would not go myself, I also have hindred you of Life. With that the boys fell all into Tears, and cried out to go after their Father. Oh! Said *Christiana*, that it had been but our lot to go with him, then had it fared well with us beyond what 'tis like to do now. For tho' I formerly foolishly imagin'd concerning the troubles of your Father, that they proceeded of a foolish Fancy that he had, or for that he was overrun with Melancholy Humours; yet now 'twill not out of my mind, but
 10 that they sprang from another cause, to wit, for that the Light of Light was given him, by the help of which,
 as I perceive, he has escaped the Snares of Death. Then they all wept again, and cryed out: Oh, Wo worth the day.

James 1. 23.
24. 25.

The next night, *Christiana* had a Dream, and behold she saw as if a broad Parchment was opened before her in which were recorded the sum of her ways, and the times, as she thought, lookt *very black upon her*. Then she cried out aloud in her sleep, *Lord have Mercy upon me a Sinner*, and the little
 20 Children heard her.

*Christiana's
Dream.*

After this she thought she saw two very ill-favoured ones standing by her Bed-side, and saying, *What shall we do with this Woman? For she cries out for Mercy waking and sleeping: If she be suffered to go on as she begins, we shall lose her as we have lost her Husband.* Wherefore we must by one way or other, seek to take her off from the thoughts of what shall be hereafter: else all the World cannot help it, but she will become a Pilgrim.

*Mark this,
this is the
guidesance
of Hell.*

Now she awoke in a great Sweat; also a trembling was
 30 upon her, but after a while she fell to sleeping again. And then she thought she saw *Christian* her Husband in a place of Bliss among many *Immortals*, with an Harp in his Hand, standing and playing upon it before one that sate on a Throne with a Rainbow about his Head. She saw also as if he bowed his Head with his Face to the Pav'd-work that was under the Prince's Feet, saying, *I heartily thank my Lord and King for bringing of me into this Place.* Then shouted a company of them that stood round about, and harped with their Harps:

*Help against
Discouragement.*

but no man living could tell what they said, but *Christian* and his Companions.

Conventions
seconded
with fresh
Tidings of
God's ready-
ness to
Pardon.

Next morning when she was up, and prayed to God, and talked with her Children a while, one knocked hard at the door; to whom she spake out saying, *If thou comest in God's name, come in.* So he said *Amen*, and opened the Door, and saluted her with *Peace be to this House.* The which when he had done, he said, *Christiana*, knowest thou wherefore I am come? Then she blusht and trembled, also her heart began to wax warm with desires to know whence he came, and what 10 was his Errand to her. So he said unto her; my name is *Secret*, I dwell with those that are high. It is talked of where I dwell, as if thou had'st a desire to go thither: also there is a report that thou art aware of the evil thou hast formerly done to thy Husband in hardening of thy Heart against his way, and in keeping of these thy Babes in their Ignorance. *Christiana*, the merciful one has sent me to tell thee that he is a God ready to forgive, and that he taketh delight to multiply to pardon offences. He also would have thee know that he inviteth thee to come into his presence, to his Table, and 20 that he will feed thee with the Fat of his House, and with the Heritage of *Jacob* thy Father.

There is *Christian*, thy Husband *that was*, with Legions more his Companions, ever beholding that face that doth minister Life to beholders: and they will be all glad when they shall hear the sound of thy feet step over thy Father's Threshold.

Cont. 1. 3.

Christiana
gives over-
come.

Christiana at this was greatly abashed in herself, and bowing her head to the ground, this *Visitor* proceeded and said, *Christiana!* Here is also a Letter for thee which I have 30 brought from thy Husband's King. So she took it and opened it, but it smelt after the manner of the best Perfume, also it was written in Letters of Gold. The contents of the Letter was, *That the King would have her do as did Christian her Husband; for that was the way to come to his City, and to dwell in his Presence with Joy, for ever.* At this the good Woman was overcome. So she cried out to her *Visitor*, *Sir, will you carry me and my Children with you, that we also may go and worship this King.*

Then said the Visitor, *Christiana! The bitter is before the* Further In-
struction to
Christiana. *sweet*: Thou must through Troubles, as did he that went before thee, enter this Cœlestial City. Wherefore I advise thee, to do as did *Christian* thy Husband: go to the *Wicket Gate* yonder, over the Plain, for that stands in the head of the way up which thou must go, and I wish thee all good speed. Also I advise that thou put this Letter in thy Bosom. That thou read therein to thyself and to thy Children, until you have got it by root-of-Heart. For it is one of the Songs that
 10 thou must Sing while thou art in this House of thy Pilgrimage. Ps. 119. 54
 Also this thou must deliver in at the *furthur* Gate.

Now I saw in my Dream, that this Old Gentleman, as he told me this Story, did himself seem to be greatly affected therewith. He moreover proceeded and said, So *Christiana* Christiana
prays well
for her
Journey. called her Sons together, and began thus to Address herself unto them. My Sons, I have as you may perceive, been of late under much exercise in my Soul about the Death of your Father; not for that I doubt at all of his Happiness; for I am satisfied now that he is well. I have also been much
 20 affected with the thoughts of mine own State and yours, which I verily believe is by nature miserable. My Carriages also to your Father in his distress, is a great load to my Conscience. For I hardened both my own heart and yours against him, and refused to go with him on Pilgrimage.

The thoughts of these things would now kill me out-right; but that for a Dream which I had last night, and but that for the encouragement that this Stranger has given me this Morning. Come my Children, let us pack up, and be gone to the Gate that leads to the Cœlestial Country, that we may
 30 see your Father, and be with him, and his Companions in Peace, according to the Laws of that Land.

Then did her Children burst into Tears for Joy that the Heart of their Mother was so inclined. So their *Visitor* bid them farewell: and they began to prepare to set out for their Journey.

But while they were thus about to be gone, two of the women that were *Christiana's* Neighbors, came up to her House and knocked at her door. To whom she said as before,

Christiana's
new Lon-
gue
stands her
old Neigh-
bours.

If you come in God's name, come in. At this the Women were stun'd, for this kind of Language, they used not to hear, or to perceive to drop from the Lips of *Christiana*. Yet they came in; but behold they found the good Woman a preparing to be gone from her House.

So they began and said, *Neighbor, pray what is your meaning by this.*

Christiana answered and said to the eldest of them whose name was *Mrs. Timorous*, I am preparing for a Journey.

1 part, page
42. 44.

(This *Timorous* was daughter to him that met *Christian* upon the Hill *Difficulty*: and would a had him gone back for fear of the Lyons.)

TIMOROUS. For what Journey I pray you?

CHRIS. *Even to go after my good Husband*; and with that she fell a weeping.

Timorous
comes to visit
Christiana
with Mercy,
one of her
Neighbors.

TIM. I hope not so, good Neighbor, pray for your poor Children's sakes, do not so unwomanly cast away yourself.

CHRIS. *Nay, my Children shall go with me; not one of them is willing to stay behind.*

TIM. I wonder in my very heart, what, or who has brought so you into this mind.

CHRIS. Oh, Neighbor, knew you but as much as I do, I doubt not but that you would go with me.

TIM. *Prishee what new knowledge hast thou got that so worketh off thy mind from thy Friends, and that tempteth thee to go nobody knows where?*

Death.

CHRIS. Then *Christiana* reply'd, I have been sorely afflicted since my Husband's departure from me; but specially since he went over the River. But that which troubleth me most, is my churlish carriages to him when he was under his distress. Besides, I am now, as he was then; nothing will serve me but going on Pilgrimage. I was a dreaming last night that I saw him. O that my Soul was with him. He dwelleth in the presence of the King of the Country, he sits and eats with him at his Table, he is become a Companion of *Immortals*, and has a House now given him to dwell in, to which, the best Palaces on Earth, if compared, seem to me to be but as a Dunghill. The

1 Cor. 5. 2.
2. 3. 4.

Prince of the Place has also sent for me with promise of entertainment if I shall come to him; his messenger was here even now, and has brought me a Letter, which invites me to come. And with that she pluck'd out her Letter, and read it, and said to them, what now will you say to this?

TIM. *Oh the madness that has possessed thee and thy Husband, to run yourselves upon such difficulties! You have heard, I am sure, what your Husband did meet with, even in a manner at the first step, that he took on his way, as our Neighbour Obstinate* 1 part, page 12-16.
 10 *can yet testify; for he went along with him, yea and Pliable too*
until they, like wise men, were afraid to go any further. We also heard over and above, how he met with the Lions, Apollyon, the Shadow of Death, and many other things. Nor is the danger that he met with at Vanity fair to be forgotten by thee. For if he, The reasoning of the flesh.
tho' a man, was so hard put to it, what canst thou, being but a poor Woman, do? Consider also that these four sweet Babes are thy Children, thy Flesh and thy Bones. Wherefore, though thou shouldst be so rash as to cast away thyself: Yet for the sake of the Fruit of thy Body, keep thou at home.

20 But *Christiana* said unto her, tempt me not, my Neighbor: I have now a price put into mine hand to get gain, and I should be a Fool of the greatest size, if I should have no heart to strike in with the opportunity. And for that you tell me of all these Troubles that I am like to meet with in the way, they are so far off from being to me a discouragement, that they shew I am in the right. *The bitter must come before the sweet,* A pertinent reply to fleshly reasonings. and that also will make the sweet the sweeter. Wherefore since you came not to my House in God's name, as I said, I pray you to be gone, and not to disquiet me farther.

30 Then *Timorous* also revil'd her, and said to her Fellow, come Neighbor *Mercy*, let's leave her in her own hands, since she scorns our Counsel and Company. But *Mercy* was at a stand, and could not so readily comply with her Neighbor: and that for a two-fold reason. First, her Bowels yearned over *Christiana*: so she said with in herself, If my neighbor will needs be gone, I will go a little way with her, and help her. Secondly, her Bowels yearned over her own Soul, (for what *Christiana* had said, had taken some hold upon her mind.)

Mercy's Bowels yearned over Christiana.

Wherefore she said within herself again, I will yet have more talk with this *Christiana*, and if I find Truth and Life in what she shall say, myself with my Heart shall also go with her. Wherefore *Mercy* began thus to reply to her Neighbor *Timorous*.

*Timorous
forgets her;
but Mercy
comes to
her.*

MERCY. Neighbor, I did indeed come with you to see *Christiana* this Morning, and since she is, as you see, a taking of her last farewell of her Country, I think to walk this Sun-shine Morning, a little way with her to help her on the way. But she told her not of her second Reason, but kept that to herself. 10

*Timorous
acquaints
her Friends,
what the
good *Christi-
ana* intends
to do.*

TIM. Well, I see you have a mind to go a fooling too: but take heed in time, and be wise: while we are out of danger we are out; but when we are in, we are in. So *Mrs. Timorous* returned to her House, and *Christiana* betook herself to her Journey. But when *Timorous* was got home to her House, she sends for some of her Neighbors, to wit, *Mrs. Bats-eyes*, *Mrs. Inconsiderate*, *Mrs. Light-mind* and *Mrs. Know-nothing*. So when they were come to her House, she falls to telling of the story of *Christiana*, and of her intended Journey. And thus she began her Tale. 20

TIM. Neighbors, having had little to do this morning, I went to give *Christiana* a visit, and when I came at the door, I knocked, as you know 'tis our Custom. And she answered, *If you come in God's name, come in*. So in I went, thinking all was well. But when I came in, I found her preparing herself to depart the Town, she and also her Children. So I asked her what was her meaning by that, and she told me in short, that she was now of a mind to go on Pilgrimage, as did her Husband. She told me also a Dream that she had, and how the King of the Country where her Husband was, 30 had sent her an inviting Letter to come thither.

*Mrs. Know-
nothing.*

Then said Mrs. Know-nothing, and what do you think she will go?

TIM. Ay, go she will, what ever come on't; and methinks I know it by this, for that which was my great Argument to persuade her to stay at home, (to wit, the Troubles she was like to meet with in the way) is one great Argument with her to put her forward on her Journey. For she told me in so

many words, *The bitter goes before the sweet.* Yea, and for as much as it so doth, it makes the sweet the sweeter.

MRS. BATS-EYES. Oh this blind and foolish Woman, said *Mrs. Bats-eyes.* she, will she not take warning by her Husband's Afflictions? For my part, I see if he was here again he would rest him content in a whole Skin, and never run so many hazards for nothing.

Mrs. *Inconsiderate* also replied, saying, Away with such Fantastical Fools from the Town, a good riddance, for my *Mrs. Inconsiderate.* 10 part, I say, of her. Should she stay where she dwells, and retain this her mind, who could live quietly by her? for she will either be dumpish or unneighborly, or talk of such matters as no wise body can abide. Wherefore for my part I shall never be sorry for her departure, let her go and let better come in her room; 'twas never a good World since these whimsical Fools dwelt in it.

Then Mrs. *Light-mind* added as followeth. Come put this kind of Talk away. I was Yesterday at Madame *Wanton's*, where we were as merry as the Maids. For who do you *Mrs. Light-mind, Madame Wanton, she that had like to a house as hard for Faithful as this part, page 64-65.* 20 think should be there, but I, and Mrs. *Love-the-flesh*, and three or four more with Mr. *Lechery*, Mrs. *Filth*, and some others. So there we had Musick and dancing, and what else was meet to fill up the pleasure. And I dare say my Lady herself is an admirably well bred Gentlewoman, and Mr. *Lechery* is as pretty a fellow.

By this time *Christiana* was got on her way, and *Mercy* went along with her. So as they went, her Children being there also, *Christiana* began to discourse. And, *Mercy*, said *Christiana*, I take this as an unexpected favour, that thou shouldst *Discourse herself Mercy and good Christiana.* 30 set foot out of Doors with me to accompany me a little in my way.

MERCY. Then said young *Mercy* (for she was but young,) If I *Mercy declines to go.* thought it would be to purpose to go with you, I would never go near the Town any more.

CHRIS. Well *Mercy*, said *Christiana*, cast in thy Lot with me. I well know what will be the end of our Pilgrimage, my Husband is where he would not but be, for all the Gold in the *Christiana would have her Neighbor with her.* Spanish Mines. Nor shalt thou be rejected, tho' thou goest

but upon my *Invitation*. The King who hath sent for me and my Children, is one that delighteth in *Mercy*. Besides, if thou wilt, I will hire thee, and thou shalt go along with me as my servant. Yet we will have all things in common betwixt thee and me; only go along with me.

*Mercy
doubts of
acceptance.*

MERCY. *But how shall I be ascertained that I also shall be entertained? Had I this hope, but from one that can tell, I would make no stick at all, but would go being helped by him that can help, tho' the way was never so tedious.*

*Christiana
alludes her
to the Gate
which is
Christ, and
promiseth
there to en-
quire for
her.*

CHRIS. Well, loving *Mercy*, I will tell thee what thou shalt do; go with me to the *Wicket Gate*, and there I will further enquire for thee, and if there thou shalt not meet with encouragement, I will be content that thou shalt return to thy place. I also will pay thee for thy Kindness which thou shewest to me and my Children in thy accompanying of us in our way as thou doest.

*Mercy
prays.*

MERCY. *Then will I go thither, and will take what shall follow, and the Lord grant that my Lot may there fall even as the King of Heaven shall have his heart upon me.*

*Christiana
gives of
Mercy's
company.*

CHRISTIANA, then was glad at her heart, not only that she had a so Companion, but also for that she had prevailed with this poor Maid to fall in love with her own Salvation. So they went on together, and *Mercy* began to weep. Then said *Christiana*, wherefore weepeth my Sister so?

*Mercy
excuses for
her carnal
Relations.*

MERCY. *Alas! said she, who can but lament that shall but rightly consider what a State and Condition my poor Relations are in, that yet remain in our sinful Town? and that which makes my grief the more heavy, is because they have no Instructor, nor any to tell them what is to come.*

*Christiana's
Prayers
were an-
swered for
his Rela-
tions after
he was dead.*

CHRIS. Bowels becometh Pilgrims. And thou dost for thy Friends, as my good *Christian* did for me when he left me; he mourned for that I would not heed nor regard him, but his Lord and ours did gather up his Tears, and put them into his Bottle, and now both I, and thou, and these my sweet Babes, are reaping the Fruit and benefit of them. I hope, *Mercy*, these Tears of thine will not be lost, for the truth hath said; *That they that sow in Tears shall reap in Joy, in singing. And he that goeth forth and weepeth, bearing precious seed, shall*

doubtless come again with rejoicing, bringing his Sheaves with him.

Then said Mercy,

*Let the most blessed be my guide,
If't be his blessed Will,
Unto his Gate, into his fold,
Up to his Holy Hill.*

*And let him never suffer me,
To swerve, or turn aside
10 From his free grace, and Holy ways,
What ere shall me betide.*

*And let him gather them of mine,
That I have left behind.
Lord make them pray they may be thine,
With all their heart and mind.*

Now my old Friend proceeded and said, But when *Chris-* 1 part, page 25. 17.
tiana came up to the Slough of *Dispond*, she began to be at a
stand: For, said she, This is the place in which my dear
20 Husband had like to a been smothered with Mud. She
perceived also, that notwithstanding the Command of the
King to make this place for Pilgrims good, yet it was rather
worse than formerly. So I asked if that was true? Yes,
said the Old Gentleman, too true. For that many there be
that pretend to be the King's Labourers; and that say they
are for mending the King's Highway, that bring *Dirt* and *Dung*
instead of Stones, and so mar instead of mending. Here
Christiana therefore with her Boys, did make a stand: but
said *Mercy*, come let us venture, only let us be wary. Then
30 they looked well to the *Steps*, and made a shift to get stagger-
ingly over.

Their own
Carnal Con-
cupiscences, in-
stead of the
word of Life.
Mercy the
holdest at the
Slough of
Dispond.

Yet *Christiana* had like to a been in, and that not once nor
twice. Now they had no sooner got over, but they thought
they heard words that said unto them, *Blessed is she that* Luke 1. 45
believeth, for there shall be a performance of the things that have
been told her from the Lord.

Then they went on again; and said *Mercy* to *Christiana*,
Had I as good ground to hope for a loving reception at the

Wicket-Gate, as you, I think no Slough of *Dispond* would discourage me.

Well, said the other, you know *your* *sore*, and I know *mine*; and good friend, we shall all have enough evil before we come at our Journey's end.

For can it be imagined, that the people that design to attain such excellent Glories *as we do*, and that are so envied that Happiness *as we are*; but that we shall meet with what Fears and Scares, with what troubles and afflictions they can possibly assault us with, that hate us? 10

And now Mr. *Sagacity* left me to Dream out my Dream by my self. Wherefore me-thought I saw *Christiana*, and *Mercy* and the *Boys* go all of them up to the Gate. To which when they were come, they betook themselves to a short debate, about *how* they must manage their calling at the Gate, and what should be said to him that did open to them. So it was concluded, since *Christiana* was the eldest, that she should knock for entrance, and that she should speak to him that did open, for the rest. So *Christiana* began to knock, and as her poor Husband did, she *knocked*, and *knocked* again. But 20 instead of any that answered, they all thought that they heard, as if a Dog came barking upon them. A Dog and a great one too, and this made the Women and Children afraid. Nor durst they for a while to knock any more, for fear the *Mastiff* should fly upon them. Now therefore they were greatly tumbled up and down in their minds, and knew not what to do. Knock they durst not, for fear of the Dog: go back they durst not for fear that the Keeper of that Gate should espy them, as they so went, and should be offended with them. At last they thought of knocking again, and knocked more 30 vehemently then they did at the first. Then said the Keeper of the Gate, who is there? So the *Dog* left off to bark and he opened unto them.

Then *Christiana* made low obeisance, and said, Let not our Lord be offended with his Handmaidens for that we have knocked at his Princely Gate. Then said the Keeper, Whence come ye, and what is that you would have?

Christiana answered, we are come from whence *Christian*

Prayer should be made with Consideration, and Fear: as well as the Faith and Hope.

2 part, page 25.

The Dog, the Devil an Enemy to Prayer.

Christiana and her companions surprised about Prayer.

did come, and upon the same *Errand* as he; to wit, to be, if it shall please you, graciously admitted by this Gate, into the way that leads to the Celestial City. And I answer, my Lord in the next place, that I am *Christiana* once the Wife of *Christian*, that now is gotten above.

With that the Keeper of the Gate did marvel, saying, *What is she become now a Pilgrim, that but a while ago abhorred that Life?* Then she bowed her Head, and said, Yes; and so are these my sweet Babes also.

- 10 Then he took her by the hand, and let her in and said also, *Suffer the little Children to come unto me*, and with that he shut up the Gate. This done, he called to a Trumpeter that was above over the Gate, to entertain *Christiana* with shouting and sound of Trumpet for joy. So he obeyed and sounded, and filled the Air with his Melodious Notes.

*How
Christiana
is enter-
tained at
the Gate.
Luke 15. 7.*

Now all this while, poor *Mercy* did stand without, trembling and crying for fear that she was rejected. But when *Christiana* had gotten admittance for herself and her Boys, then she began to make intercession for *Mercy*.

- 20 CHRIS. *And she said, my Lord, I have a Companion of mine that stands yet without, that is come hither upon the same account as myself. One that is much dejected in her mind, for that she comes, as she thinks, without sending for, whereas I was sent to by my Husband's King to come.*

*Christiana's
Prayer for
her friend
Mercy.*

- Now *Mercy* began to be very impatient, for each Minute was as long to her as an hour, Wherefore she prevented *Christiana* from a fuller interceding for her, by knocking at the Gate herself. And she knocked then so loud, that she made *Christiana* to start. Then said the Keeper of the Gate who is
30 there? And said *Christiana*, it is my Friend.

*The delays
make the
hungring
Soul the
stronger.*

So he opened the Gate, and looked out; but *Mercy* was fallen down without in a Swoon, for she fainted and was afraid that no Gate would be opened to her.

*Mercy
faints.*

Then he took her by the hand, and said, *Damsel*, I bid thee arise.

O Sir, said she, I am faint, there is scarce Life left in me. But he answered, That one once said, *When my soul fainted* *within me, I remembered the Lord, and my prayer came in unto*

Jonah 2. 1.

thee, into thy Holy Temple. Fear not, but stand upon thy Feet, and tell me wherefore thou art come.

*The cause
of her
fainting.*

MERCY. I am come, for *that*, unto which I was never invited, as my Friend *Christiana* was. *Hers* was from the King, and *mine* was but from *her*: Wherefore I fear I presume.

Did she desire thee to come with her to this Place?

MERCY. Yes. And as my Lord sees, I am come. And if there is any Grace or forgiveness of Sins to spare, I beseech that I thy poor Handmaid may be partaker thereof. 10

mark this.

Then he took her again by the Hand, and led her gently in, and said, I pray for all them that believe on me, by what means soever they come unto me. Then said he to those that stood by, Fetch something, and give it *Mercy* to smell on, thereby to stay her fainting. So they fetcht her a *Bundle of Myrrh*, and awhile after she was revived.

And now was *Christiana* and her Boys and *Mercy* received of the Lord at the head of the way, and spoke kindly unto by him.

Then said they yet further unto him, We are sorry for our 20 Sins, and beg of our Lord his Pardon, and further information what we must do.

*Cast. 1. a.
John 8. 12.*

I grant Pardon, said he, by word, and deed; by word in the promise of forgiveness: by deed in the way I obtained it. Take the first from my Lips with a Kiss, and the other, as it shall be revealed.

*Christ Cris-
tified soon
after off.*

Now I saw in my Dream that he spake many good words unto them, whereby they were greatly gladdened. He also had them up to the top of the Gate and shewed them by what *deed* they were saved, and told them withal, that that sight 30 they would have again as they went along in the way, to their comfort.

*Talk be-
tween the
Christians.*

So he left them awhile in a Summer Parlor below, where they entred into talk by themselves. And thus *Christiana* began, O Lord! How glad am I, that we are got in *hither*!

MERCY. So you well may; but I, of all, have cause to leap for joy.

CHRIS. I thought, one time, as I stood at the Gate (because

I had knocked and none did answer) that all our Labour had been lost. Specially when that ugly Cur made such a heavy barking against us.

MERCY. But my worst Fears was after I saw that you was taken in to his favour, and that I was left behind. Now thought I, 'tis fulfilled which is written. *Two women shall be Matt. 24. 42. Grinding together, the one shall be taken, and the other left.* I had much ado to forbear crying out, Undone, Undone.

And afraid I was to knock any more; but when I looked 10 up to what was written over the Gate, I took Courage. I also thought that I must either knock again or die. So I 15 knocked; but I cannot tell how, for my spirit now struggled 20 betwixt life and death.

CHRIS. *Can you not tell how you knocked? I am sure your* Christiana thinks her Companion I pray better than she. *knocks were so earnest, that the very sound of them made me start, I thought I never heard such knocking in all my Life. I thought you would a come in by violent hands, or a took the* Matt. 11. 12. Kingdom by storm.

MERCY. Alas, to be in my Case, who that so was, could but 20 a done so? You saw that the Door was shut upon me, and that there was a most cruel Dog thereabout. Who, I say, that was so faint hearted as I, that would not a knocked with all their might? But pray what said my Lord to my rudeness, was he not angry with me?

CHRIS. *When he heard your lumbring noise, he gave a won- derful innocent smile. I believe what you did pleas'd him well enough. For he shewed no sign to the contrary. But I marvel in my heart why he keeps such a Dog; had I known that afore, I fear I should not have had heart enough to have ventured myself 30 in this manner. But now we are in, we are in, and I am glad with all my heart.* Christ pleased with loud and restless praises. If the Soul had first did know all it should meet with in its Journey to Heaven it would hardly ever set out.

MERCY. I will ask if you please next time he comes down, why he keeps such a filthy Cur in his Yard. I hope he will not take it amiss.

As do, said the Children, and perswade him to bang him, for we are afraid he will bite us when we go hence. The Children are afraid of the dog.

So at last he came down to them again, and Mercy fell to the Ground on her Face before him and worshipped, and

said, Let my Lord accept of the Sacrifice of praise which I now offer unto him, with the calves of my lips.

So he said unto her, Peace be to thee, stand up.

JER. XX. 1, 2.
Mercy re-
penteeth
about the
dog.

But she continued upon her Face and said, *Righteous art thou O Lord when I plead with thee, yet let me talk with thee of thy Judgments, Wherefore dost thou keep so cruel a Dog in thy Yard, at the sight of which, such Women and Children as we, are ready to fly from thy Gate for fear?*

Devil.

He answered, and said; *That Dog* has another Owner, he also is kept close in another man's ground; only my Pilgrims ¹⁰ hear his barking. He belongs to the Castle which you see there at a distance, but can come up to the walls of this place. He has frightened many an honest Pilgrim from worse to better, by the great voice of his roaring. Indeed he that owneth him, doth not keep him of any good will to me or mine; but with intent to keep the Pilgrims from coming to me, and that they may be afraid to knock at this Gate for entrance. Sometimes also he has broken out, and has *worried* some that I love; but I take all at present patiently. I also give my Pilgrims timely help; so they are not delivered up to ²⁰ his power to do to them what his Doggish nature would prompt him to. But what! My purchased one, I tro, hadst thou known never so much before hand, thou wouldst not a been afraid of a Dog.

A Check to
the carnal
fear of the
Pilgrims.

The Beggars that go from Door to Door, will, rather than they will lose a supposed Alms, run the hazard of the howling, barking, and biting too of a Dog: and shall a Dog, a Dog in another Mans Yard, a Dog whose barking I turn to the profit of Pilgrims, keep any from coming to me? I deliver them from the Lions, their Darling from the power of ³⁰ *the Dog.*

Christians
when wise
enough ac-
quiesce in
the wisdom
of their
Lord.

MERCY. Then said Mercy, *I confess my Ignorance: I spake what I understood not: I acknowledge that thou doest all things well.*

1. part, page
18.

CHRIS. Then *Christiana* began to talk of their Journey, and to enquire after the way. So he fed them, and washed their feet, and set them in the way of his Steps, according as he had dealt with her Husband before.

So I saw in my Dream, that they walkt on in their way,
and had the weather very comfortable to them.

Then *Christiana* began to sing, saying.

*Bless't be the Day that I began,
A Pilgrim for to be.
And blessed also be that man,
That thereto moved me.*

*'Tis true, 'twas long ere I began
To seek to live for ever:*

10 *But now I run fast as I can,
'Tis better late, than never.*

*Our Tears to joy, our fears to Faith
Are turned, as we see:
Thus our beginning (as one saith)
Shews, what our end will be.*

Now there was, on the other side of the Wall that fenced
in the way up which *Christiana* and her Companions was to
go, a Garden; and that Garden belonged to him whose was that The Lord's
Barking Dog of whom mention was made before. And some of Garden.
10 the Fruit-Trees that grew in that Garden shot their branches
over the Wall, and being mellow, they that found them did
gather them up and oft eat of them to their hurt. So *Chris-*
tiana's Boys, as Boys are apt to do, being pleas'd with the
Trees, and with the fruit that did hang thereon, did *plash* them The Chil-
and began to eat. Their Mother did also chide them for so draw out of
doing; but still the Boys went on. the Kitchen's
Prick.

Well, said she, my Sons, you Transgress, for that fruit is
none of ours: but she did not know that they did belong to
the Enemy. I'll warrant you if she had, she would a been
30 ready to die for fear. But that passed, and they went on
their way. Now by that they were gone about two Bow's-shot
from the place that let them into the way, they espyed two
very *ill-favoured ones* coming down apace to meet them. Two ill-
With that *Christiana*, and *Mercy* her Friend covered them- favoured
selves with their Vails, and so kept on their Journey: the ones.
Children also went on before, so that at last they met together.
Then they that came down to meet them, came just up to the
Women, as if they would embrace them: but *Christiana* said,

*They
assault
Christiana.*

*The pil-
grims strug-
gle with
them.*

Stand back, or go peaceably by as you should. Yet these two, as men that are deaf, regarded not *Christiana's* words; but began to lay hands upon them; at that *Christiana* waxing very wroth, spurned at them with her feet. *Mercy* also, as well as she could, did what she could to shift them. *Christiana* again, said to them, Stand back and be gone, for we have no Money to lose, being Pilgrims as ye see, and such too as live upon the Charity of our Friends.

ILL-FA. Then said one of the two of the Men, we make no assault upon you for Money, but are come out to tell you, 10 that if you will but grant one small request which we shall ask, we will make Women of you for ever.

CHRIS. Now *Christiana* imagining what they should mean, made answer again, *We will neither bear nor regard, nor yield to what you shall ask. We are in haste, cannot stay, our Business is a Business of Life and Death.* So again she and her Companions made a fresh assay to go past them. But they letted them in their way.

ILL-FA. And they said, we intend no hurt to your lives, 'tis another thing we would have. 20

*She cries
out*

CHRIS. Ay, quoth *Christiana*, you would have us Body and Soul, for I know 'tis for that you are come; but we will die rather upon the spot, then suffer ourselves to be brought into such Snares as shall hazard our wellbeing hereafter. And with that they both *Sbricked* out, and cryed Murder, Murder: and so put themselves under those Laws that are provided for the Protection of Women. But the men still made their approach upon them, with design to prevall against them: They therefore cryed out again.

*Doubt. on. 25.
26, 27.*

*'Tis good
to cry out
when we are
assaulted.*

Now they being, as I said, not far from the Gate in at which 30 they came, their voice was heard from where they was, thither. Wherefore some of the House came out, and knowing that it was *Christiana's* Tongue, they made haste to her relief. But by that they was got within sight of them, the Women was in a very great scuffle, the Children also stood crying by. Then did he that came in for their relief, call out to the Ruffians saying, What is that thing that you do? Would you make my Lord's People to transgress? He also

*The Ruffians
come.*

attempted to take them : but they did make their escape over the Wall into the Garden of the Man, to whom the great Dog belonged, so the Dog became their Protector. This Reliever then came up to the Women, and asked them how they did. So they answered, we thank thy Prince, pretty well, only we have been somewhat affrighted, we thank thee also for that thou camest in to our help, for otherwise we had been overcome.

RELIEVER. So after a few more words, this Reliever said,
 10 as followeth : *I marvelled much when you was entertained at the Gate above, being ye knew that ye were but weak Women, that you petitioned not the Lord there for a Conductor. Then might you have avoided these Troubles, and Dangers ; for he would have granted you one.* The ill Ones fly to the devil for relief. The Reliever talks to the Women.

CHRIS. Alas said Christiana, we were so taken with our present blessing, that Dangers to come were forgotten by us ; besides, who could have thought that so near the King's Palace there should have lurked such naughty ones ? Indeed it had been well for us had we asked our Lord for one ; but
 20 since our Lord knew 'twould be for our profit, I wonder he sent not one along with us.

RELIE. *It is not always necessary to grant things not asked for, lest by so doing they become of little esteem ; but when the want of a thing is felt, it then comes under, in the Eyes of him that feels it, that estimate that properly is its due, and so consequently will be thereafter used. Had my Lord granted you a Conductor, you would not neither so have bewailed that oversight of yours in not asking for one, as now you have occasion to do. So all things work for good, and tend to make you more wary.* He's here for want of asking for.

30 CHRIS. Shall we go back again to my Lord, and confess our folly and ask one ?

RELIE. Your Confession of your folly, I will present him with : to go back again, you need not. For in all places where you shall come, you will find no want at all, for in every of my Lord's Lodgings which he has prepared for the reception of his Pilgrims, there is sufficient to furnish them against all attempts whatsoever. But, as I said, he will be inquired of by them to do it for them ;
 and 'tis a poor thing that is not worth asking for. When he

had thus said, he went back to his place, and the Pilgrims went on their way.

*The mistake
of Mercy.*

MERCY. Then said *Mercy*, what a sudden blank is here? I made account we had now been past all danger, and that we should never see sorrow more.

*Christiana's
Guilt.*

CHRIS. Thy *Innocency*, my Sister, said *Christiana* to *Mercy*, may excuse thee much; but as for me, my fault is so much the greater, for that I saw this danger before I came out of the Door, and yet did not provide for it, where Provision might a been had. I am therefore much to be blamed. 10

MERCY. Then said *Mercy*, how knew you this before you came from home? pray open to me this Riddle.

*Christiana's
Dream re-
peated.*

CHRIS. Why, I will tell you. Before I set Foot out of Doors, one Night, as I lay in my Bed, I had a Dream about this. For methought I saw two men, as like these as ever the World they could look, stand at my *Bed's-foot*, plotting how they might prevent my Salvation. I will tell you their very words. They said, ('twas when I was in my Troubles,) *What shall we do with this Woman? For she cries out awaking and sleeping for forgiveness: if she be suffered to go on as she* 20 *begins, we shall lose her as we have lost her Husband.* This you know might have made me take heed, and have provided when Provision might a been had.

*Mercy
reproves good
use of their
neglect of
duty.*

MERCY. Well said *Mercy*, as by this neglect, we have an occasion ministred unto us, to behold our own imperfections: so our Lord has taken occasion thereby, to make manifest the Riches of his Grace. For he, as we see, has followed us with an unasked kindness, and has delivered us from their bands that were stronger than we, of his mere good pleasure.

*1 part, page
18.*

Thus now when they had talked away a little more time, 30 they drew nigh to an House which stood in the way, which House was built for the relief of Pilgrims, as you will find more fully related in the first part of these Records of the *Pilgrim's Progress*. So they drew on towards the House, (the House of the Interpreter) and when they came to the Door

*Talk in the
Interpreter's
house about
Christiana's
going on
pilgrimage.*

they heard a great talk in the House, they then gave ear, and heard, as they thought, *Christiana* mentioned by name. For you must know that there went along, even before her, a talk

of her and her Children's going on Pilgrimage. And this thing was the more pleasing to them, because they had heard that she was *Christian's* Wife; that Woman who was sometime ago, so unwilling to hear of going on Pilgrimage. Thus therefore they stood still and heard the good people within commending her, who they little thought stood at the Door. At last *Christiana* knocked as she had done at the Gate before. Now when she had knocked, there came to the Door a young Damsel, and opened the Door and looked, and behold
 10 two Women was there.

DAMS. Then said the Damsel to them, With whom would you
 speak in this place? The door is opened to them by Innocent.

CHRIS. *Christiana* answered, we understand that this is a privileged place for those that are become Pilgrims, and we now at this Door are such. Wherefore we pray that we may be partakers of that for which we at this time are come; for the day, as thou seest, is very far spent, and we are loath to night to go any further.

DAMS. Pray what may I call your name, that I may tell it
 20 to my Lord within?

CHRIS. My name is *Christiana*, I was the Wife of that Pilgrim that some years ago did travel this way, and these be his four Children. This Maiden also is my Companion, and is going on Pilgrimage too.

INNOCENT. Then ran *Innocent* in (for that was her name) and said to those within, Can you think who is at the Door! There is *Christiana* and her Children, and her Companion, all waiting for entertainment here. Then they leaped for joy,
 and went and told their Master. So he came to the Door,
 30 and looking upon her, he said, Art thou that *Christiana* whom
Christian the Good-man, left behind him, when he betook himself
 to a Pilgrim's Life. Joy in the house of the Interpreter that Christiana is turned Pilgrim.

CHRIS. I am that Woman that was so hard-hearted as to slight my Husband's troubles, and that left him to go on in his Journey alone, and these are his four Children; but now I also am come, for I am convinced that no way is right but this.

INTER. Then is fulfilled that which also is written of the Man

Matth. xi. 29. that said to his Son, go work to day in my Vineyard, and he said to his Father, I will not; but afterwards repented and went.

CHRIS. Then said *Christiana*, So be it, *Amen*. God made it a true saying upon me, and grant that I may be found at the last of him, in peace without spot and blameless.

INTER. *But why standest thou thus at the Door? Come in thou Daughter of Abraham, we was talking of thee but now: for tidings have come to us before, how thou art become a Pilgrim. Come Children, come in; come Maiden, come in; so he had them all into the House.*

10

*Old Sobsals
glad to see
the young
ones walk in
God's ways.*

So when they were within, they were bidden sit down and rest them, the which when they had done, those that attended upon the Pilgrims in the House came into the Room to see them. And one smiled, and another smiled, and they all smiled for Joy that *Christiana* was become a Pilgrim. They also looked upon the Boys, they stroaked them over the Faces with the Hand, in token of their kind reception of them: they also carried it lovingly to *Mercy*, and bid them all welcome into their Master's House.

*The Sig-
nificant
Rooms.*

After a while, because Supper was not ready, the *Interpreter* 20 took them into his *Significant Rooms*, and shewed them what *Christian*, *Christiana's* Husband had seen sometime before. Here therefore they saw the *Man in the Cage*, the *Man* and his Dream, the man that cut his ways thorough his Enemies, and the Picture of the biggest of them all: together with the rest of those things that were then so profitable to *Christian*.

*The Man
with the
Muckrake
expounded.*

This done, and after these things had been somewhat digested by *Christiana*, and her company, the *Interpreter* takes them apart again, and has them first into a Room, *where was* 30 *a man that could look no way but downwards, with a Muckrake in his hand. There stood also one over his head with a Cælestial Crown in his Hand, and proffered to give him that Crown for his Muck-rake; but the man did neither look up, nor regard; but raked to himself the Straws, the small Sticks, and Dust of the Floor.*

Then said *Christiana*, I persuade myself that I know somewhat the meaning of this: For this is a Figure of a man of this World: Is it not, good Sir?

INTER. Thou hast said the right, said he, and his *Muck-rake*, doth shew his Carnal mind. And whereas thou seest him rather give heed to rake up Straws and Sticks, and the Dust of the Floor, than to what he says that calls to him from above with the Coelestial Crown in his Hand; it is to show, that Heaven is but as a Fable to some, and that things here are counted the only things substantial. Now whereas it was also shewed thee, that the man could look no way but downwards, it is to let thee know that earthly things when
 10 they are with Power upon Men's minds, quite carry their hearts away from God.

CHRIS. Then said Christiana, O! deliver me from this *Muck-rake*. Christiana's prayer against the Muck-rake.

INTER. That Prayer, said the *Interpreter*, has lain by till 'tis almost rusty: Give me not *Riches*, is scarce the Prayer of one Prov. 30. 2 of ten thousand. Straws, and Sticks, and Dust, with most, are the great things now looked after.

With that *Mercy*, and *Christiana* wept, and said, It is alas! too true.

20 When the *Interpreter* had shewed them this, he has them into the very best Room in the House, (a very brave Room it was) so he bid them look round about, and see if they could find any thing profitable there. Then they looked round and round, for there was nothing there to be seen but a very great *Spider* on the Wall, and that they overlookt.

MERCY. Then said *Mercy*, Sir, I see nothing; but *Christiana* held her peace.

INTER. But said the *Interpreter*, look again: she therefore lookt again and said, Here is not any thing, but an ugly of the Spider.
 30 *Spider*, who hangs by her Hands upon the Wall. Then said he, Is there but one *Spider* in all this spacious room? Then the water stood in *Christiana's* Eyes, for she was a Woman quick of apprehension: and she said, Yes, Lord, there is here more than one. Yea, and *Spiders* whose Venom is far more destructive than that which is in her. The *Interpreter* then looked pleasantly upon her, and said, Thou hast said the Truth. This made *Mercy* blush, and the Boys to cover their Faces: For they all began now to understand the Riddle. Talk about the Spider.

Prov. 30. 28. Then said the *Interpreter* again, *The Spider taketh hold with her hands as you see, and is in King's Palaces.* And wherefore is this recorded, but to shew you, that how full of the Venom of Sin soever you be, yet you may by the hand of Faith lay hold of, and dwell in the best Room that belongs to the King's House above ?

The Interpreter,

CHRIS. I thought, said *Christiana*, of something of this ; but I could not imagine it all. I thought that we were like *Spiders*, and that we looked like ugly Creatures, in what fine Room soever we were. But that by this *Spider*, this venomous and ill-favoured Creature, we were to learn *how to act Faith*, that came not into my mind. And yet she has taken hold with her hands, as I see, and dwells in the best Room in the House. God has made nothing in vain.

Then they seemed all to be glad ; but the water stood in their Eyes. Yet they looked one upon another, and also bowed before the *Interpreter*.

Of the Hen and Chickens.

He had them then into another Room where was a Hen and Chickens, and bid them observe a while. So one of the Chickens went to the Trough to drink, and every time she so drank she lift up her head and her eyes towards Heaven. See, said he, what this little Chick doth, and learn of her to acknowledge whence your Mercies come, by receiving them with looking up. Yet again, said he, observe and look : So they gave heed, and perceived that the Hen did walk in a fourfold Method towards her Chickens. 1. She had a *common call*, and that she hath all day long. 2. She had a *special call*, and that she had but sometimes. 3. She had a *brooding*

Matth. 23. 37. note, and 4. she had an *out-cry*.

Now, said he, compare this *Hen* to your King, and these 30 Chickens to his obedient ones. For answerable to her, himself has his Methods, which he walketh in towards his People. By his common call, *he gives nothing* ; by his special call, he always *has something to give* ; he has also a brooding voice, *for them that are under his Wing* ; and he has an out-cry, to give *the Alarm when he seeth the Enemy come*. I chose, my Darlings, to lead you into the Room where such things are because you are Women and they are easy for you.

CHRIS. And Sir, said *Christiana*, pray let us see some more : So he had them into the Slaughter-house, where was a *Butcher* ^{Of the Butcher and the Sheep.} a killing of a Sheep : and behold the Sheep was quiet, and took her Death patiently. Then said the *Interpreter* : you must learn of this Sheep, to suffer, and to put up wrongs without murmurings and complaints. Behold how quietly she takes her Death, and without objecting she suffereth her Skin to be pulled over her Ears. Your King doth call you his Sheep.

- 10 After this, he led them into his Garden, where was great ^{Of the Garden.} variety of Flowers ; and he said, do you see all these ? So *Christiana* said, yes. Then said he again, Behold the Flowers are divers in *Stature*, in *Quality*, and *Colour*, and *Smell*, and *Virtue*, and some are better than some : also where the Gardener has set them, there they stand, and quarrel not one with another.

Again, he had them into his Field, which he had sowed with ^{Of the Field.} Wheat, and Corn : but when they beheld, the tops of all was cut off, only the Straw remained. He said again, This ²⁰ Ground was Dunged, and Plowed, and Sowed ; but what shall we do with the Crop ? Then said *Christiana*, burn some and make muck of the rest. Then said the *Interpreter* again, Fruit you see is that thing you look for, and for want of that you condemn it to the Fire, and to be trodden under foot of men. Beware that in this you condemn not yourselves.

Then, as they were coming in from abroad, they espied a ^{Of the Robin and the Spider.} little *Robin* with a great *Spider* in his mouth. So the *Inter-*
preter said, look here. So they looked, and *Mercy* wondred ; but *Christiana* said, what a disparagement is it to such a little ³⁰ pretty Bird as the *Robin-red-breast* is, he being also a Bird above many, that loveth to maintain a kind of Sociableness with Man ? I had thought they had lived upon crumbs of Bread, or upon other such harmless matter. I like him worse than I did.

The *Interpreter* then replied, This *Robin* is an Emblem very apt to set forth some Professors by ; for to sight they are as this *Robin*, pretty of Note, Colour and Carriage, they seem also to have a very great Love for Professors that are

sincere; and above all other to desire to associate with, and to be in their Company, as if they could live upon the good Man's Crumbs. They pretend also that therefore it is, that they frequent the House of the Godly, and the appointments of the Lord: but when they are by themselves, *as the Robin*, they can catch and gobble up *Spiders*, they can change their Diet, drink *Iniquity*, and swallow down *Sin* like Water.

*Pray and
you will get
at that
which yet
lies unre-
vealed.*

So when they were come again into the House, because Supper as yet was not ready, *Christiana* again desired that the *Interpreter* would either *shew* or *tell* of some other things ¹⁰ that are Profitable.

Then the *Interpreter* began and said, *The fatter the Sow is, the more she desires the Mire; the fatter the Ox is, the more gamesomely he goes to the Slaughter; and the more healthy the lusty man is, the more prone he is unto Evil.*

There is a desire in Women to go neat and fine, and it is a comely thing to be adorned with that, that in God's sight is of great price.

'Tis easier watching a night or two, than to sit up a whole year together: So 'tis easier for one to begin to profess well, than to hold out as he should to the end.

Every Ship-Master, when in a Storm, will willingly cast that overboard that is of the smallest value in the Vessel; but who will throw the best out first? none but he that feareth not God.

One leak will sink a Ship, and one Sin will destroy a Sinner.

He that forgets his Friend is ungrateful unto him: but he that forgets his Saviour is unmerciful to himself.

He that lives in Sin, and looks for Happiness hereafter, is like him that soweth Cockle, and thinks to fill his Barn with Wheat or Barley.

If a man would live well, let him fetch his last day to him, and make it always his company-Keeper.

Whispering and change of thoughts, proves that Sin is in the World.

If the World, which God sets light by, is counted a thing of that worth with men: what is Heaven which God commendeth?

If the life that is attended with so many troubles, is so loth to be let go by us, What is the life above?

Every Body will cry up the goodness of Men; but who is there that is, as he should, affected with the Goodness of God?

We seldom sit down to Meat, but we eat, and leave: So there is in Jesus Christ more Merit and Righteousness than the whole World has need of.

When the Interpreter had done, he takes them out into his Garden again, and had them to a Tree whose inside was Rotten, and gone, and yet it grew and had Leaves. Then said Mercy, what means this? This Tree, said he, whose ^{Of the Tree that is rotten at heart.} outside is fair, and whose inside is rotten; it is to which many may be compared that are in the Garden of God: who with their mouths speak high in behalf of God, but indeed will do nothing for him: whose Leaves are fair, but their heart Good for nothing but to be *Tinder* for the Devil's *Tinder-Box*.

Now supper was ready, the Table spread, and all things set on the Board; so they sate down and did eat when one had given thanks. And the Interpreter did usually entertain those that lodged with him with Musick at Meals, so the Minstrels so played. There was also one that did Sing. And a very fine voice he had. ^{They are at Supper.}

His song was this.

*The Lord is only my Support,
And he that doth me feed:
How can I then want anything,
Whereof I stand in need?*

When the Song and Musick was ended, the Interpreter asked *Christiana*, *What it was that at first did move her to betake herself to a Pilgrim's Life?*

30 *Christiana* answered. First, the loss of my Husband came into my mind, at which I was heartily grieved: but all that was but natural Affection. Then after that, came the Troubles, and Pilgrimage of my Husband's into my mind, and also how like a Churl I had carried it to him as to that. So guilt took hold of my mind, and would have drawn me into the *Pond*; but that opportunely I had a Dream of the well-being of my Husband, and a Letter sent me by the King of that Country where my Husband dwells, to come to him. ^{Talk at Supper. A Repetition of Christiana's Experience.}

The Dream and the Letter together so wrought upon my mind, that they forced me to this way.

INTER. *But met you with no opposition afore you set out of Doors?*

CHRIS. Yes, a Neighbor of mine one Mrs. *Timorous*, (She was akin to him that would have perswaded my Husband to go back for fear of the Lions.) She all-to-be-fooled me for, as she called it, my intended desperate adventure; she also urged what she could, to dishearten me to it, the hardship and Troubles that my Husband met with in the way; 10 but all this I got over pretty well. But a Dream that I had of two ill-lookt ones, that I thought did plot how to make me miscarry in my Journey, that hath troubled me much: Yea, it still runs in my mind, and makes me afraid of every one that I meet, lest they should meet me to do me a mischief, and to turn me out of the way. Yea, I may tell my Lord, tho' I would not have everybody know it, that between this and the Gate by which we got into the way, we were both so sorely assaulted, that we were made to cry out Murder, and the two that made this assault upon us, were like the two that 20 I saw in my Dream.

Then said the *Interpreter*, Thy beginning is good, thy latter end shall greatly increase. So he addressed himself to *Mercy*, and said unto her, *And what moved thee to come hither, sweet-heart?*

*A question
first to
Mercy.*

MERCY. Then *Mercy* blushed and trembled, and for a while continued silent.

INTER. *Then said he, be not afraid, only believe, and speak thy mind.*

MERCY. So she began and said. Truly Sir, my want of 30 Experience, is that that makes me covet to be in silence, and that also that fills me with fears of coming short at last. I cannot tell of Visions, and Dreams, as my friend *Christiana* can; nor know I what it is to mourn for my refusing of the Counsel of those that were good Relations.

*Mercy's
answer.*

INTER. *What was it then, dear-heart, that hath prevailed with thee to do as thou hast done?*

MERCY. Why, when our friend here, was packing up to go

from our Town, I and another went accidentally to see her. So we knocked at the Door and went in. When we were within, and seeing what she was doing, we asked what was her meaning. She said she was sent for to go to her Husband, and then she up and told us, how she had seen him in a Dream, dwelling in a curious place among *Immortals* wearing a Crown, playing upon a Harp, eating and drinking at his Prince's Table, and singing Praises to him for bringing him thither, &c. Now methought, while she was telling these things unto
 10 us, my heart burned within me. And I said in my Heart, if this be true, I will leave my Father and my Mother, and the land of my Nativity, and will, if I may, go along with *Christiana*.

So I asked her further of the truth of these things, and if she would let me go with her? For I saw now that there was no dwelling, but with the danger of ruin, any longer in our Town. But yet I came away with a heavy heart, not for that I was unwilling to come away; but for that so many of my Relations were left behind. And I am come with all the
 20 desire of my heart, and will go, if I may, with *Christiana* unto her Husband, and his King.

INTER. Thy setting out is good, for thou hast given credit Ruth 2. 11.
 to the truth. Thou art a *Ruth*, who did for the love that she 12.
 bore to *Naomi*, and to the Lord her God, leave Father and Mother, and the land of her Nativity to come out, and go with a People that she knew not heretofore, *The Lord recompence thy work, and a full reward be given thee of the Lord God of Israel, under whose wings thou art come to trust.*

Now Supper was ended, and Preparations was made for
 30 Bed, the Women were laid singly alone, and the Boys by themselves. Now when *Mercy* was in Bed, she could not sleep for joy, for that now her doubts of missing at last were removed further from her than ever they were before. So she lay blessing and praising God who had had such favour
 for her. They address themselves for bed. Mercy's good night rest.

In the Morning they arose with the *Sun*, and prepared themselves for their departure: but the *Interpreter* would have them tarry awhile, for, said he, you must orderly go

from hence. Then said he to the Damsel that had first opened unto them, Take them and have them into the Garden to the *Bath*, and there wash them, and make them clean from the soil which they have gathered by travelling. Then *Innocent* the Damsel took them and had them into the Garden, and brought them to the *Bath*: so she told them that there they must wash and be clean, for so her Master would have the Women to do that called at his House as they were going on *Pilgrimage*. They then went in and washed, yea they and the Boys and all, and they came out of that *Bath* 10 not only sweet, and clean; but also much enlivened and strengthened in their Joints. So when they came in they looked fairer a deal, then when they went out to the washing.

When they were returned out of the Garden from the *Bath*, the *Interpreter* took them and looked upon them and said unto them, *fair as the Moon*. Then he called for the *Seal* wherewith they used to be *Sealed* that were washed in his *Bath*. So the *Seal* was brought, and he set his Mark upon them, that they might be known in the Places whither they were yet to go: Now the seal was the contents and sum of 20 the *Passover* which the Children of *Israel* did eat when they came out from the Land of *Egypt*, and the mark was set between their Eyes. This seal greatly added to their Beauty, for it was an Ornament to their Faces. It also added to their gravity and made their Countenances more like them of Angels.

Then said the *Interpreter* again to the Damsel that waited upon these Women, Go into the Vestry and fetch out Garments for these People: so she went and fetched out white Raiment, and laid it down before him; so he commanded 30 them to put it on. *It was fine Linen, white and clean*. When the Women were thus adorned they seemed to be a Terror one to the other. For that they could not see that glory each one on herself, which they could see in each other. Now therefore they began to esteem each other better than themselves. For you are fairer than I am, said one, and you are more comely than I am, said another. The Children also stood amazed to see into what fashion they were brought.

The Bath
Sanctifica-
tion.

They wash
in it.

They are
sealed.

Exod. 13.
8, 9, 10.

They are
clothed.

True Humi-
lity

The *Interpreter* then called for a *Man-Servant* of his, one *Great-heart*, and bid him take *Sword*, and *Helmet*, and *Shield*, and take these my Daughters, said he, and conduct them to the House called *Beautiful*, at which place they will rest next. So he took his Weapons, and went before them, and the *Interpreter* said, God speed. Those also that belonged to the Family sent them away with many a good wish. So they went on their way, and sung,

10 *This place has been our second Stage,*
 Here we have heard and seen
 Those good things that from Age to Age,
 To others bid have been.
 The Dungbill-raker, Spider, Hen,
 The Chicken too to me
 Hath taught a Lesson, let me then
 Conformed to it be.
 The Butcher, Garden, and the Field,
 The Robin, and his bait,
 Also the Rotten-tree doth yield
 20 *Me Argument of Weight;*
 To move me for to watch and pray,
 To strive to be sincere,
 To take my Cross up day by day,
 And serve the Lord with fear.

Now I saw in my Dream that they went on, and *Great-heart* went before them, so they went and came to the place ³² where *Christian's* Burthen fell off his Back, and tumbled into a Sepulchre. Here then they made a pause, and here also they blessed God. Now said *Christiana*, it comes to my mind
 30 what was said to us at the Gate, to wit, that we should have Pardon, by *Word* and *Deed*; by *Word*, that is, by the promise; by *Deed*, to wit, in the way it was obtained. What the promise is, of that I know something: but what is it to have Pardon by deed, or in the way that it was obtained, Mr. *Great-heart*, I suppose you know; wherefore if you please let us hear your discourse thereof.

GREAT-HEART. Pardon by the deed done, is Pardon ³³ *comment upon what*

*was said at
the Gate, or
a discourse
of our being
justified by
Christ.*

obtained by some one for another that hath need thereof. Not by the Person pardoned, but in the way, *saieth another*, in which I have obtained it. So then, to speak to the question more large, the pardon that you and *Mercy* and these Boys have attained was *obtained* by another, to wit, by him that let you in at the Gate. And he hath obtain'd it in this double way. He has performed Righteousness to cover you, and spilt blood to wash you in.

CHRIS. *But if he parts with his Righteousness to us, what will he have for himself?*

10

GREAT-HEART. He has more Righteousness than you have need of, or than he needeth himself.

CHRIS. *Pray make that appear.*

GREAT-HEART. With all my heart; but first I must premise that he of whom we are now about to speak, is one that has not his Fellow. He has two Natures in one Person, *plain* to be *distinguished*, *impossible* to be *divided*. Unto each of these Natures a Righteousness belongeth, and each Righteousness is essential to that Nature. So that one may as easily cause the nature to be extinct, as to separate its Justice or Righteous-
ness from it. Of *these* Righteousnesses therefore, we are not
made partakers so as that they or any of them should be put
upon us that we might be made just, and live thereby. Besides
these there is a Righteousness which this Person has as these
two Natures are joyned in one. And this is not the Righteous-
ness of the *Godhead*, as distinguished from the *Manhood*; nor
the Righteousness of the *Manhood*, as distinguished from the
Godhead; but a Righteousness which standeth in the Union
of both Natures; and may properly be called the Righteousness
that is essential to his being prepared of God to the capacity
of the Mediatory Office which he was to be intrusted with.
If he parts with his first Righteousness, he parts with his
Godhead; if he parts with his second Righteousness, he parts
with the purity of his *Manhood*; if he parts with this third, he
parts with that perfection that capacitates him to the Office of
Mediation. He has therefore another Righteousness which
standeth in *performance*, or obedience to a revealed Will;
and that is it that he puts upon Sinners, and that by which

30

their Sins are covered. Wherefore he saith, *as by one man's* Rom. 5. 19.
disobedience many were made Sinners so by the obedience of one
shall many be made Righteous.

CHRIS. *But are the other Righteousnesses of no use to us ?*

GREAT-HEART. Yes, for though they are essential to his
 Natures and Office, and so cannot be communicated unto
 another, yet it is by Virtue of them, that the Righteousness
 that justifies is for that purpose efficacious. The *Righteousness*
 of his *Godhead* gives *Virtue* to his Obedience ; the *Righteousness*
 10 of his *Manhood* giveth capability to his obedience to justify, and
 the Righteousness that standeth in the Union of these two
 Natures to his Office, giveth Authority to that Righteousness
 to do the work for which it is ordained.

So then, here is a Righteousness that Christ, as God, has no
 need of, for he is God without it : here is a Righteousness
 that Christ, as Man, has no need of to make him so, for
 he is perfect man without it. Again, here is a Righteousness
 that Christ as God-man has no need of, for he is perfectly so
 without it. Here then is a Righteousness that Christ, as God,
 20 as Man, as God-man has no need of, with Reference to him-
 self, and therefore he can spare it, a justifying Righteousness,
 that he for himself wanteth not, and therefore he giveth it
 away. Hence 'tis called the *gift of Righteousness*. This Rom. 5. 17.
 Righteousness, since Christ Jesus the Lord, has made himself
 under the Law, *must* be given away. For the Law doth not
 only bind him that is under it *to do justly*, but to use Charity.
 Wherefore he *must*, he *ought* by the Law, if he hath two
 Coats, to give one to him that hath none. Now our Lord
 indeed hath two *Coats*, one for himself, and one to spare.
 30 Wherefore he freely bestows one upon those that have none.
 And thus *Christiana*, and *Mercy*, and the rest of you that are
 here, doth your Pardon come by *deed*, or by the work of
 another man ? Your Lord Christ is he that has worked, and
 has given away what he wrought for to the next poor Beggar
 he meets.

But again, in order to pardon by *deed*, there must some-
 thing be paid to God as a price, as well as something prepared
 to cover us withal. Sin has delivered us up to the just curse

of a Righteous Law. Now from this curse we must be justified by way of Redemption, a price being paid for the harms we have done, and this is by the Blood of your Lord, who came and stood in your place and stead, and died your death for your Transgressions. Thus has he ransomed you from your Transgressions, by Blood, and covered your polluted and deformed Souls with Righteousness: for the sake of which, God passeth by you, and will not hurt you, when he comes to Judge the World.

Rom. 4. 24.

Gal. 3. 13.

Christians
afflicted with
this way of
Redemption.

CHRIS. *This is brave. Now I see that there was something 10 to be learnt by our being pardoned by word and deed. Good Mercy, let us labour to keep this in mind, and my Children do you remember it also. But, Sir, was not this it that made my good Christian's Burden fall from off his Shoulder, and that made him give three leaps for Joy?*

How the
Strings that
bound
Christian's
burden to
Adam were
cut.

GREAT-HEART. Yes, 'twas the belief of this that cut those Strings that could not be cut by other means, and 'twas to give him a proof of the Virtue of this, that he was suffered to carry his burden to the Cross.

CHRIS. *I thought so, for tho' my heart was lightful and so joyous before, yet it is ten times more lightsome and joyous now. And I am persuaded by what I have felt, tho' I have felt but little as yet, that if the most burdened Man in the World was here, and did see and believe, as I now do, 'twould make his heart the more merry and blithe.*

How affec-
tion to
Christ is
begot in the
Soul.

GREAT-HEART. There is not only comfort, and the ease of a Burden brought to us, by the sight and Consideration of these; but an indured Affection begot in us by it. For who can, if he doth but once think that Pardon comes not only by promise but thus, but be affected with the way and means 30 of his Redemption, and so with the man that hath wrought it for him?

1 part, page
31.
Cause of
admiration.

CHRIS. *True, methinks it makes my Heart bleed to think that he should bleed for me. Oh! thou loving one, Oh! thou Blessed one. Thou deservest to have me, thou hast bought me: Thou deservest to have me all, thou hast paid for me ten thousand times more than I am worth. No marvel that this made the water stand in my Husband's Eyes, and that it made him trudge so nimbly on.*

I am perswaded he wished me with him ; but vile Wretch, that I was, I let him come all alone. O Mercy, that thy Father and Mother were here, yea, and Mrs. Timorous also. Nay, I wish now with all my Heart, that here was Madam Wanton too. Surely, surely, their Hearts would be affected, nor could the fear of the one, nor the powerful Lusts of the other, prevail with them to go home again, and to refuse to become good Pilgrims.

GREAT-HEART. You speak now in the warmth of your Affections: will it, think you, be always thus with you? Besides, this is not communicated to every one, nor to every one that did see your Jesus bleed. There was that stood by, and that saw the Blood run from his heart to the Ground, and yet were so far off this, that instead of lamenting, they laughed at him, and instead of becoming his Disciples, did harden their hearts against him. So that all that you have, my Daughters, you have by a peculiar impression made by a Divine contemplating upon what I have spoken to you. Remember that 'twas told you, that the Hen by her common call, gives no meat to her *Cbickens*. This you have therefore
 20 by a special Grace.

To be affected with Christ and with what he has done is a thing special.

Now I saw still in my Dream, that they went on until they were come to the place, that *Simple*, and *Sloth*, and *Presumption* Simple, and Sloth and Presumption lay and slept in, when *Christian* went by on Pilgrimage. And behold they were hanged up in Irons a little way off on the other-side.

MERCY. Then said Mercy to him that was their Guide and Conductor, What are those three men? and for what are they hanged there?

GREAT-HEART. These three men, were Men of very bad
 30 Qualities: they had no mind to be Pilgrims themselves, and whosoever they could they hindered; they were for sloth and folly themselves, and whoever they could perswade with, they made so too, and withal taught them to presume that they should do well at last. They were asleep when *Christian* went by, and now you go by they are hanged¹.

¹ Behold here how the slothful are a sign Hung up, 'cause holy ways they did decline. See here too how the Child dolt play the man And weak grow strong, when Great-heart leads the Van.

MERCY. *But could they persuade any to be of their Opinion?*

Their crimes.

If he they prevailed upon to turn out of the way.

GREAT-HEART. Yes, they turned several out of the way. There was *Slow-pace* that they perswaded to do as they. They also prevailed with one *Short-wind*, with one *No-heart*, with one *Linger-after-lust*, and with one *Sleepy-head*, and with a young Woman her name was *Dull*, to turn out of the way and become as they. Besides, they brought up an ill-report of your Lord, perswading others that he was a task-Master. They also brought up an evil report of the good Land, saying, 'twas not half so good as some pretend it was. They also began to vilify his Servants, and to count the very best of them meddlesome, troublesome busy-Bodies. Further, they would call the Bread of God *Husks*; the Comforts of his Children *Fancies*; the Travel and Labour of Pilgrims things to no Purpose.

CHRIS. *Nay, said Christiana, if they were such, they shall never be bewailed by me; they have but what they deserve, and I think it is well that they hang so near the High-way that others may see and take warning. But had it not been well if their Crimes had been ingraven in some Plate of Iron or Brass, and left here, even where they did their Mischief, for a caution to other bad Men.*

GREAT-HEART. So it is, as you well may perceive if you will go a little to the Wall.

MERCY. *No, no, let them hang, and their Names Rot, and their Crimes live for ever against them. I think it a high favour that they were hanged afore we came hither, who knows else what they might a done to such poor women as we are?* Then she turned it into a Song, saying,

Now then you three, hang there and be a Sign 30
To all that shall against the Truth combine:
And let him that comes after fear this end,
If unto Pilgrims he is not a Friend.
And thou my Soul of all such men beware,
That unto Holiness Opposers are.

2 part. Page 4.

Thus they went on till they came at the foot of the Hill Difficulty. Where again their good Friend, Mr. Great-heart

took an occasion to tell them of what happened there when *'Tis difficult*
Christian himself went by. So he had them first to the *getting of*
 Spring. Lo, saith he, *This is the Spring that Christian drank of* *good Doc-*
 before he went up this Hill, and then 'twas clear, and good; *trivius in erro-*
 but now 'tis Dirty with the feet of some that are not desirous *neous*
 that Pilgrims here should quench their Thirst. Thereat *Times.*
Mercy said, *And why so envious tro?* But said their Guide, It *Exek. 34. 18.*
 will do, if taken up, and put into a Vessel that is sweet and
 good; for then the Dirt will sink to the bottom, and the
 10 Water come out by itself more clear. Thus therefore
Christiana and her Companions were compelled to do. They
 took it up, and put it into an Earthen-pot, and so let it stand
 till the Dirt was gone to the bottom, and then they drank
 thereof.

Next he shewed them the two *by-ways* that were at the *By-paths*
 foot of the Hill, where *Formality* and *Hypocrisy*, lost them- *that barred*
 selves. And, said he, these are dangerous Paths. Two were *up will not*
 here cast away when *Christian* came by. And although, as *keep all from*
 you see, these ways are since stopt up with *Cbains*, *Posts*, and *going in*
 20 a *Ditch*, yet there are that will chuse to adventure here, *them.*
 rather than take the pains to go up this Hill. *1 part. page*

CHRIS. *The Way of Transgressors is hard. 'Tis a wonder that* *Prov. 13. 15.*
they can get into those ways, without danger of breaking their
Necks.

GREATHEART. They will venture; yea, if at any time any
 of the King's Servants doth happen to see them, and doth
 call unto them, and tell them that *they* are in the wrong ways,
 and do bid them beware the danger; then they will railingy
 return them answer and say, *As for the Word that thou hast* *Jer. 44. 26.*
 30 *spoken unto us in the name of the King, we will not hearken unto*
thee; but we will certainly do whatsoever thing goeth out of
our own Mouths, &c. Nay if you look a little farther, you shall
 see that these ways, are made cautionary enough, not only by
 these *Posts*, and *Ditch* and *Cbain*; but also by being hedged
 up. Yet they will choose to go there.

CHRIS. *They are Idle, they love not to take Pains, up-hill-way* *The reason*
is unpleasant to them. So it is fulfilled unto them as it is Written. *why some do*
The way of the slothful man is a Hedge of Thorns. Yea, they will *chuse to go*
in by-ways. *Prov. 15. 19.*

rather chuse to walk upon a Snare than to go up this Hill, and the rest of this way to the City.

The Hill puts the Pilgrims to it.

Then they set forward, and began to go up the Hill, and up the Hill they went; but before they got to the top, *Christiana* began to *Pant*, and said, I daresay this is a breathing Hill; no marvel if they that love their ease more than their Souls, chuse to themselves a smoother way. Then said *Mercy*, I must sit down; also the least of the Children began to cry. Come, come, said *Great-heart*, sit not down here, for a little above is the Prince's *Arbor*. Then took he the little 10 Boy by the Hand, and led him up thereto.

They sit in the Arbor. 1 part, page 41. Matt. 11. 28.

When they were come to the *Arbor*, they were very willing to sit down, for they were all in a pelting heat. Then said *Mercy*, *How sweet is rest to them that Labour?* And how good is the Prince of Pilgrims, to provide such resting places for them? Of this *Arbor* I have heard much; but I never saw it before. But here let us beware of sleeping: for as I have heard, for that it cost poor *Christian* dear.

The little Boys answer to the guide, and also to Mercy.

Then said Mr. *Great-heart* to the little ones, Come my pretty *Boys*, how do you do? what think you now of going on 10 Pilgrimage? Sir, said the least, I was almost beat out of heart; but I thank you for lending me a hand at my need. And I remember now what my Mother has told me, namely, That the way to Heaven is as up a Ladder, and the way to Hell is as down a Hill. But I had rather go up the Ladder to Life, than down the Hill to Death.

Which is hardest up Hill, or down Hill.

Then said *Mercy*, But the Proverb is, *To go down the Hill is easy*. But *James* said (for that was his Name) The day is coming when in my Opinion, *going down Hill will be the hardest of all*. 'Tis a good Boy, said his Master, thou hast 30 given her a right answer. Then *Mercy* smiled, but the little Boy did blush.

They refresh themselves.

CHRIS. Come, said *Christiana*, will you eat a bit, a little to sweeten your Mouths, while you sit here to rest your Legs? For I have here a piece of Pomgranate which Mr. *Interpreter* put in my Hand, just when I came out of his Doors; he gave me also a piece of an Honey-comb, and a little Bottle of Spirits. I thought he gave you something, said *Mercy*, because

he called you a to-side. Yes, so he did, said the other. But Mercy, it shall still be as I said it should, when at first we came from home: thou shalt be a sharer in all the good that I have, because thou so willingly didst become my Companion. Then she gave to them, and they did eat, both *Mercy*, and the Boys. And said *Christiana* to Mr. *Great-heart*, Sir will you do as we? But he answered, You are going on Pilgrimage, and presently I shall return; much Good may what you have, do to you. At home I eat the same every
 10 day. Now when they had eaten and drank, and had chatted a little longer, their guide said to them, The day wears away, if you think good, let us prepare to be going. So they got up to go, and the little Boys went before; But *Christiana* forgot ^{*Christiana forgets her Bottle of Spirits.*} to take her Bottle of Spirits with her, so she sent her little Boy back to fetch it. Then said *Mercy*, I think this is a *losing* Place. Here *Christian* lost his *Roll*, and here *Christiana* left her Bottle behind her; Sir, what is the cause of this? so their guide made answer and said, The cause is *sleep* or *forgetfulness*; some *sleep*, when they should keep *awake*; and
 20 some *forget*, when they should *remember*; and this is the very cause why often at the resting places some Pilgrims in some things come off losers. Pilgrims should watch and remember ^{*Mark this.*} what they have already received under their greatest enjoyments. But for want of doing so, oft times their rejoicing ends in Tears, and their Sun-shine in a Cloud: witness the story
 of *Christian* at this place. ^{*1 part, page 42.*}

When they were come to the place where *Mistrust* and *Timorous* met *Christian* to perswade him to go back for fear of the Lions, they perceived as it were a Stage, and before
 30 it towards the Road, a broad plate with a Copy of Verses written thereon, and underneath, the reason of raising up of that Stage in that place, rendered. The Verses were these.

*Let him that sees this Stage take heed
 Unto his Heart and Tongue:
 Lest, if he do not, here he speed
 As some have long agoe.*

The words underneath the Verses were, *This Stage was*

built to punish such upon who through Timorousness or Mistrust, shall be afraid to go further on Pilgrimage. Also on this Stage both Mistrust and Timorous were burned thorough the Tongue with an hot Iron, for endeavouring to binder Christian in his Journey.

Then said *Mercy*. This is much like to the saying of the beloved, *What shall be given unto thee? or what shall be done unto thee thou false Tongue? sharp Arrows of the mighty, with Coals of Juniper.*

1 part page 44. So they went on, till they came within sight of the Lions. 10

An Emblem of those that go on bravely when there is no danger; but shrank when troubles come. Now Mr. *Great-heart* was a strong man, so he was not afraid of a Lion. But yet when they were come up to the place where the Lions were, the Boys that went before were glad to cringe behind, for they were afraid of the Lions, so they stept back and went behind. At this their guide smiled, and said, *How now my Boys, do you love to go before when no danger doth approach, and love to come behind so soon as the Lions appear?*

Of Grim the Giant, and of his backting the Lions. Now as they went up, Mr. *Great-heart* drew his Sword with intent to make a way for the Pilgrims in spite of the Lions. 20 Then there appeared one, that it seems, had taken upon him to back the Lions. And he said to the Pilgrims' guide, What is the cause of your coming hither? Now the name of that man was *Grim*, or *Bloody-mun*, because of his slaying of Pilgrims, and he was of the race of the *Giants*.

GREAT-HEART. Then said the *Pilgrims'* guide, These Women and Children are going on Pilgrimage, and this is the way they must go, and go it they shall in spite of thee and the Lions.

GRIM. This is not their way, neither shall they go therein. 30 I am come forth to withstand them, and to that end will back the Lions.

Now to say truth, by reason of the fierceness of the Lions, and of the *Grim* Carriage of him that did back them, this way had of late lain much unoccupied, and was almost all grown over with Grass.

CHRIS. Then said *Cristiana*, tho' the Highways have been unoccupied heretofore, and tho' the Travellers have been

made in time past to walk thorough by-Paths, it must not be so now I am risen, *Now I am risen a Mother in Israel.* Judges 5. 6, 7.

GRIM. Then he swore *by the Lions*, but it should; and therefore bid them turn aside, for they should not have passage there.

GREAT-HEART. But their guide made first his Approach unto *Grim*, and laid so heavily at him with his Sword, that he forced him to a retreat.

GRIM. Then said he (that attempted to back the Lions)
10 will you slay me upon mine own Ground?

GREAT-HEART. 'Tis the King's High-way that we are in, *A fight between Grim and Great-heart.* and in his way it is that thou hast placed thy Lions; but these Women, and these Children, tho' weak, shall hold on their way in spite of thy Lions. And with that he gave him again a down-right blow, and brought him upon his Knees. With this blow he also broke his Helmet, and with the next he cut off an Arm. Then did the *Giant Roar* so hideously, that his Voice frightened the Women, and yet they were glad to see him lie sprawling upon the Ground. Now the Lions *The Victory*
20 were chained, and so of themselves could do nothing.

Wherefore when old *Grim* that intended to back them was dead, Mr. *Great-heart* said to the Pilgrims, Come now and follow me, and no hurt shall happen to you from the Lions. They therefore went on; but the Women trembled as they *They pass by the Lions*
passed by them, the Boys also look't as if they would die; but they all got by without further hurt.

Now then they were within Sight of the *Porter's* Lodge, and they soon came up unto it; but they made the more haste after this to go thither, because 'tis dangerous travelling there
30 in the Night. So when they were come to the Gate, the *They come to the Porter's Lodge.* guide knocked, and the Porter cried, *who is there?* but as soon as the Guide had said, *it is I*, he knew his Voice and came down. (For the Guide had oft before that come thither as a Conductor of Pilgrims.) When he was come down, he opened the Gate, and seeing the Guide standing just before it (for he saw not the Women, for they were behind him) he said unto him, How now, Mr. *Great-heart*, what is your business here so late to Night? I have brought,

said he, some Pilgrims hither, where by my Lord's Commandment, they must Lodge. I had been here some time ago, had I not been opposed by the Giant that did use to back the Lions. But I after a long and tedious combat with him, have cut him off, and have brought the Pilgrims hither in safety.

PORTER. *Will you not go in, and stay till Morning?*

GREAT-HEART. No, I will return to my Lord to night.

CHRIS. Oh Sir, I know not how to be willing you should leave us in our Pilgrimage, you have been so faithful; and so loving to us, you have fought so stoutly for us, you have been so hearty in counselling of us, that I shall never forget your favour towards us.

MERCY. Then said *Mercy*, O that we might have thy Company to our Journey's end! How can such poor Women as we hold out in a way so full of Troubles as this way is, without a Friend and Defender?

JAMES. Then said *James*, the youngest of the Boys, Pray Sir, be perswaded to go with us, and help us, because we are so weak, and the way so dangerous as it is.

20

GREAT-HEART. I am at my Lord's Commandment. If he shall allot me to be your guide quite thorough, I will willingly wait upon you. But here you failed at first; for when he bid me come thus far with you, then you should have begged me of him to have gone quite thorough with you, and he would have granted your request. However, at present I must withdraw, and so good *Christiana*, *Mercy*, and my brave Children, Adieu.

Then the Porter, Mr. *Watchful*, asked *Christiana* of her Country, and of her Kindred, and she said, *I came from the City of Destruction, I am a Widow Woman, and my Husband is dead, his Name was Christian the Pilgrim.* How, said the Porter, was he your Husband? Yes, said she, and these are his Children; and this, pointing to *Mercy*, is one of my Town's Women. Then the Porter rang his Bell, as at such times he is wont, and there came to the Door one of the Damsels whose Name was *Humble-mind*. And to her the Porter said, Go tell it within that *Christiana* the Wife of *Christian* and her

Great-heart
attempts to
go back.

The Pil-
grims im-
prove his
company
still.

Help lost for
want of ask-
ing for.

1 part, page
44
Christiana
was her her-
self known
to the Porter,
he tells it to
a damsel.

Children are come hither on Pilgrimage. She went in there-^{Joy at the}
fore and told it. But Oh, what a Noise for gladness was there ^{noise of the}
within, when the Damsel did but drop that word out of her ^{Pilgrims'}
Mouth? ^{coming.}

So they came with haste to the Porter, for *Christiana* stood
still at the Door. Then some of the most grave said unto
her, *Come in Christiana, come in thou Wife of that Good Man,*
come in thou Blessed Woman, come in with all that are with thee.
So she went in, and they followed her that were her Children,
10 and her Companions. Now when they were gone in, they
were had into a very large Room, where they were bidden to
sit down. So they sat down, and the chief of the House was
called to see, and welcome the Guests. Then they came in, ^{Christians'}
and, understanding who they were, did salute each other with ^{love is kin-}
a kiss, and said, Welcome ye Vessels of the Grace of God, ^{dled at the}
welcome to us your Friends. ^{sight of one}
^{another.}

Now because it was somewhat late, and because the Pil-
grims were weary with their Journey, and also made faint
with the sight of the fight, and of the terrible Lions; there-
20 fore they desired as soon as might be, to prepare to go to
Rest. Nay, said those of the Family, refresh yourselves first
with a morsel of Meat. For they had prepared for them a ^{& Exod. 12. 8.}
Lamb, with the accustomed Sauce belonging thereto. For ^{John 2. 29.}
the Porter had heard before of their coming, and had told
it to them within. So when they had supped, and ended
their Prayer with a Psalm, they desired they might go to rest.
But let us, said *Christiana*, if we may be so bold as to chuse,
be in that Chamber that was my Husband's, when he was here. ^{1 part, page}
So they had them up thither, and they lay all in a Room. ^{51.}
30 When they were at Rest, *Christiana* and *Mercy* entred into
discourse about things that were convenient.

CHRIS. *Little did I think once, that when my Husband went
on Pilgrimage, I should ever follow.*

MERCY. And you as little thought of lying in his Bed, and ^{Christ's}
in his Chamber to Rest, as you do now. ^{Room is}
^{for all}

CHRIS. *And much less did I ever think of seeing his Face with ^{Pilgrims.}*
Comfort, and of worshipping the Lord the King with him, and
yet now I believe I shall.

MERCY. Hark, don't you hear a Noise?

CHRIS. Yes, 'tis as I believe, a Noise of Musick, for joy that we are here.

Musick.

MERCY. Wonderful! Musick in the House, Musick in the Heart, and Musick also in Heaven, for joy that we are here.

Thus they talked a while, and then betook themselves to sleep; so in the Morning, when they were awake, *Christiana* said to *Mercy*.

Mercy did laugh in her sleep.

CHRIS. *What was the matter that you did laugh in your sleep to Night? I suppose you was in a Dream?*

MERCY. So I was, and a sweet Dream it was; but are you sure I laughed?

CHRIS. *Yes, you laughed heartily; but prithee Mercy tell me thy Dream?*

Mercy's Dream.

MERCY. I was a dreamed that I sat all alone in a solitary place, and was bemoaning of the hardness of my Heart.

Now I had not sat there long, but methought many were gathered about me, to see me, and to hear what it was that I said. So they hearkened, and I went on bemoaning the hardness of my Heart. At this, some of them laughed at me, some called me Fool, and some began to thrust me about.

What her dream was.

With that, methought I looked up, and saw one coming with Wings towards me. So he came directly to me, and said, *Mercy*, what aileth thee? Now when he had heard me make

Ezek. xl. 4, 9, 10, 11, 12.

my complaint, he said, *Peace be to thee*: he also wiped mine Eyes with his Handkerchief, and clad me in *Silver and Gold*; he put a chain about my Neck, and Ear-rings in mine Ears, and a beautiful Crown upon my Head. Then he took me by the Hand, and said, *Mercy*, come after me. So he went up, and I followed, till we came at a Golden Gate. Then he knocked, and when they within had opened, the man went in and I followed him up to a Throne, upon which one sat, and he said to me, *welcome Daughter*. The place looked bright, and twinkling like the Stars, or rather like the *Sun*, and I thought that I saw your Husband there, so I awoke from my Dream. But did I laugh?

CHRIS. *Laugh! Ay, and well you might to see yourself so*

well. For you must give me leave to tell you, that I believe it was a good Dream, and that as you have begun to find the first part true, so you shall find the second at last. God speaks once, Job 33 14. yea twice, yet Man perceiveth it not. In a Dream, in a Vision of the Night, when deep Sleep falleth upon Men, in slumbring upon the Bed. We need not, when a-Bed, lie awake to talk with God. He can visit us while we sleep, and cause us then to hear his Voice. Our Heart oft times awakes when we sleep, and God can speak to that, either by Words, by Proverbs, by
 10 Signs, and Similitudes, as well as if one was awake.

MERCY. Well, I am glad of my Dream, for I hope ere long to see it fulfilled, to the making of me laugh again. Mercy glad of her dream.

CHRIS. I think it is now high time to rise, and to know what we must do?

MERCY. Pray, if they invite us to stay a while, let us willingly accept of the proffer. I am the willinger to stay a while here, to grow better acquainted with these Maids; methinks Prudence, Piety and Charity, have very comely and sober Countenances.

20 CHRIS. We shall see what they will do. So when they were up and ready, they came down. And they asked one another of their rest, and if it was comfortable, or not?

MERCY. Very good, said Mercy, it was one of the best Night's Lodging that ever I had in my Life.

Then said Prudence, and Piety, if you will be perswaded to stay here awhile, you shall have what the House will
They stay here some time.
 afford.

CHARITY. Ay, and that with a very good will, said Charity. So they consented, and stayed there about a Month or above, and became very Profitable one to another. And because Prudence would see how Christiana had brought up her Children, she asked leave of her to catechise them? So she gave her free consent. Then she began at the youngest whose Name was James. Prudence desires to catechise Christiana's Children.

PRUDENCE. And she said, Come James, canst thou tell who made thee? James Catechised.

JAMES. God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy-Ghost.

PRUD. *Good Boy. And canst thou tell who saves thee?*

JAM. God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost.

PRUD. *Good Boy still. But how doth God the Father save thee?*

JAM. By his Grace.

PRUD. *How doth God the Son save thee?*

JAM. By his Righteousness, Death, and Blood, and Life.

PRUD. *And how doth God the Holy Ghost save thee?*

JAM. By his *Illumination*, by his *Renovation*, and by his *Preservation*.

Then said *Prudence* to *Christiana*, You are to be commended for thus bringing up your Children. I suppose I need not ask the rest these Questions, since the youngest of them can answer them so well. I will therefore now apply myself to the youngest next.

Joseph Catechised.

PRUD. Then she said, Come *Joseph* (for his Name was *Joseph*), will you let me Catechise you?

JOSEPH. With all my Heart.

PRUD. What is Man? 20

JOSEPH. A Reasonable Creature, so made by God, as my Brother said.

PRUD. *What is supposed by this Word, saved?*

JOSEPH. That man by Sin has brought himself into a State of Captivity and Misery.

PRUD. *What is supposed by his being saved by the Trinity?*

JOSEPH. That Sin is so great and mighty a Tyrant, that none can pull us out of its clutches but God, and that God is so good and loving to man, as to pull him indeed out of this Miserable State. 30

PRUD. *What is God's design in saving of poor Men?*

JOSEPH. The glorifying of his Name, of his Grace, and Justice, &c. And the everlasting Happiness of his Creature.

PRUD. *Who are they that must be saved?*

JOSEPH. Those that accept of his Salvation.

Good Boy, *Joseph*, thy Mother has taught thee well, and thou hast hearkened to what she has said unto thee.

Then said *Prudence* to *Samuel*, who was the eldest but one.

PRUD. Come *Samuel*, are you willing that I should Cate- Samuel Cate-
chised.
chise you also?

SAMUEL. Yes, forsooth, if you please.

PRUD. *What is Heaven?*

SAM. A Place and State most blessed, because God dwelleth there.

PRUD. *What is Hell?*

SAM. A Place and State most woful, because it is the dwelling place of Sin, the Devil, and Death.

10 PRUD. *Why wouldst thou go to Heaven?*

SAM. That I may see God, and serve him without weariness; that I may see Christ, and love him everlastingly; that I may have that fulness of the Holy Spirit in me that I can by no means here enjoy.

PRUD. *A very good Boy also, and one that has learned well.*

Then she addressed herself to the eldest, whose name was *Matthew*, and she said to him, Come *Matthew*, shall I also Matthew
Catechised.
Catechise you?

MAT. *With a very good Will.*

20 PRUD. *I ask then, if there was ever any thing that had a being antecedent to, or before God?*

MAT. No, for God is Eternal, nor is there any thing excepting himself that had a being until the beginning of the first day. *For in six days the Lord made Heaven and Earth, the Sea and all that in them is.*

PRUD. *What do you think of the Bible?*

MAT. It is the Holy Word of God.

PRUD. *Is there nothing awritten therein but what you understand?*

30 MAT. Yes, a great deal.

PRUD. *What do you do when you meet with such places therein that you do not understand?*

MAT. I think God is wiser than I. I pray also that he will please to let me know all therein that he knows will be for my good.

PRUD. *How believe you as touching the Resurrection of the Dead?*

MAT. I believe they shall rise, the same that was buried:

the same in *Nature*, tho' not in *Corruption*. And I believe this upon a double account. First because God has promised it. Secondly, because he is able to perform it.

*Prudence's
conclusion
upon the
Catechising
of the Boys.*

Then said *Prudence* to the Boys, You must still hearken to your Mother, for she can learn you more. You must also diligently give ear to what good talk you shall hear from others, for for your sakes do they speak good things. Observe also and that with carefulness, what the Heavens and the Earth do teach you; but especially be much in the meditation of that Book that was the cause of your Father's 10 becoming a Pilgrim. I for my part, my Children, will teach you what I can while you are here, and shall be glad if you will ask me Questions that tend to godly edifying.

*Mercy has a
sweet-heart.*

Now by that these Pilgrims had been at this place a week, *Mercy* had a Visitor that pretended some good will unto her, and his name was *Mr. Brisk*. A man of some breeding, and that pretended to Religion; but a man that stuck very close to the World. So he came once or twice or more, to *Mercy*, and offered love unto her. Now *Mercy* was of a fair Countenance, and therefore the more alluring. 20

*Mercy's
trampler.*

Her mind also was, to be always busying of herself in doing, for when she had nothing to do for herself, she would be making of Hose and Garments for others, and would bestow them upon them that had need. And *Mr. Brisk* not knowing where or how she disposed of what she made, seemed to be greatly taken for that he found her never idle. I will warrant her a good Huswife, quoth he to himself.

*Mercy
enquires of
the Malde
concerning
Mr. Brisk.*

Mercy then revealed the business to the Maldens that were of the House, and enquired of them concerning him, for 30 they did know him better than she. So they told her that he was a very busy young man, and one that pretended to Religion; but was as they feared, a stranger to the Power of that which was good.

Nay then, said Mercy, I will look no more on him, for I purpose never to have a clog to my Soul.

Prudence then replied, That there needed no great matter of discouragement to be given to him, her continuing so

as she had began to do for the Poor, would quickly cool his Courage.

So the next time he comes, he finds her at her old work, a making of things for the Poor. Then said he, What, always at it? Yes, said she, either for myself or for others. And what canst thee *earn* a day, quoth he? I do these things, said she, *That I may be Rich in good Works, laying up* Talk betwixt Mercy and Mr. Brisk. 1 Tim. 6. 17. 23, 29. *in store a good Foundation against the time to come, that I may lay hold on Eternal Life.* Why prithee what dost thou with them? said he. Cloath the naked, said she. With that his Countenance fell. So he forbore to come at her again. And when he was asked the reason why, he said, *That Mercy was a pretty lass, but troubled with ill Conditions.* He forsook her, and why.

When he had left her, Prudence said, Did I not tell thee that Mr. Brisk would soon forsake thee? yea he will raise up an ill report of thee; for notwithstanding his pretence to Religion, and his seeming love to Mercy, yet Mercy and he are of tempers so different, that I believe they will never come together. Mercy in the Practice of Mercy rejected; while Mercy in the Name of Mercy is shed.

20 MERCY. *I might a bad Husbands afore now, tho' I spake not of it to any; but they were such as did not like my Conditions, tho' never did any of them find fault with my Person. So they and I could not agree.*

PRUD. Mercy in our days is little set by, any further than as to its Name: the Practice, which is set forth by thy Conditions, there are but few that can abide.

MERCY. *Well, said Mercy, if nobody will have me, I will die a Maid, or my Conditions shall be to me as a Husband. For I cannot change my Nature, and to have one that lies cross* Mercy's resolution. *to me in this, that I purpose never to admit of as long as I live. I had a Sister named Bountiful, that was married to one of these Churls; but he and she could never agree; but because my Sister* Mercy's Sister was *was resolved to do as she had began, that is, to shew Kindness* resolved by her *to the Poor, therefore her Husband first cried her down at the Cross, and then turned her out of his Doors.*

PRUD. And yet he was a Professor, I warrant you?

MERCY. *Yes, such a one as he was, and of such as he, the World is now full: but I am for none of them all.*

Matthew
falls sick.

Now *Matthew* the eldest Son of *Christiana* fell Sick, and his Sickness was sore upon him, for he was much pained in his Bowels, so that he was with it, at times, pulled as 'twere both ends together. There dwelt also not far from thence one Mr. *Skill*, an antient and well approved Physician. So *Christiana* desired it, and they sent for him, and he came. When he was entered the Room, and had a little observed the Boy, he concluded that he was sick of the Gripes. Then he said to his Mother, *What Diet has Matthew of late fed upon?* Diet, said *Christiana*, Nothing but that which is wholesome. 10 The Physician answered, *This Boy has been tampering with something that lies in his Maw undigested, and that will not away without means. And I tell you he must be purged, or else he will die.*

Gripes of
Conscience.

The Phy-
sician's
Judgment.

Samuel
puts his
Mother to
mind of the
fruit his
Brother did
eat.

SAMUEL. Then said *Samuel*, Mother, Mother, what was that which my Brother did gather up and eat, so soon as we were come from the gate that is at the head of this way? You know that there was an Orchard on the left hand, on the other side of the Wall, and some of the Trees hung over the Wall, and my Brother did plash and did eat. 20

CHRIS. True my Child, said *Christiana*, he did take thereof and did eat; naughty Boy as he was, I did chide him, and yet he would eat thereof.

SKILL. I knew he had eaten something that was not wholesome Food. And that Food, to wit, that Fruit, is even the most hurtful of all. It is the Fruit of Beelzebub's Orchard. I do marvel that none did warn you of it; many have died thereof.

CHRIS. Then *Christiana* began to cry, and she said, O naughty Boy, and O careless Mother what shall I do for 30 my Son?

SKILL. Come, do not be too much Dejected; the Boy may do well again; but he must purge and vomit.

CHRIS. Pray Sir try the utmost of your Skill with him whatever it costs.

SKILL. Nay, I hope I shall be reasonable. So he made him
Heb. ix. 1, 2. a Purge; but it was too weak. 'Twas said, it was made of
24 the Blood of a Goat, the Ashes of an Heifer, and with some

of the Juice of Hyssop, &c. When Mr. Skill had seen that that Purge was too weak, he made him one to the Purpose, 'Twas made *Ex Carne & Sanguine Christi*. (You know Physicians give strange Medicines to their Patients) And it was made up into Pills with a Promise or two, and a proportionable quantity of Salt. Now he was to take them three at a time fasting, in half a quarter of a Pint of the Tears of Repentance. When this potion was prepared, and brought to the Boy, he was loth to take it, tho' torn with the Gripes, as if he should be pulled in pieces. *Come, come, said the Physician, you must take it.* It goes against my Stomach, said the Boy. *I must have you take it, said his Mother.* I shall vomit it up again, said the Boy. Pray Sir, said *Christiana* to Mr. Skill, how does it taste? It has no ill taste, said the Doctor, and with that she touched one of the pills with the tip of her Tongue. Oh, *Matthew*, said she, this potion is sweeter than Hony. If thou lovest thy Mother, if thou lovest thy Brothers, if thou lovest *Mercy*, if thou lovest thy Life, take it. So with much ado, after a short Prayer for the blessing of God upon it, he took it, and it wrought kindly with him. It caused him to purge, it caused him to sleep and rest quietly, it put him into a fine heat and breathing sweat, and did quite rid him of his Gripes.

So in little time he got up, and walked about with a Staff, and would go from Room to Room, and talk with *Prudence*, *Piety*, and *Charity* of his Distemper, and how he was healed.

So when the Boy was healed, *Christiana* asked Mr. Skill, saying, Sir, what will content you for your pains and care to and of my Child? And he said, you must pay the *Master* of the College of Physicians, according to rules made in that case and provided.

CHRIS. But Sir, said she, what is this Pill good for else?

SKILL. It is an universal Pill, 'tis good against all the Diseases that Pilgrims are incident to, and when it is well prepared, it will keep good, time out of mind.

CHRIS. Pray Sir, make me up twelve Boxes of them: for if I can get these, I will never take other Physick.

SKILL. These Pills are good to prevent Diseases, as well

as to *cure* when one is Sick. Yea, I dare say it, and stand to it, that if a man will but use this Physick as he should, *it will make him live for ever*. But, good *Christiana*, thou must give these Pills, *no other way* but as I have prescribed: for if you do, they will do no good. So he gave unto *Christiana* Physick for herself, and her Boys, and for *Mercy*: and bid *Matthew* take heed how he eat any more *Green Plums*, and kist them and went his way.

*In a Glass
of the Tears
of Repen-
ance.*

It was told you before that *Prudence* bid the Boys that if at any time they would, they should ask her some Questions ¹⁰ that might be profitable, and she would say something to them.

Of Physick. MAT. Then *Matthew* who had been sick, asked her, *Why for the most part Physick should be bitter to our Palates?*

PRUD. To shew how unwelcome the word of God and the Effects thereof are to a Carnal Heart.

*Of the Effects
of Physick* MAT. *Why does Physick, if it does good, purge, and cause that we vomit?*

PRUD. To shew that the Word when it works effectually, cleanseth the Heart and Mind. For look what the one doth ^{ac} to the Body, the other doth to the Soul.

*Of Fire and
of the Sun.* MAT. *What should we learn by seeing the Flame of our Fire go upwards? and by seeing the Beams and sweet Influences of the Sun strike downwards?*

PRUD. By the going up of the Fire, we are taught to ascend to Heaven, by fervent and hot desires. And by the Sun his sending his Heat, Beams, and sweet Influences downwards, we are taught, that the Saviour of the World, tho' high, reaches down with his Grace and Love to us below.

*Of the
Clouds.* MAT. *Where have the Clouds their Water?*

30

PRUD. Out of the Sea.

MAT. *What may we learn from that?*

PRUD. That Ministers should fetch their Doctrine from God.

MAT. *Why do they empty themselves upon the Earth?*

PRUD. To shew that Ministers should give out what they know of God to the World.

*Of the Rain-
bow.* MAT. *Why is the Rainbow caused by the Sun?*

PRUD. To shew that the Covenant of God's Grace is confirmed to us in Christ.

MAT. *Why do the Springs come from the Sea to us through the Earth?*

PRUD. To shew that the Grace of God comes to us through the Body of Christ.

MAT. *Why do some of the Springs rise out of the tops of high of the Hills?* *of the Springs.*

PRUD. To shew that the Spirit of Grace shall spring up in some that are Great, and Mighty, as well as in many that are poor and Low.

MAT. *Why doth the Fire fasten upon the Candlewick?* *of the Candle.*

PRUD. To shew that unless Grace doth kindle upon the Heart there will be no true Light of Life in us.

MAT. *Why is the Wick and Tallow and all spent to maintain the light of the Candle?*

PRUD. To shew that Body and Soul and all, should be at the Service of, and spend themselves to maintain in good Condition that Grace of God that is in us.

20 MAT. *Why doth the Pelican pierce her own Breast with her Bill?* *of the Pelican.*

PRUD. To nourish her Young ones with her Blood, and thereby to shew that Christ the blessed so loveth his Young, his People, as to save them from Death by his Blood.

MAT. *What may one learn by hearing the Cock to Crow?* *of the Cock.*

PRUD. Learn to remember *Peter's* Sin, and *Peter's* Repentance. The Cock's crowing shews also that day is coming on; let then the crowing of the Cock put thee in mind of that last and terrible Day of Judgment.

30 Now about this time their Month was out, wherefore they signified to those of the House that 'twas convenient for them to up and be going. Then said *Joseph* to his Mother, It is convenient that you forget not to send to the House of Mr. *Interpreter*, to pray him to grant that Mr. *Great-heart* should be sent unto us, that he may be our Conductor the rest of our way. Good *Boy*, said she, I had almost forgot. So she drew up a Petition and prayed Mr. *Watchful* the Porter to send it by some fit man to her good Friend Mr.

Interpreter ; who when it was come and he had seen the contents of the Petition, said to the Messenger, Go tell them that I will send him.

When the Family where *Christiana* was, saw that they had a purpose to go forward, they called the whole House together to give thanks to their King, for sending of them such profitable Guests as these. Which done they said to *Christiana*, And shall we not shew thee something, according as our Custom is to do to Pilgrims, on which thou mayest meditate when thou art upon the way ? So they took *Christiana*, her 10 Children, and *Mercy* into the Closet, and shewed them one of the Apples that *Eve* did eat of, and that she also did give to her Husband, and that for the eating of which they both were turned out of Paradise, and asked her what she thought that was ? Then *Christiana* said, *'Tis Food or Poison, I know not which.* So they opened the matter to her, and she held up her hands and wondered ?

*A sight of
Sîn is amaz-
ing.*
Gen. 3. 6.
Rom. 7. 24.

*Jacob's
Ladder.*

*A sight of
Christ is
taking.*
Gen. 28. 12.
Joh. 1. 51.
Golden
Anchor.

Heb. 6. 29.

*Of Abraham
offering up
Isaac.*
Gen. 22. 9.

Then they had her to a Place, and shewed her *Jacob's Ladder*. Now at that time there were some Angels ascending upon it. So *Christiana* looked and looked, to see the Angels 20 go up, and so did the rest of the Company. Then they were going into another place to shew them something else : but *James* said to his Mother, Pray bid them stay here a little longer, for this is a curious sight. So they turned again, and stood feeding their Eyes with this 30 pleasant a prospect. After this they had them into a Place where did hang up a *Golden Anchor*, so they bid *Christiana* take it down ; For, said they, you shall have it with you, for 'tis of absolute necessity that you should, that you may lay hold of that within the vail, and stand stedfast, in case you should meet with turbulent 30 weather. So they were glad thereof. Then they took them, and had them to the mount upon which *Abraham* our Father had offered up *Isaac* his Son, and shewed them the *Altar*, the *Wood*, the *Fire*, and the *Knife*, for they remain to be seen to this very Day. When they had seen it, they held up their hands and blest themselves, and said, Oh ! What a man, for love to his Master, and for denial to himself was *Abraham* ? After they had shewed them all these things,

Prudence took them into the Dining-Room, where stood a pair of excellent Virginals: so she played upon them, and turned what she had shewed them into this excellent song, saying, *Prudence's Virginals.*

Eve's *Apple* we have shewed you,
Of that be you aware:
You have seen Jacob's Ladder too,
Upon which Angels are.
An Anchor you received have;
But let not these suffice,
10 Until with Abra'm you have gave
Your best a Sacrifice.

Now about this time one knocked at the Door: So the Porter opened, and behold Mr. *Great-beart* was there; but when he was come in, what Joy was there? For it came now fresh again into their minds, how but a little while ago he had slain old *Grim Bloody-man*, the Giant, and had delivered them from the Lions. *Mr. Great-beart come again.*

Then said Mr. *Great-beart* to *Christiana* and to *Mercy*, My *He brings a token from his Lord with him.*
20 Lord has sent each of you a Bottle of Wine, and also some parched Corn, together with a couple of Pomegranates. He has also sent the Boys some Figs and Raisins to refresh you in your way.

Then they addressed themselves to their Journey, and *Prudence* and *Piety* went along with them. When they came at the Gate *Christiana* asked the Porter, if any of late went by. He said, No, only one some time since: who also told me that of late there had been a great Robbery committed on the Kings High-way, as you go. But he saith, the Thieves *Robbery.*
30 are taken, and will shortly be tried for their Lives. Then *Christiana* and *Mercy* was afraid; but *Matthew* said, Mother fear nothing, as long as Mr. *Great-beart* is to go with us, and to be our Conductor.

Then said *Christiana* to the Porter, Sir, I am much obliged to you for all the Kindnesses that you have shewed me since I came hither; and also for that you have been so loving and kind to my Children. I know not how to gratify your Kindness. Wherefore pray as a token of my respects to you *Christiana takes her leave of the Porter.*

*The Porter's
Message.*

accept of this small mite. So she put a Gold Angel in his Hand, and he made her a low obeisance, and said, Let thy Garments be always White, and let thy Head want no Ointment. Let *Mercy* live and not die, and let not her Works be few. And to the Boys he said, Do you fly Youthful lusts, and follow after Godliness with them that are Grave, and Wise, so shall you put Gladness into your Mother's Heart, and obtain Praise of all that are sober-minded. So they thanked the Porter and departed.

Now I saw in my Dream, that they went forward until they 10 were come to the Brow of the Hill, where *Piety* bethinking herself cried out, *Alas!* I have forgot what I intended to bestow upon *Christiana*, and her Companions. I will go back and fetch it. So she ran, and fetched it. While she was gone, *Christiana* thought she heard in a Grove a little way off on the Right-hand, a most curious melodious Note, with words much like these,

*Through all my Life thy favour is,
So frankly shew'd to me.
That in thy House for evermore
My dwelling-place shall be.*

20

And listening still she thought she heard another answer it, saying,

*For auby, The Lord our God is good,
His Mercy is for ever sure:
His Truth at all times firmly stood:
And shall from Age to Age endure.*

Can. 2. 11.
12.

So *Christiana* asked *Prudence*, what 'twas that made those curious Notes? Thy are, said she, our Country Birds: they sing these Notes but seldom except it be at the Spring, when 30 the Flowers appear, and the Sun shines warm, and then you may hear them all day long. I often, said she, go out to hear them, we also oft times keep them tame in our House. They are very fine Company for us when we are *Melancholy*, also they make the Woods, and Groves, and Solitary places places desirous to be in.

*Piety Ac-
knowledges some*

By this Time *Piety* was come again, so she said to *Christiana*,

look here, I have brought thee a *Scheme* of all those things thing on them at parting. that thou hast seen at our House, upon which thou mayest look when thou findest thyself forgetful, and call those things again to remembrance for thy Edification and Comfort.

Now they began to go down the Hill into the Valley of Part pag. *Humiliation*. It was a steep Hill, and the way was slippery; ⁵³ but they were very careful, so they got down pretty well. When they were down in the Valley, *Piety* said to *Christiana*, This is the place where *Christian* your Husband met with ¹⁰ the foul Fiend, *Apollyon*, and where they had that dreadful fight that they had. I know you cannot but have heard thereof. But be of good Courage, as long you have here Mr. *Great-heart* to be your Guide and Conductor, we hope you will fare the better. So when these two had committed the Pilgrims unto the Conduct of their Guide, he went forward and they went after.

GREAT-HEART. Then said Mr. *Great-heart*, We need not Mr. Great-heart at the Valley of Humiliation. to be so afraid of this Valley: for here is nothing to hurt us unless we procure it to ourselves. 'Tis true, *Christian* did ²⁰ here meet with *Apollyon*, with whom he also had a sore Combat; but that *fray* was the fruit of those slips that he got in his going down the Hill. For they that get *slips* there, must look for *Combats* here. And hence it is that this Valley has got so hard a name. For the common People when Part pag. they hear that some frightful thing has befallen such an one ⁵³ in such a place, are of an Opinion that that place is haunted with some foul Fiend, or evil Spirit; when alas it is for the fruit of their doing, that such things do befall them there.

This Valley of *Humiliation* is of itself as fruitful a place as The reason why Christian was so beset here. ³⁰ any the Crow flies over; and I am perswaded if we could hit upon it, we might find somewhere hereabouts something that might give us an account why *Christian* was so hardly beset in this place.

Then *James* said to his Mother, Lo, yonder stands a Pillar, A Pillar with an inscription on it. and it looks as if something was written thereon: let us go and see what it is. So they went, and found there written, *Let Christian's slips before be came bitter, and the Battles that be met with in this place, be a warning to those that come after.*

Lo, said their Guide, did not I tell you, that there was something hereabouts that would give Intimation of the reason why *Christian* was so hard beset in this place? Then turning himself to *Christiana*, he said: No disparagement to *Christian* more than to many others, whose Hap and Lot his was. For 'tis easier going *up*, than *down this Hill*; and that can be said but of few Hills in all these parts of the World. But we will leave the good Man, he is at rest, he also had a brave Victory over his Enemy; let him grant that dwelleth above, that we fare no worse when we come to be tried than he. 10

But we will come again to this Valley of *Humiliation*. It is the best, and most fruitful piece of Ground in all those parts.

*This Valley
a brown
place.*

It is fat Ground, and as you see consisteth much in Meadows; and if a man was to come here in the Summer-time as we do now, if he knew not anything before thereof, and if he also delighted himself in the sight of his Eyes, he might see that that would be delightful to him. Behold, how green this Valley is, also how beautified *with Lilies*. I have also known many labouring men that have got good Estates in this Valley of *Humiliation*. (For God resisteth the Proud; 20 but gives *more, more* Grace to the Humble) for indeed it is a very fruitful Soil, and doth bring forth by handfuls. Some also have wished that the next way to their Father's House were here, that they might be troubled no more with either Hills or Mountains to go over; but the way is the way, and there's an end.

Cant. 2. 2.
Jam. 4. 6.
1 Pet. 5. 5.
*Men thrive
in the Val-
ley of Humi-
liation.*

Now as they were going along and talking, they espied a Boy feeding his Father's Sheep. The Boy was in very mean Cloaths, but of a very fresh and well-favoured Countenance, and as he sate by himself he sung. Hark, said Mr. Great-30 heart, to what the Shepherd's Boy saith. So they hearkened, and he said,

*He that is down, needs fear no fall,
He that is low, no Pride:
He that is humble, ever shall
Have God to be his Guide.
I am content with what I have,
Little be it, or much:*

Phil. 4. 12.
13.

*And, Lord, contentment still I crave,
Because thou savest such.*

*Fulness to such a burden is
That go on Pilgrimage:
Here little, and hereafter Bliss,
Is best from Age to Age.*

Heb. 13. 5

Then said their *Guide*, do you hear him? I will dare to say, that this Boy lives a merrier Life, and wears more of that Herb called *Hearts-ease* in his Bosom, then he that is clad in
10 Silk and Velvet; but we will proceed in our Discourse.

In this Valley, our Lord formerly had his *Country-House*, he *Christ, when in the Flesh had his Country-House in the Valley of Humiliation* loved much to be here. He loved also to walk these Meadows, for he found the Air was pleasant. Besides here a man shall be free from the Noise, and from the hurryings of this Life. All States are full of Noise and Confusion, only the Valley of *Humiliation*, is that empty and solitary Place. Here a man shall not be so let and hindred in his Contemplation, as in other places he is apt to be. This is a Valley that nobody walks in, but those that love a Pilgrim's Life.
20 And tho' *Christian* had the hard hap to meet here with *Apollyon*, and to enter with him a brisk encounter, yet I must tell you, that in former times men have met with Angels here, have found Pearls here, and have in this place found
Hos. 12. 4. 5 the words of Life.

Did I say, our Lord had here in former Days his *Country-house*, and that he loved here to walk? I will add, in this Place, and to the People that live and trace these Grounds Mat. 11. 29. he has left a yearly revenue to be faithfully paid them at certain Seasons, for their maintenance by the way, and for
30 their further encouragement to go on in their Pilgrimage.

SAMUEL. Now as they went on, *Samuel* said to Mr. *Great-heart*. Sir, I perceive that in this Valley my Father and *Apollyon* had their Battle; but whereabouts was the Fight, for I perceive this Valley is large?

GREAT-HEART. Your Father had that Battle with *Apollyon* at a place yonder, before us, in a narrow Passage just beyond *Forgetful-Green*. And indeed that place is the most dangerous
Forgetful Green. place in all these Parts. For if at any time the Pilgrims meet

with any brunt, it is when they forget what Favours they have received, and how unworthy they are of them. This is the Place also where others have been hard put to it. But more of the place when we are come to it; for I perswade myself, that to this day there remains either some sign of the Battle, or some Monument to testify that such a Battle there was fought.

MERCY. Then said *Mercy*, I think I am as well in this Valley, as I have been anywhere else in all our Journey. The place methinks suits with my Spirit. I love to be in such places where there is no rattling with Coaches, nor rumbling with Wheels. Methinks here one may without much Molestation, be thinking what he is, whence he came, what he has done, and to what the King has called him. Here one may think, and break at Heart, and melt in one's Spirit until one's Eyes become like the *Fish Pools of Hesbbon*. They that go rightly through this Valley of *Baca* make it a Well, the Rain that God sends down from Heaven upon them that are here also *filletb the Pools*. This Valley is that from whence also the King will give to them Vineyards, and they so that go through it, shall sing, (as *Christian* did, for all he met with *Apollyon*.)

*Humility a
rusted Grace.*

Cant. 7. 4

Ps. 84. 5, 6, 7

Hos. 2. 15

*An Experi-
ment of it.*

GREAT-HEART. 'Tis true, said their Guide, I have gone through this Valley many a time, and never was better than when here.

I have also been a Conduct to several Pilgrims, and they have confessed the same, *To this man will I look*, saith the King, *even to him that is Poor, and of a contrite Spirit, and that trembles at my Word*.

Is. 66. 2.

Now they were come to the place where the afore-mentioned 30 Battle was fought. Then said the Guide to *Cristiana* her Children and *Mercy*: This is the place, on this Ground *Christian* stood, and up there came *Apollyon* against him. And look, did not I tell you, here is some of your Husband's Blood upon these Stones to this day. Behold also how here and there are yet to be seen upon the place some of the Shivers of *Apollyon's* broken Darts. See also how they did beat the Ground with their Feet, as they fought to make

*The place
where *Chris-
tian* and the
Fiend did
fight. Some
signs of the
Battle re-
main.*

good their Places against each other, how also with their by-blows, they did split the very Stones in pieces. Verily *Christian* did here play the Man, and shewed himself as stout, as could, had he been there, even *Hercules* himself. When *Apollyon* was beat, he made his retreat to the next Valley, that is called The Valley of the Shadow of Death, unto which we shall come anon.

Lo, yonder also stands a Monument on which is engraven this Battle, and *Christian's* Victory to his Fame, throughout all Ages. So because it stood just on the way-side before them, they stept to it and read this Writing, which word for word was this,

A Monument of the Battle.

*Hard by, here was a Battle fought,
Most strange, and yet most true.
Christian and Apollyon fought
Each other to subdue.*

A Monument of Christian's Victory.

*The Man so bravely play'd the Man,
He made the Fiend to fly:
Of which a Monument I stand,
The same to testify.*

20

When they had passed by this place, they came upon the Borders of the Shadow of Death, and this Valley was longer than the other; a place also most strangely haunted with Evil things, as many are able to testify. But these Women and Children went the better through it, because they had day-light, and because Mr. *Great-heart* was their Conductor.

Part pag.

When they were entered upon this Valley they thought that they heard a groaning as of dead men, a very great groaning. They thought also they did hear Words of Lamentation spoken, as of some in extream Torment. These things made the Boys to quake, the Women also looked pale and wan; but their guide bid them be of good Comfort.

Groanings heard.

So they went on a little further, and they thought that they felt the Ground begin to shake under them, as if some hollow Place was there; they heard also a kind of a hissing as of Serpents; but nothing as yet appeared. Then said the Boys, Are we not yet at the end of this doleful place? But

The Ground shakes.

the Guide also bid them be of good Courage, and look well to their Feet, lest haply, said he, you be taken in some Snare.

*James sick
with Fear.*

Now *James* began to be Sick; but I think the cause thereof was Fear; so his Mother gave him some of that Glass of Spirits that she had given her at the *Interpreter's* House, and three of the Pills that *Mr. Skill* had prepared, and the Boy began to revive. Thus they went on till they came to about the middle of the Valley, and then *Christiana* said, Methinks I see something yonder upon the Road before us, ¹⁰ a thing of such a shape such as I have not seen. Then said *Joseph*, Mother, what is it? An ugly thing, Child; an ugly thing, said she. But Mother, what is it like, said he? 'Tis like I cannot tell what, said she. And now it was but a little way off. Then said she, it is nigh.

*The Fiend
appears.*

*The Pil-
grims are
afraid.*

Well, well, said *Mr. Great-heart*, let them that are most afraid keep close to me. So the *Fiend* came on, and the Conductor met it; but when it was just come to him, it vanished to all their sights. Then remembered they what had been said sometime ago, *Resist the Devil, and he will so fly from you.*

*Great-heart
encourages
them.
A Lion.*

They went therefore on, as being a little refreshed; but they had not gone far, before *Mercy* looking behind her saw, as she thought, something most like a Lion, and it came a great padding pace after; and it had a hollow Voice of Roaring, and at every Roar that it gave, it made all the Valley echo, and their Hearts to ake, save the Heart of him that was their Guide. So it came up, and *Mr. Great-heart* went behind, and put the Pilgrims all before him. The Lion ¹⁵ also came on apace, and *Mr. Great-heart* addressed himself to give him Battle. But when he saw that it was determined that resistance should be made, he also drew back and came no further.

1 Pet. 5. 8, 9

*A pit and
darkness.*

Then they went on again, and their Conductor did go before them, till they came at a place where was cast up a pit, the whole breadth of the way, and before they could be prepared to go over that, a great mist and a darkness fell upon them, so that they could not see. Then said the

Pilgrims, alas! now what shall we do? But their *Guide* made answer, Fear not, stand still and see what an end will be put to this also. So they stayed there because their Path was marr'd. They then also thought that they did hear more apparently the noise and rushing of the Enemies, the fire also and the smoke of the Pit was much easier to be discerned. Then said *Christiana* to *Mercy*, now I see what ^{Christiana} my poor Husband went through. I have heard much of ^{new known} this place, but I never was here afore now; poor man, he ^{what her Husband} ^{said.}
 10 went here all alone in the night; he had night almost quite through the way; also these Fiends were busy about him, as if they would have torn him in pieces. Many have spoke of it, but none can tell what the Valley of the Shadow of Death should mean, until they come in it themselves. *The heart knows its own bitterness, and a stranger intermeddleth not with its Joy.* To be here is a fearful thing.

GREATH. This is like doing business in great Waters, or ^{Great-} like going down into the deep; this is like being in the ^{heart's} heart of the Sea, and like going down to the Bottoms of ^{Reply.}
 20 the Mountains. Now it seems as if the Earth with its bars were about us for ever. *But let them that walk in darkness and have no light, trust in the name of the Lord, and stay upon their God.* For my Part, as I have told you already, I have gone often through this Valley, and have been much harder put to it than now I am, and yet you see I am alive. I would not boast, for that I am not mine own Saviour. But I trust we shall have a good deliverance. Come let us pray for light to him that can lighten our darkness, and that can rebuke, not only these, but all the Satans in Hell.

30 So they cried and prayed, and God sent light, and de- ^{They pray.} liverance, for there was now no let in their way, no not there where but now they were stopt with a pit:

Yet they were not got through the Valley; so they went on still, and behold great stinks and loathsome smells, to the great annoyance of them. Then said *Mercy* to *Christiana*, There is not such pleasant being here, as at the *Gate*, or at the Interpreter's, or at the House where we lay last.

O but, said one of the Boys, it is not so bad to go through ^{One of the Boys' Reply}

here, as it is to abide here always, and for ought I know, one reason why we must go this way to the House prepared for us, is, that our home might be made the sweeter to us.

Well said, *Samuel*, quoth the *Guide*, thou hast now spoke like a man. Why, if ever I get out here again, said the *Boy*, I think I shall prize light, and good way better than ever I did in all my life. Then said the *Guide*, we shall be out by and by.

So on they went, and *Joseph* said, *Cannot we see to the end of this Valley as yet?* Then said the *Guide*, Look to your feet, for you shall presently be among the Snares. So they looked to their feet and went on; but they were troubled much with the Snares. Now when they were come among the Snares, they espied a man cast into the Ditch on the left hand, with his flesh all rent and torn. Then said the *Guide*, That is one *Heedless*, that was a going this way; he has lain there a great while. There was one *Takeheed* with him when he was taken and slain, but he escaped their hands. You cannot imagine, how many are killed here about, and yet men are so foolishly venturous, as to set out lightly on Pilgrimage, and to come without a *Guide*. Poor *Christian*, it was a wonder that he here escaped, but he was beloved

Heedless is slain, and Takeheed preserved.

1 Part, pag. 60. 61.

Maul a Giant.

He quarrels with Great-heart.

of his God, also he had a good heart of his own, or else he could never a done it. Now they drew towards the end of the way, and just there where *Christian* had seen the Cave when he went by, out thence came forth *Maul* a Giant. This *Maul* did use to spoil young Pilgrims with Sophistry, and he called *Great-heart* by his name, and said unto him, how many times have you been forbidden to do these things? Then said Mr. *Great-heart*, what things? What things, quoth the Giant, you know what things; but I will put an end to your trade. But pray, said Mr. *Great-heart*, before we fall to it, let us understand wherefore we must fight (now the Women and Children stood trembling, and know not what to do) quoth the Giant, you rob the Country, and rob it with the worst of Thefts. These are but generals, said Mr. *Great-heart*, come to particulars, man.

Then said the Giant, Thou practisest the craft of a *Kidnapper*, thou gatherest up Women, and Children, and carriest them into a strange Country, to the weakning of my Master's Kingdom. But now *Great-beart* replied, I am a Servant of the God of Heaven, my business is to perswade sinners to Repentance; I am commanded to do my endeavour to turn Men, Women, and Children, from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan to God, and if this be indeed the ground of thy quarrel, let us fall to it as soon as thou wilt.

*God's Ministers
are counted
as Kidnap-
pers.*

*The Giant
and Mr.
Great-beart
must fight.*

Then the Giant, came up, and Mr. *Great-beart* went to meet him, and as he went he drew his *Sword*; but the *Giant* had a *Club*. So with out more ado they fell to it, and at the first blow the *Giant* stroke Mr. *Great-beart* down upon one of his knees; with that the Women, and Children cried out. So Mr. *Great-beart* recovering himself, laid about him in full lusty manner, and gave the *Giant* a wound in his arm; thus he fought for the space of an hour to that height of heat, that the breath came out of the *Giant's* nostrils, as the heat doth out of a boiling Caldron.

*Weak folks
prayer do
sometimes
help strong
folks' cries.*

Then they sat down to rest them, but Mr. *Great-beart* betook him to prayer; also the Women and Children did nothing but sigh and cry all the time that the Battle did last.

When they had rested them, and taken breath, they both fell to it again, and Mr. *Great-beart* with a full blow fetcht the *Giant* down to the ground. Nay hold, and let me recover, quoth he. So Mr. *Great-beart* fairly let him get up; so to it they went again; and the Giant mist but little of all-to-breaking Mr. *Great-beart's* Scull with his Club.

*The Giant
struck
down.*

Mr. *Great-beart* seeing that, runs to him in the full heat of his Spirit, and pierceth him under the fifth rib; with that the *Giant* began to faint, and could hold up his Club no longer. Then Mr. *Great-beart* seconded his blow, and smit the head of the *Giant* from his shoulders. Then the Women and Children rejoyced, and Mr. *Great-beart* also praised God, for the deliverance he had wrought.

*He is slain,
and his
head dis-
joined of.*

When this was done, they amongst them erected a Pillar,

and fastned the Giant's head thereon, and wrote underneath in Letters that Passengers might read.

*He that did wear this head was one
That Pilgrims did misuse;
He stopt their way, he spared none,
But did them all abuse;
Until that I, Great-heart, arose,
The Pilgrims' Guide to be;
Until that I did him oppose,
That was their Enemy.*

10

¹ Part, pag.
62

Now I saw, that they went to the Ascent that was a little way off cast up to be a Prospect for Pilgrims (that was the place from whence *Christian* had the first sight of *Faithful* his Brother.) Wherefore here they sat down, and rested, they also here did eat and drink, and make merry; for that they had gotten deliverance from this so dangerous an Enemy. As they sat thus and did eat, *Christiana* asked the *Guide*, *If he had caught no hurt in the battle.* Then said Mr. *Great-heart*, no, save a little on my flesh; yet that also shall be so far from being to my Determent, that it is at present a proof of my love to my Master and you, and shall be a means by Grace to ²⁰ encrease my reward at last.

² Cor. 4. *But was you not afraid, good Sir, when you see him come out
Discourse of with his Club?
the fight.*

It is my Duty, said he, to distrust mine own ability, that I may have reliance on him that is stronger than all. *But what did you think when he fetched you down to the ground at the first blow?* Why I thought, quoth he, that so my Master himself was served, and yet he it was that conquered at the last.

Matt Arre
admires
Goodness.

MATT. *When you all have thought what you please, I think ³⁰
God has been wonderful good unto us, both in bringing us out
of this Valley, and in delivering us out of the hand of this Enemy;
for my part I see no reason why we should distrust our God
any more, since he has now, and in such a place as this, given us
such testimony of his love as this.*

Old Honest

Then they got up and went forward, now a little before

them stood an Oak, and under it when they came to it, asleep under an Oak. they found an old *Pilgrim* fast asleep; they knew that he was a *Pilgrim* by his *Clothes*, and his *Staff* and his *Girdle*.

So the *Guide* Mr. *Great-heart* awaked him, and the old Gentleman, as he lift up his eyes, cried out; What's the matter? who are you? and what is your business here?

GREATH. *Come man be not so hot, here is none but Friends*; yet the old man gets up and stands upon his guard, and will know of them what they were. Then said the *Guide*,
10 my name is *Great-heart*, I am the guide of these *Pilgrims* which are going to the *Cœlestial Country*.

HONEST. Then said Mr. *Honest*, I cry you mercy; I fear'd One Saint sometimes takes another for his Enemy. that you had been of the *Company* of those that some time ago did rob *Little-faith* of his money; but now I look better about me, I perceive you are *honester People*.

GREATH. *Why what would, or could you a done, to a helped yourself, if we indeed had been of that Company?* Talk to them Great-heart and he.

HON. Done! Why, I would a fought as long as *Breath* had been in me; and had I so done, I am sure you could
20 never have given me the worst on't; for a *Christian* can never be overcome, unless he shall yield of himself.

GREATH. *Well said, Father Honest, quoth the Guide, for by this I know thou art a Cock of the right kind, for thou hast said the Truth.*

HON. And by this also I know that thou knowest what true *Pilgrimage* is; for all others do think that we are the soonest overcome of any.

GREATH. *Well, now we are so happily met, pray let me* Whence Mr. Honest came. *crave your Name, and the name of the Place you came from?*

30 HON. My Name I cannot, but I came from the *Town of Stupidity*; it lieth about four *Degrees* beyond the *City of Destruction*.

GREATH. *Oh! Are you that Countryman then? I deem I have half a guess of you, your name is old Honesty, is it not?* So the old Gentleman blushed, and said, Not *Honesty* in the abstract, but *Honest* is my Name, and I wish that my *Nature* shall agree to what I am called.

HON. But Sir, said the old Gentleman, how could you

guess that I am such a Man, since I came from such a place?

*Stupid (And
ones are
worse than
these merely
Carnal.*

GREATH. *I had heard of you before, by my Master, for he knows all things that are done on the Earth: But I have often wondered that any should come from your place; for your Town is worse than is the City of Destruction itself.*

HON. Yes, we lie more off from the Sun, and so are more cold and senseless; but was a Man in a Mountain of Ice, yet if the Sun of Righteousness will arise upon him, his frozen Heart shall feel a Thaw; and thus it hath been with me.

GREATH. I believe it, Father *Honest*, I believe it, for I know the thing is true.

Then the old Gentleman saluted all the Pilgrims with a holy Kiss of Charity, and asked them of their Names, and how they had fared since they set out on their Pilgrimage.

*Old Honest and
Christiana
talk.*

CHRIST. Then said *Christiana*, My Name I suppose you have heard of, good* *Christian* was my Husband, and these four were his Children. But can you think how the old Gentleman was taken, when she told them who she was! He skipp'd, he smiled, and blessed them with a thousand good Wishes, saying,

HON. *I have heard much of your Husband, and of his Travels and Wars which he underwent in his days. Be it spoken to your Comfort, the Name of your Husband rings all over these parts of the World. His Faith, his Courage, his Enduring, and his Sincerity under all, has made his Name Famous.* Then he

*He also talks
with the
Boys*

*Old Mr.
Honest's
blessing on
them.
Mat. 20. 3.
Paul. 39. 6.
Gen. 28. 13.*

turned him to the Boys, and asked them of their Names, which they told him: and then said he unto them, *Matthew*, be thou like *Matthew* the Publican, not in Vice, but in Virtue. *Samuel*, said he, be thou like *Samuel* the Prophet, a Man of Faith and Prayer. *Joseph*, said he, be thou like *Joseph* in *Potiphar's* House, Chaste, and one that flies from Temptation. And, *James*, be thou like *James* the Just, and like *James* the Brother of our Lord.

*He blesseth
Mercy.*

Then they told him of *Mercy*, and how she had left her Town and her Kindred to come along with *Christiana*, and with her Sons. At that the old *Honest* Man said, *Mercy*, is

thy Name? by *Mercy* shalt thou be sustained, and carried thorough all those Difficulties that shall assault thee in thy way; till thou shalt come thither where thou shalt look the Fountain of Mercy in the Face with Comfort.

All this while the Guide Mr. *Great-heart*, was very much pleased, and smiled upon his Companion.

Now as they walked along together, the Guide asked the old Gentleman, *if he did not know one Mr. Fearing that came on Pilgrimage out of his Parts.* *Talk of one Mr. Fearing.*

10 HON. Yes, very well, said he; he was a Man that had the Root of the Matter in him, but he was one of the most troublesome Pilgrims that ever I met with in all my days.

GREATH. *I perceive you knew him, for you have given a very right Character of him.*

HON. Knew him! I was a great Companion of his, I was with him most an end; when he first began to think of what would come upon us hereafter, I was with him.

GREATH. *I was his guide from my Master's House, to the* 20 *Gates of the Celestial City.*

HON. Then you knew him to be a troublesome one.

GREATH. *I did so, but I could very well bear it: for Men of my Calling, are oftentimes intrusted with the Conduct of such as he was.*

HON. Well then, pray let us hear a little of him, and how he managed himself under your Conduct?

GREATH. Why he was always afraid that he should come short of whither he had a desire to go. Every thing frightened him that he heard any body speak of, that had but the least appearance of Opposition in it. I hear that he lay roaring at the *Slough of Dispond* for above a Month together, nor durst he, for all he saw several go over before him, venture, tho' they, many of them, offered to lend him their Hand. *Mr. Fearing's troublesome Pilgrimage.*
 30 *He's behaviour at the Slough of Dispond.*
He would not go back again neither. The Celestial City, he said he should die if he came not to it, and yet was dejected at every Difficulty, and stumbled at every Straw that any body cast in his way. Well, after he had lain at the *Slough of Dispond* a great while, as I have told you; one

*His be-
haviour at
the Gate.*

sunshine Morning, I do not know how, he ventured, and so got over. But when he was over, he would scarce believe it. He had, I think, a *Sleugh of Despond* in his Mind, a *Sleugh* that he carried every where with him, or else he could never have been as he was. So he came up to the Gate, you know what I mean, that stands at the head of this way, and there also he stood a good while before he would adventure to knock. When the Gate was opened he would give back, and give place to others, and say that he was not worthy. For, for all he gat before some to the Gate, yet many of¹⁰ them went in before him. There the poor Man would stand shaking and shrinking: I dare say it would have pitied one's Heart to have seen him: *Ner would he go back again.* At last he took the Hammer that hanged on the Gate in his hand, and gave a small Rap or two; then one opened to him, but he shrunk back as before. He that opened stepped out after him, and said, Thou trembling one, what wantest thou? with that he fell down to the Ground. He that spoke to him wondered to see him so faint. So he said to him, Peace be to thee, up, for I have set open the Door to thee; come in,²⁰ for thou art blest. With that he gat up, and went in trembling, and when he was in, he was ashamed to shew his Face. Well, after he had been entertained there a while, as you know how the manner is, he was bid to go on his way, and also told the way he should take. So he came till he came to our House, but as he behaved himself at the Gate, so he did at my Master the *Interpreter's* Door. He lay thereabout in the Cold a good while, before he would adventure to call; *Yet he would not go back.* And the Nights were long and cold then. Nay he had a Note of *Necessity* in his Bosom to my³⁰ Master, to receive him, and grant him the Comfort of his House, and also to allow him a stout and valiant Conduct, because he was himself so *Chicken-hearted* a Man; and yet for all that he was afraid to call at the Door. So he lay up and down thereabouts till, poor man, he was almost starved; yea so great was his Dejection, that tho' he saw several others for knocking got in, yet he was afraid to venture. At last, I think I looked out of the Window, and perceiving a man to

*His be-
haviour at
the Interpreter's
Door.*

be up and down about the Door, I went out to him, and asked what he was; but, poor man, the water stood in his Eyes. So I perceived what he wanted. I went therefore in, and told it in the House, and we shewed the thing to our Lord. So he sent me out again, to entreat him to come in, but I dare say I had hard work to do it. At last he came in, and I will say that for my Lord, he carried it wonderful lovingly to him. There were but a few good bits at the Table but some of it was laid upon his Trencher. Then he
 10 presented the *Note*, and my Lord looked thereon and said his Desire should be granted. So when he had been there a good while, he seemed to get some Heart, and to be a little more Comfortable. For my Master, you must know, is one of very tender Bowels, specially to them that are afraid, wherefore he carried it so towards him, as might tend most to his Incouragement. Well, when he had had a sight of the things of the place, and was ready to take his Journey to go to the City, my Lord, as he did to *Christian* before, gave him a Bottle of Spirits, and some comfortable things to eat. Thus
 20 we set forward, and I went before him; but the man was of few Words, only he would sigh aloud.

How he was entertained there.

He is a little encouraged at the Interpreter's house.

When we were come to where the three Fellows were hanged, he said, that he doubted that that would be his end also. Only he seemed glad when he saw the Cross and the Sepulchre. There I confess he desired to stay a little to look; and he seemed for a while after to be a little *Cheery*. When we came at the Hill *Difficulty*, he made no stick at that, nor did he much fear the Lions: for you must know that his Trouble *was not about such things as those*, his Fear was about
 30 his Acceptance at last.

He was greatly afraid when he saw the Gibbet, Cheery when he saw the Cross.

I got him in at the House *Beautiful*, I think before he was willing; also when he was in, I brought him acquainted with the Damsels that were of the Place, but he was ashamed to make himself much for Company; he desired much to be alone, yet he always loved good talk, and often would get behind the *Screen* to hear it; he also loved much to see *antient* Things, and to be *pondering* them in his Mind. He told me afterwards, that he loved to be in those two Houses

Dumfries at the House Beautiful.

from which he came last, to wit, at the Gate, and that of the *Interpreters*, but that he durst not be so bold to ask.

He went down into, and was very Pleasant in the Valley of Humiliation.

When we went also from the House *Beautiful*, down the Hill, into the Valley of *Humiliation*, he went down as well as ever I saw man in my Life, for he cared not how mean he was, so he might be happy at last. Yea, I think there was a kind of a Sympathy betwixt that Valley and him. For I never saw him better in all his Pilgrimage, than when he was in that Valley.

Lam. 3. 27. 28. 29.

Here he would lie down, embrace the Ground, and kiss the 10
very Flowers that grew in this Valley. He would now be up every Morning by break of Day, tracing, and walking to and fro in this Valley.

Much perplexed in the Valley of the Shadow of Death.

But when he was come to the entrance of the Valley of the Shadow of Death, I thought I should have lost my Man; not for that he had any Inclination to go back, that he always abhorred, but he was ready to die for Fear. O, the *Hobgoblins* will have me, the *Hobgoblins* will have me, cried he; and I could not beat him out on't. He made such a noise, and such an outcry here, that, had they but heard him, 'twas 20
enough to encourage them to come and fall upon us.

But this I took very great notice of, that this Valley was as quiet while he went thorow it, as ever I knew it before or since. I suppose, those Enemies here, had now a special Check from our Lord, and a Command not to meddle until Mr. *Fearing* was past over it.

His behaviour at Vanity-Fair.

It would be too tedious to tell you of all; we will therefore only mention a Passage or two more. When he was come at *Vanity Fair*, I thought he would have fought with all the men in the Fair, I feared there we should both have been 30
knock'd o' th' Head, so hot was he against their Fooleries; upon the enchanted Ground, he was also very wakeful. But when he was come at the *River* where was no Bridge, there again he was in a heavy Case; now, now he said he should be drowned for ever, and so never see that Face with Comfort, that he had come so many miles to behold.

And here also I took notice of what was very remarkable, the Water of that River was lower at this time, than ever I

saw it in all my Life; so he went over at last, not much above wet-shod. When he was going up to the Gate, Mr. *Great-heart* began to take his Leave of him, and to wish him a good Reception above; So he said, *I shall, I shall*. Then parted we asunder, and I saw him no more.

HON. *Then it seems he was well at last.*

His Boldness at last.

GREATH. Yes, yes, I never had doubt about him, he was a man of a choice Spirit, only he was always kept very low, and that made his Life so burthensome to himself, and so troublesome to others. He was above many, tender of Sin; he was so afraid of doing injuries to others, that he often would deny himself of that which was lawful, because he would not offend. Rom. 14. 21.
1 Cor. 8. 13.

HON. *But what should be the reason that such a good Man should be all his days so much in the dark?*

GREATH. There are two sorts of Reasons for it; one is, The wise God will have it so, Some must *Pipe*, and some must *Weep*: Now Mr. *Fearing* was one that played upon *this Base*. He and his Fellows sound the *Sackbut*, whose Notes are more doleful, than the Notes of other Musick are. Tho' indeed some say, The Base is the Ground of Musick. And for my part I care not at all for that Profession, that begins not in heaviness of Mind. The first string that the Musician usually touches, *is the Base*, when he intends to put all in tune. God also plays upon this string first, when he sets the Soul in tune for himself. Only here was the imperfection of Mr. *Fearing*, he could play upon no other Musick but this till towards his latter end. Reason why good men are so in the dark.
Matt. 11. 16,
17. 18.

I make bold to talk thus Metaphorically, for the ripening of the Wits of young Readers, and because in the Book of the Revelations, the Saved are compared to a company of Musicians that play upon their *Trumpets* and Harps, and sing their Songs before the Throne. Rev. 8. 2.
Chap. 14. n. 3.

HON. *He was a very zealous man, as one may see by what Relation you have given of him. Difficulties, Lions, or Vanity Fair, he feared not at all: 'Twas only Sin, Death, and Hell, that was to him a Terror; because he had some Doubts about his Interest in that Celestial Country.*

*A Close
about him.*

GREATH. You say right. *Those* were the things that were his Troublers, and they, as you have well observed, arose from the weakness of his Mind thereabout, not from weakness of Spirit as to the practical part of a Pilgrims Life. I dare believe that as the Proverb is, he could have bit a Fire-brand, had it stood in his Way. But the things with which he was oppressed, no man ever yet could shake off with ease.

*Christiana's
Sentence.*

CHRIS. *Then said Christiana, This relation of Mr. Fearing has done me good. I thought no body had been like me, but I see there was some Semblance 'twixt this good man and I, only we differed in two things. His Troubles were so great they brake out, but mine I kept within. His also lay so hard upon him, they made him that he could not knock at the Houses provided for Entertainment; but my Trouble was always such, as made me knock the louder.*

*Mercy's
Sentence.*

MERCY. If I might also speak my Heart, I must say that something of him has also dwelt in me. For I have ever been more afraid of the Lake and the loss of a place in *Paradise*, than I have been of the loss of other things. Oh, thought I, may I have the Happiness to have a Habitation *there*, 'tis so enough, though I part with all the World to win it.

*Matthew's
Sentence.*

MATT. *Then said Matthew, Fear was one thing that made me think that I was far from having that within me, that accompanies Salvation; but if it was so with such a good man as he, why may it not also go well with me?*

*James's Sen-
tence.*

JAMES. No fears, no Grace, said *James*. Tho' there is not always Grace where there is the fear of Hell; yet to be sure there is no Grace where there is no fear of God.

GREATH. *Well said, James, thou hast hit the Mark, for the fear of God is the beginning of Wisdom; and to be sure they that so want the beginning, have neither middle, nor end. But we will here conclude our discourse of Mr. Fearing, after we have sent after him this Farewell.*

*Their Fare-
well about
him.*

*Well, Master Fearing, thou didst fear
Thy God, and wast afraid
Of doing any thing, while here,
That would have thee betray'd.
And didst thou fear the Lake and Pit?*

*Would others did so too:
For, as for them that want thy Wit,
They do themselves undo.*

Now I saw, that they still went on in their Talk. For after Mr. *Greatheart* had made an end with Mr. *Fearing*, Mr. *Honest* began to tell them of another, but his Name was Mr. *Selfwill*. Of Mr. Selfwill. He pretended himself to be a *Pilgrim*, said Mr. *Honest*; But I perswade my self, he never came in at the Gate that stands at the head of the way.

10 GREATH. *Had you ever any talk with him about it?*

HON. Yes, more than once or twice; but he would always be like himself, *self-willed*. He neither cared for man, nor Argument, nor yet Example; what his Mind prompted him to, that he would do, and nothing else could he be got to. Old Honest had talked with him.

GREATH. *Pray what Principles did he hold, for I suppose you can tell?*

HON. He held that a Man might follow the Vices, as well as the Virtues of the Pilgrims, and that if he did both, he should be certainly saved. Selfwill's opinions.

20 GREATH. *How? If he had said, 'tis possible for the best to be guilty of the Vices, as well as to partake of the Virtues of Pilgrims, he could not much a been blamed. For indeed we are exempted from no Vice absolutely, but on condition that we Watch and Strive. But this I perceive is not the thing. But if I understand you right, your meaning is, that he was of that Opinion, that it was allowable so to be?*

HON. Ay, ay, so I mean, and so he believed and practised.

GREATH. *But what Ground had he for his so saying?*

HON. Why, he said he had the Scripture for his Warrant.

30 GREATH. *Prithee, Mr. Honest, present us with a few Particulars.*

HON. So I will, He said To have to do with other men's Wives, had been practised by *David*, God's Beloved, and therefore he could do it. He said to have more Women than one, was a thing that *Solomon* practised, and therefore he could do it. He said that *Sarah*, and the godly Midwives of *Egypt* lied, and so did saved *Rahab*, and therefore he could do it. He said that the Disciples went at the bidding

of their Master, and took away the Owner's *Ass*, and therefore he could do so too. He said that *Jacob* got the Inheritance of his Father in a way of Guile and Dissimulation, and therefore he could do so too.

GREATH. *High base! indeed, and you are sure he was of this Opinion?*

HON. I have heard him plead for it, bring Scripture for it, bring Argument for it, &c.

GREATH. *An Opinion that is not fit to be, with any Allowance, in the World.*

10

HON. You must understand me rightly. He did not say that any man might do this; but, that those that had the Virtues of those that did such things, might also do the same.

GREATH. *But what more false than such a Conclusion? For this is as much as to say, that because good men heretofore have sinned of Infirmary, therefore he had allowance to do it of a presumptuous Mind. Or if because a Child, by the blast of the Wind, or for that it stumbled at a stone, fell down and defiled it self in Mire, therefore he might wilfully lie down and wallow like a Boar therein. Who could a thought that any one could so far as* 20 *been blinded by the power of Lust? But what is written must be true. They stumble at the Word, being disobedient, whereunto also they were appointed.*

1 Pet. 2. 8.

His supposing that such may have the godly Man's Virtues, who addict themselves to their Vices, is also a Delusion as strong as the other. 'Tis just as if the Dog should say, I have, or may have the Qualities of the Child, because I lick up its stinking Excrements. To eat up the Sin of God's People, is no sign of one that is possessed with their Virtues. Nor can I believe that one that is of this Opinion, can at present have Faith or Love in him. 30 *But I know you have made strong Objections against him, prithee what can he say for himself?*

Hos. 4. 2.

HON. Why, he says, to do this by way of Opinion, seems abundance more honest, then to do it, and yet hold contrary to it in Opinion.

GREATH. *A very wicked Answer, for tho' to let loose the Bridle to Lusts, while our Opinions are against such things, is bad; yet to sin and plead a Toleration so to do, is worse; the one*

stumbles Bebolders accidentally, the other pleads them into the Snare.

HON. There are many of this man's mind, that have not this man's mouth, and *that* makes going on Pilgrimage of so little esteem as it is.

GREATH. *You have said the Truth, and it is to be lamented. But he that feareth the King of Paradise shall come out of them all.*

CHRIS. There are strange Opinions in the World. I know one that said, 'twas time enough to repent when they come to die.

GREATH. *Such are not over wise. That man would a been loth, might he have had a week to run twenty mile in for his Life, to have deferred that Journey to the last hour of that Week.*

HON. You say right, and yet the generality of them that count themselves Pilgrims, do indeed do thus. I am, as you see, an old Man, and have been a Traveller in this Road many a day; and I have taken notice of many things.

I have seen some that have set out as if they would drive to all the World afore them, who yet have in few days died as they in the Wilderness, and so never gat sight of the promised Land.

I have seen some that have promised nothing at first setting out to be Pilgrims, and that one would a thought could not have lived a day, that have yet proved very good Pilgrims.

I have seen some, that have run hastily forward, that again have after a little time, run as fast just back again.

I have seen some who have spoke very well of a Pilgrim's Life at first, that after a while, have spoken as much against it.

I have heard some, when they first set out for Paradise, say positively, there is such a place, who when they have been almost there, have come back again, and said there is none.

I have heard some vaunt what they would do in case they should be opposed, that have even at a false Alarm fled Faith, the Pilgrim's way, and all.

Now as they were thus in their way, there came one run- *Fresh new of trouble.*
ning to meet them, and said, Gentlemen, and you of the

weaker sort, if you love Life, shift for your selves, for the Robbers are before you.

1 Part. pag.
115.
Greatheart's
Resolution.

GREATH. Then said Mr. *Greatheart*, They be the three that set upon *Little-faith* heretofore. Well, said he, we are ready for them; So they went on their way. Now they looked at every Turning when they should a met with the Villains. But whether they heard of Mr. *Greatheart*, or whether they had some other Game, they came not up to the Pilgrims.

Christiana
wished for
an Inn.

CHRIS. *Christiana* then wished for an Inn for herself and her Children, because they were weary. Then said Mr. *Honest*, there is one a little before us, where a very honorable Disciple, one *Gaius*, dwells. So they all concluded to turn in thither; and the rather, because the old Gentleman gave him so good a Report. So when they came to the Door, they went in, not knocking, for Folks use not to knock at the Door of an Inn. Then they called for the Master of the House, and he came to them. *So they asked if they might lie there that Night?*

Gaius enter-
tains them,
and how.

GAIUS. Yes Gentlemen, if you be true Men, for my House is for none but Pilgrims. Then was *Christiana*, *Mercy*, and the *Boys*, the more glad, for that the Innkeeper was a Lover of Pilgrims. So they called for Rooms; and he shewed them one for *Christiana* and her Children and *Mercy*, and another for Mr. *Great-heart* and the old Gentleman.

GREATH. Then said Mr. *Great-heart*, Good *Gaius*, what hast thou for Supper? for these Pilgrims have come far to day and are weary.

GAIUS. It is late, said *Gaius*; so we cannot conveniently go out to seek Food; but such as we have you shall be welcome so to, if that will content.

GREATH. We will be content with what thou hast in the House; for, as much as I have proved thee, thou art never destitute of that which is convenient.

Gaius his
cook.

Then he went down, and spake to the Cook, whose Name was *Taste-that-which-is-good*, to get ready Supper for so many Pilgrims. This done, he comes up again, saying, Come my good Friends, you are welcome to me, and I am glad that I

have an House to entertain you ; and while Supper is making ready, if you please, let us entertain one another with some good Discourse. So they all said, Content.

GAIUS. Then said *Gaius, whose Wife is this aged Matron, and whose Daughter is this young Damsel?* Talk between Gaius and his Guests.

GREATH. The Woman is the Wife of one *Christian*, a Pilgrim of former times, and these are his four Children. The Maid is one of her Acquaintance; one that she hath perswaded to come with her on Pilgrimage. The Boys take
 10 all after their Father, and covet to tread in his Steps. Yea, if they do but see any place where the old Pilgrim hath lain, or any print of his Foot, it ministreth Joy to their Heart, and they covet to lie or tread in the same. Methinks this.

GAIUS. Then said *Gaius*, Is this *Christian's* Wife, and are these *Christian's* Children? I knew your Husband's Father, yea, also, his Father's Father. Many have been good of this stock, their Ancestors dwelt first at *Antioch*. *Christian's* Acts 11. 26.
 Progenitors (I suppose you have heard your Husband talk of them) were very worthy men. They have above any that
 20 I know, shewed themselves men of great Virtue and Courage for the Lord of the Pilgrims, his ways, and them that loved him. I have heard of many of your Husband's Relations that have stood all Trials for the sake of the Truth. *Stephen* that Acts 7. 59. 60.
 was one of the first of the Family from whence your Husband sprang, was knocked o' th' Head with Stones. *James*, another Acts 12. 2.
 of this Generation, was slain with the edge of the Sword. To say nothing of *Paul* and *Peter*, men antiently of the Family from whence your Husband came, there was *Ignatius*, who was cast to the Lions; *Romanus*, whose Flesh was cut by
 30 pieces from his Bones; and *Polycarp*, that played the man in the Fire. There was he that was hanged up in a Basket in the Sun, for the Wasps to eat; and he who they put into a Sack and cast him into the Sea, to be drowned. 'Twould be impossible, utterly to count up all of that Family that have suffered Injuries and Death, for the love of a Pilgrim's Life. Nor can I but be glad to see that thy Husband has left behind him four such Boys as these. I hope they will bear

up their Father's Name, and tread in their Father's Steps, and come to their Father's End.

GREATH. *Indeed Sir, they are likely Lads; they seem to chuse heartily their Father's Ways.*

*Advice to
Christiana
about her
Boys.*

GAIUS. That is it that I said, wherefore *Christian's* Family is like still to spread abroad upon the face of the Ground, and yet to be numerous upon the face of the Earth. Wherefore let *Christiana* look out some Damsels for her Sons, to whom they may be betrothed, &c. that the Name of their Father, and the House of his Progenitors may never be forgotten in the World.

HON. *'Tis pity this Family should fall, and be extinct.*

GAIUS. Fall it cannot, but be diminished it may. But let *Christiana* take my Advice, and that's the way to uphold it.

*Mercy and
Matthew
marry.*

And *Christiana*, Said this Inkeeper, I am glad to see thee and thy Friend *Mercy* together here, a lovely Couple. And may I advise, take *Mercy* into a nearer Relation to thee. If she will, let her be given to *Matthew* thy eldest Son. 'Tis the way to preserve you a Posterity in the Earth. So this Match was concluded, and in process of time they were married. But more of that hereafter.

Gen. 3.

Gal. 4. 4.

*Why Women
of old so
much de-
sired Chil-
dren.*

Luke 2.

GAIUS also proceeded, and said, I will now speak on the behalf of Women, to take away their Reproach. For as Death and the Curse came into the World by a Woman, so also did Life and Health; *God sent forth his Son, made of a Woman.* Yea, to shew how much those that came after did abhor the Act of their Mother, this Sex, in the old Testament, coveted Children, if happily this or that Woman might be the Mother of the Saviour of the World. I will say again, that when the Saviour was come, Women rejoiced in him, before either Man or Angel. I read not that ever any man did give unto Christ so much as one Groat, but the Women followed him, and ministred to him of their Substance. 'Twas a Woman that washed his Feet with Tears, and a Woman that anointed his Body to the Burial. They were Women that wept, when he was going to the Cross; and Women that followed him from the Cross, and that sat by his Sepulchre when he was buried. They were Women

Chap. 8. 2. 3.

Chap. 7. 37.
30.

John 11. 2.
Chap. 12. 3.
Luke 23. 27.

that was first with him at his Resurrection-morn, and Women Matt. 27. 55.
 that brought Tiding first to his Disciples that he was risen 56. 61.
 from the Dead. Women therefore are highly favoured, and Luke 24. 28.
 shew by these things that they are sharers with us in the Grace 23
 of Life.

Now the Cook sent up to signify that Supper was almost Supper ready.
 ready, and sent one to lay the Cloth, the Trenchers, and to
 set the Salt and Bread in order.

Then said *Matthew*, *the sight of this Cloth, and of this Fore-*
runner of a Supper, begetteth in me a greater Appetite to my Food
than I had before.

GAIVS. So let all ministring Doctrines to thee in this Life, What to be gathered from laying of the Board with the Cloth and Trenchers.
 beget in thee a greater desire to sit at the Supper of the great
 King in his Kingdom; for all Preaching, Books and Ord-
 nances here, are but as the laying of the Trenchers, and as
 setting of Salt upon the Board, when compared with the
 Feast that our Lord will make for us when we come to his
 House.

So Supper came up, and first a *Heave-shoulder* and a *Wave-* Lev. 7. 30.
 30 *Breast* was set on the Table before them, to shew that they 33. 34.
 must begin their *Meal* with Prayer and Praise to God. The Chap. 20. 14.
heave-shoulder *David* lifted his Heart up to God with, and 15
 with the *wave-Breast*, *where his Heart lay*, with that he used 17. 25. 1.
 to lean upon his Harp when he played. These two Dishes Heb. 13. 15.
 were very fresh and good, and they all eat heartily-well
 thereof.

The next they brought up, was a Bottle of Wine, red as Deut. 32. 14.
 Blood. So *Gaius* said to them, Drink freely, this is the Juice
 of the true Vine, that makes glad the Heart of God and Man. Judg. 9. 13.
 30 So they drank and were merry. John 15. 1.

The next was a Dish of Milk well crumbed. But *Gaius* 1 Pet. 2. 2. 2.
 said, *Let the Boys have that, that they may grow thereby.* A Dish of Milk.

Then they brought up in course a dish of *Butter* and *Hony*. Of Hony and Butter.
 Then said *Gaius*, Eat freely of *this*, for this is good to cheer
 up, and strengthen your Judgments and Understandings.
 This was our Lords Dish when he was a Child. Butter and 12. 7. 15.
Hony shall be eat, that he may know to refuse the Evil, and chuse
the Good.

A Dish of Apples.

Then they brought them up a dish of Apples, and they were very good tasted Fruit. Then said *Matthew*, May we eat Apples, since they were such, by, and with which, the Serpent beguiled our first Mother?

Then said *Gaius*,

*Apples were they with which we were beguil'd,
Yet Sin, not Apples bath our Souls defil'd.
Apples forbid, if eat, corrupts the Blood.
To eat such, when commanded, does us good.
Drink of his Flagons then, thou Church, his Dove,
And eat his Apples, who are sick of Love.*

10

Then said *Matthew*, I made the Scruple, because I awhile since, was sick with eating of Fruit.

GAIUS. Forbidden Fruit will make you sick; but not what our Lord has tolerated.

*Cant. 6. 11.
A Dish of Nuts.*

While they were thus talking, they were presented with an other Dish; and 'twas a dish of Nuts. Then said some at the Table, Nuts spoil tender Teeth; specially the Teeth of Children. Which when *Gaius* heard, he said,

*Hard Texts are Nuts (I will not call them Cheaters),
Whose Shells do keep their Kernels from the Eaters.
Ope then the Shells, and you shall have the Meat,
They here are brought, for you to crack and eat.*

20

Then were they very Merry, and sat at the Table a long time, talking of many Things. Then said the Old Gentleman, My good Landlord, while we are cracking your Nuts, if you please, do you open this Riddle.

*A Riddle
put forth by
old Honest.*

*A man there was, tho' some did count him mad,
The more he cast away, the more he had.*

30

Then they all gave good heed, wondring what good *Gaius* would say, so he sat still a while, and then thus replied:

Gaius opens it.

*He that bestows his Goods upon the Poor,
Shall have as much again, and ten times more.*

Joseph wonders.

Then said *Joseph*, I dare say Sir, I did not think you could a found it out.

Oh! Said *Gaius*, I have been trained up in this way a great

while. Nothing teaches like Experience. I have learned of my Lord to be kind, and have found by experience, that I have gained thereby. *There is that scattereth, yet increaseth,* Prov. 11. 24. Chap. 13. 7. *and there is that withholdeth more than is meet, but it tendeth to Poverty. There is that maketh himself Rich, yet bath nothing, There is that maketh himself poor, yet bath great Riches.*

Then Samuel whispered to *Christiana* his Mother, and said, Mother, this is a very good man's House, let us stay here a good while, and let my Brother *Matthew* be married here to
10 *Mercy*, before we go any further.

The which *Gaius* the Host overhearing, said, *With a very* Matthew and Mercy are married.
good Will, my Child.

So they staid there more than a Month, and *Mercy* was given to *Matthew* to Wife.

While they staid here, *Mercy* as her Custom was, would be making Coats and Garments to give to the Poor, by which she brought up a very good Report upon the Pilgrims.

But to return again to our Story. After Supper, the lads The Boys &c. to bed, the rest sit up. desired a Bed, for that they were weary with Travelling.
20 Then *Gaius* called to shew them their Chamber, but said *Mercy*, I will have them to Bed. So she had them to Bed, and they slept well, but the rest sat up all Night. For *Gaius* and they were such suitable Company, that they could not tell how to part. Then after much talk of their Lord, themselves, and their Journey, old Mr. *Honest*, he that put forth the Riddle to *Gaius*, began to nod. Then said *Great-heart*, Old Honest nods. What Sir, you begin to be drowzy, come, rub up, now here's a Riddle for you. Then said Mr. *Honest*, let's hear it.

Then said Mr. *Great-heart*,

30 *He that will kill, must first be overcome:*
Who live abroad would, first must die at home.

A Riddle

Hab, said Mr. *Honest*, it is a hard one, hard to expound, and harder to practise. But come Landlord, said he, I will if you please, leave my part to you; do you expound it, and I will hear what you say.

No said *Gaius*, 'twas put to you, and 'tis expected that you should answer it.

Then said the Old Gentleman,
The Riddle opened. *He first by Grace must conquer'd be,
 That Sin would mortify.
 And who, that lives, would convince me,
 Unto himself must die.*

It is right, said Gaius, good Doctrine and Experience teaches this. For first, until Grace displays itself, and overcomes the Soul with its Glory, it is altogether without Heart to oppose Sin. Besides, if Sin is Satan's Cords, by which the Soul lies bound, how should it make Resistance, before it is loosed from that Infirmity?

Secondly, Nor will any that knows either Reason or Grace, believe that such a man can be a living Monument of Grace, that is a Slave to his own Corruptions.

A Question worth the minding. And now it comes in my Mind, I will tell you a Story, worth the hearing. There were two Men that went on Pilgrimage, the one began when he was young, the other when he was old. The young Man had strong Corruptions to grapple with, the old Mans were decayed with the decays of Nature. The young man trod his steps as even as did the old one, and was every way as light as he; who now, or which of them, had their Graces shining clearest, since both seemed to be alike?

A Comparison. HON. *The young Mans doubtless. For that which heads it against the greatest Opposition, gives best demonstration that it is strongest. Specially when it also boldeth pace with that that meets not with half so much; as to be sure old Age does not.*

A mistake. Besides, I have observed that old men have blessed themselves with this mistake; Namely, taking the decays of Nature, for a gracious Conquest over Corruptions, and so have been apt to beguile themselves. Indeed old men that are gracious, are best able to give Advice to them that are young, because they have seen most of the emptiness of things. But yet, for an old and a young to set out both together, the young one has the advantage of the fairest discovery of a work of Grace within him, tho' the old Man's Corruptions are naturally the weakest.

Thus they sat talking till break of Day. Now when the

Family was up, *Christiana* bid her Son *James* that he should read a Chapter; so he read the 53rd of *Isaiab.* When he had done, Mr. *Honest* asked why it was said, *That the Saviour is said to come out of a dry ground, and also that he had no Form nor Comeliness in him?* *Another Question.*

GREATH. Then said Mr. *Great-beart*, To the first I answer, because, The Church of the Jews, of which Christ came, had then lost almost all the Sap and Spirit of Religion. To the second I say, The Words are spoken in the Person of the Unbelievers, who because they want that Eye, that can see into our Prince's Heart, therefore they judge of him by the meanness of his Outside.

Just like those that know not that precious Stones are covered over with a homely *Crust*; who when they have found one, because they know not what they have found, cast it again away as men do a common Stone.

Well, said *Gaius*, Now you are here, and since, as I know, Mr. *Great-beart* is good at his Weapons, if you please, after we have refreshed ourselves, we will walk into the Fields, to see if we can do any good. About a mile from hence, there is one *Slay-good*, a *Giant*, that doth much annoy the King's Highway in these parts. And I know whereabouts his Haunt is. He is Master of a number of Thieves; 'twould be well if we could clear these Parts of him. *Giant Slay-good assaulted and slain.*

So they consented and went, Mr. *Great-beart* with his *Sword*, *Helmet*, and *Shield*; and the rest with *Spears* and *Staves*.

When they came to the place where he was, they found him with one *Feeble-mind* in his Hands, whom his Servants had brought unto him, having taken him in the Way; now the Giant was rifling of him, with a purpose after that to pick his Bones. For he was of the nature of *Flesh-eaters*. *He is found with one Feeble-mind in his hand.*

Well, so soon as he saw Mr. *Great-beart* and his Friends at the Mouth of his Cave with their Weapons, he demanded what they wanted?

GREATH. We want thee; for we are come to revenge the Quarrel of the many that thou hast slain of the Pilgrims, when thou hast dragged them out of the King's High-way; wherefore come out of thy Cave. So he armed himself and came

out, and to a Battle they went, and fought for above an Hour, and then stood still to take Wind.

SLAYGOOD. *Then said the Giant, why are you here on my Ground?*

GREATH. To revenge the Blood of Pilgrims, as I also told thee before; so they went to it again, and the Giant made Mr. *Great-heart* give back, but he came up again, and in the greatness of his Mind, he let fly with such stoutness at the Giant's Head and Sides, that he made him let his Weapon fall out of his Hand. So he smote him and slew him, and cut off ¹⁰ his Head, and brought it away to the *Inn*. He also took *Feeble-mind* the Pilgrim, and brought him with him to his Lodgings. When they were come home, they shewed his Head to the Family, and then set it up as they had done others before, for a Terror to those that should attempt to do as he, hereafter.

One Feeble-mind rescued from the Giant.

Then they asked Mr. *Feeble-mind* how he fell into his hands?

How Feeble-mind came to be a Pilgrim.

FREELEM. Then said the poor man, I am a sickly man, as you see, and because *Death* did usually once a day *knock at* ²⁰ *my Door*, I thought I should never be well at home. So I betook myself to a Pilgrim's Life; and have travelled hither from the Town of *Uncertain*, where I and my Father were born. I am a man of no strength at all of Body, nor yet of Mind, but would, if I could, tho' I can but *crawl*, spend my Life in the Pilgrim's way. When I came at the Gate that is at the head of the Way, the Lord of that place did entertain me freely. Neither objected he against my weakly Looks, nor against my *Feeble Mind*; but gave me such things that were necessary for my Journey, and bid me hope to the end. ³⁰ When I came to the House of the *Interpreter*, I received much Kindness there, and because the Hill *Difficulty* was judged too hard for me, I was carried up that by one of his Servants. Indeed I have found much Relief from Pilgrims, tho' none was willing to go so softly as I am forced to do. Yet still as they came on, they bid me be of good Cheer, and ¹ *Thos. 5. 14.* said, that it was the will of their Lord that Comfort should be given to the *feeble-minded*, and so went on their *own* pace.

When I was come up to *Assault-Lane*, then this *Giant* met with me, and bid me prepare for an *encounter*; but alas, feeble one that I was, I had more need of a *Cordial*. So he came up and took me; I conceived he should not kill me; also when he had got me into his Den, since I went not with him *willingly*, *Mark this*. I believed I should come out alive again. For I have heard, that not any Pilgrim that is taken Captive by violent Hands, if he keeps Heart-whole towards his Master, is by the Laws of Providence to die by the Hand of the Enemy. *Robbed*, I looked to be, and Robbed to be sure I am; but I am as you see escaped with Life, for the which I thank my King as Author, and you, as the Means. Other Brunts I also look for, but this I have resolved on, to wit, to *run* when I can, to go when I cannot *run*, and to *creep* when I cannot go. *Mark this*. As to the main, I thank him that loves me, I am fixed; my way is before me, my mind is beyond the *River* that has no Bridge, tho' I am, as you see, but of a *feeble Mind*.

HON. Then said old Mr. Honest, Have not you some time ago, been acquainted with one Mr. Fearing, a Pilgrim?

20 FEEBLEM. Acquainted with him; Yes. He came from the *Mr. Fearing*
Town of *Stupidity*, which lieth *four Degrees* to the Northward *Mr. Feeble-*
of the City of *Destruction*, and as many off, of where I was *mind's*
born; Yet we were well acquainted, for indeed he was mine *Uncle*.
Uncle, my Father's Brother; he and I have been much of a
Temper, he was a little shorter than I, but yet we were much
of a Complexion.

HON. I perceive you know him, and I am apt to believe also *Feeble-*
that you were related one to another; for you have his *mind has*
Look, a Cast like his with your Eye, and your Speech is much *some of Mr.*
30 *alike*. *Fearing's*
Features.

FEEBLEM. Most have said so, that have known us both, and besides, what I have read in him, I have for the most part, found in my self.

GAIUS. Come Sir, said good Gaius, be of good Cheer, you are *Gaius Com-*
welcome to me, and to my House; and what thou hast a mind to, *forts him.*
call for freely; and what thou would'st have my Servants do for
thee, they will do it with a ready Mind.

FEEBLEM. Then said Mr. Feeble-mind, This is unexpected *Notice to be*

action of Providence.

Favor, and as the Sun, shining out of a very dark Cloud. Did Giant *Slay-good* intend me this Favor when he stop'd me, and resolved to let me go no further? Did he intend that after he had rifled my Pockets, I should go to *Gaius mine Host*! Yet so it is.

Things how one Not-right was slain with a Thunder-bolt, and Mr. Feeble-mind's Command upon it.

Now, just as Mr. *Feeble-mind* and *Gaius* was thus in talk, there comes one running and called at the Door, and told, That about a Mile and an half off, there was one Mr. *Not-right*, a Pilgrim, struck dead upon the place where he was, with a *Thunder-bolt*.

10

FREEBLEM. Alas! said Mr. *Feeble-mind*, is he slain? He overtook me some days before I came so far as hither, and would be my Company-keeper. He also was with me when *Slay-good* the Giant took me, but he was nimble of his Heels, and escaped. But it seems, he escaped to die, and I was took to live.

*What, one would think, doth seek to slay outright
Ofttimes delivers from the saddest Plight.*

*That very Providence, whose Face is Death,
Doth oft times, to the Lowly, Life bequeath.*

20

I taken was, he did escape and flee,

Hands Cross, gives Death to him, and Life to me.

Now about this time *Matthew* and *Mercy* was Married; also *Gaius* gave his Daughter *Phæbe* to *James*, *Matthew's* Brother, to Wife; after which time, they yet stayed above ten days, at *Gaius's* House, spending their time and the Seasons, like as Pilgrims use to do.

The Pilgrims prepare to go forward.

When they were to depart, *Gaius* made them a Feast, and they did eat and drink, and were merry. Now the Hour was come that they must be gone, wherefore Mr. *Great-beart* 30 called for a Reckoning. But *Gaius* told him that at his House, it was not the Custom for *Pilgrims* to pay for their Entertainment. He boarded them by the year, but looked for his Pay from the good *Samaritan*, who had promised him at his return, whatsoever Charge he was at with them, faithfully to repay him. Then said Mr. *Great-beart* to him.

Luke 10. 35. Now they greet one another at parting. 3 Joh. 6.

GREATH. Beloved, thou dost faithfully, whatsoever thou dost, to the Brethren and to Strangers, which have borne Witness of thy

Charity before the Church, whom if thou (yet) bring forward on their Journey after a Godly sort, thou shalt do well.

Then *Gaius* took his Leave of them all and of his Children, and particularly of *Mr. Feeble-mind*. He also gave him something to drink by the way.

Gaius his last kindness to Feeble-mind.

Now *Mr. Feeble-mind*, when they were going out of the door, made as if he intended to linger. The which, when *Mr. Great-beart* espied, he said, Come, *Mr. Feeble-mind*, Pray do you go along with us, I will be your *Conductor*, and you shall fair as the rest.

Feeble-mind. Alas, I want a suitable Companion, you are all lusty and strong, but I, as you see, am weak. I chuse therefore rather to come behind, lest, by reason of my many Infirmities, I should be both a Burthen to myself and to you. I am, as I said, a man of a weak and feeble Mind, and shall be offended and made weak at that which others can bear. I shall like no Laughing; I shall like no gay Attire, I shall like no unprofitable Questions. Nay, I am so weak a Man, as to be offended with that which others have a liberty to do. I do not yet know all the Truth; I am a very ignorant Christian man; sometimes if I hear some rejoice in the Lord, it troubles me because I cannot do so too. It is with me as it is with a weak Man among the strong, or as with a sick Man among the healthy, or as a Lamp despised, (He that is ready to slip with his Feet, is as a Lamp despised in the Thought of him that is at ease.) So that I know not what to do.

Feeble-mind for going behind.

His Excuse for it.

Greath. But Brother, said *Mr. Great-beart*, I have it in Commission, to comfort the feeble-minded, and to support the weak. You must needs go along with us; we will wait for you, we will lend you our help, we will deny ourselves of some things, both *Opinionative* and *Practical*, for your sake; we will not enter into Doubtful Disputations before you, we will be made all things to you rather than you shall be left behind.

Greath's Commission.

*1 Thes. 5. 15
Rom. 14.
1 Cor. 8.*

A Christian's Spirit.

Chap. 9. 22.

Now, all this while they were at *Gaius's Door*; and behold as they were thus in the heat of their Discourse, *Mr. Ready-to-halt* came by, with his *Crutches* in his hand, and he also was going on Pilgrimage.

*Psalms 98. 17.
Promises.*

Feeble-mind. Then said *Mr. Feeble-mind* to him, Man! How

Feeble-mind comest thou hither? I was but just now complaining that I had
glad to see not a suitable Companion, but thou art according to my wish.
Ready-to- Welcome, welcome, good Mr. Ready-to-halt, I hope thee and I
halt come may be some help.
by.

READY-TO-HALT. I shall be glad of thy Company, said the other; and good Mr. *Feeble-mind*, rather than we will part, since we are thus happily met, I will lend thee one of my Crutches.

FEEBLEM. Nay, said he, tho' I thank thee for thy good Will, I am not inclined to halt afore I am Lame. How be it, I think so when occasion is, it may help me against a Dog.

READYTO. If either myself, or my Crutches can do thee a pleasure, we are both at thy Command, good Mr. *Feeble-mind*.

Thus therefore they went on, Mr. *Greatheart*, and Mr. *Honest* went before, *Christian* and her Children went next, and Mr. *Feeble-mind*, and Mr. *Ready-to-halt* came behind with his Crutches. Then said Mr. *Honest*,

New Talk. HON. Pray Sir, now we are upon the Road, tell us some profitable things of some that have gone on Pilgrimage before us. 20

GREATH. With a good Will. I suppose you have heard how *Christian* of old, did meet with *Apollyon* in the Valley of Humiliation, and also what hard work he had to go thorow the Valley of the Shadow of Death. Also I think you cannot but have heard how *Faithful* was put to it with *Madam Wanton*, with *Adam* the first, with one *Discontent*, and *Shame*; four as deceitful Villains, as a man can meet with upon the Road.

1 part from
 pag. 65 to
 pag 69.

HON. Yes, I have heard of all this; but indeed good *Faithful* was hardest put to it with *Shame*; he was an unwearied one.

GREATH. Ay, for as the Pilgrim well said, He of all men 30 had the wrong Name.

1 part pag.
 70 to 75

HON. But pray Sir where was it that *Christian* and *Faithful* met Talkative? that same was also a notable one.

GREATH. He was a confident Fool, yet many follow his ways.

HON. He had like to a beguiled *Faithful*.

GREATH. Ay, but *Christian* put him into a way quickly to find him out. Thus they went on till they came at the place

where *Evangelist* met with *Christian* and *Faithful*, and prophesied to them of what should befall them at Vanity-Fair. 1 Part pag. 80.

GREATH. Then said their *Guide*, Hereabouts did *Christian* and *Faithful* meet with *Evangelist*, who prophesied to them of what Troubles they should meet with at Vanity-Fair.

HON. *Say you so! I dare say it was a hard Chapter that then he did read unto them?*

GREATH. 'Twas so, but he gave them encouragement withal. But what do we talk of them, they were a couple of Lion-like Men; they had set their Faces like Flint. Don't you remember how undaunted they were when they stood before the Judge? 1 Part pag. 86-92.

HON. *Well Faithful bravely Suffered?*

GREATH. So he did, and as brave things came on't. For *Hopeful* and some others, as the Story relates it, were Converted by his Death.

HON. *Well, but pray go on; for you are well acquainted with things.*

GREATH. Above all that *Christian* met with after he had 20 past thorow Vanity-Fair, one *By-ends* was the arch one. 1 Part pag. 91-92.

HON. *By-Ends; What was he?*

GREATH. A very arch Fellow, a down-right Hypocrite; one that would be Religious, which way ever the World went, but so cunning, that he would be sure neither to lose, nor suffer for it.

He had his *Mode* of Religion for every fresh Occasion, and his Wife was as good at it as he. He would turn and change from Opinion to Opinion; yea, and plead for so doing too. But so far as I could learn, he came to an ill End with his *By-Ends*, nor did I ever hear that any of his Children was ever of 30 any Esteem with any that truly feared God.

Now by this Time, they were come within sight of the Town of *Vanity*, where Vanity-Fair is kept. So when they saw that they were so near the Town, they consulted with one another how they should pass thorow the Town, and some said one thing, and some another. At last Mr. *Great-heart*, said, I have, as you may understand, often been a *Conductor* of Pilgrims thorow this Town. Now I am acquainted They are come within Sight of Vanity.

*They enter
into one Mr.
Mnason's so
Lodge.
Acts vi. 16.*

with one Mr. *Mnason*, a *Cyprian* by Nation, an old Disciple, at whose House we may Lodge. If you think good, said he, we will turn in there?

Content, said Old *Honest*; Content, said *Christiana*; Content, said Mr. *Feeble-mind*; and so they said all. Now you must think it was *Even-tide*, by that they got to the outside of the Town, but Mr. *Great-heart* knew the way to the Old Man's House. So thither they came; and he called at the Door, and the old Man within knew his Tongue so soon as ever he heard it. So he opened, and they all came in. Then ¹⁰ said *Mnason* their Host, How far have ye come to day? so they said, from the House of *Gaius* our Friend. I promise you, said he, you have gone a good stitch, you may well be a weary; sit down. So they sat down.

*They are
glad of
entertain-
ment.*

GREATH. Then said their Guide, Come, what Cheer Sirs, I dare say you are welcome to my Friend.

MNASON. I also, said Mr. *Mnason*, do bid you Welcome; and what ever you want, do but say, and we will do what we can to get it for you.

HON. Our great Want, a while since, was Harbor, and good ²⁰ Company, and now I hope we have both.

MNA. For Harbor you see what it is, but for good Company, that will appear in the Trial.

GREATH. Well, said Mr. Great-heart, will you have the Pilgrims up into their Lodging?

MNA. I will, said Mr. *Mnason*. So he had them to their respective Places; and also shewed them a very fair Dining-Room where they might be and sup together, until time was come to go to Rest.

Now when they were set in their places, and were a little ³⁰ cheery after their Journey, Mr. *Honest* asked his Landlord if there were any store of good People in the Town?

MNA. We have a few, for indeed they are but a few, when compared with them on the other Side.

*They Desire
to see some
of the good
People in the
Town.*

HON. But how shall we do to see some of them? for the Sight of good Men to them that are going on Pilgrimage, is like to the appearing of the Moon and the Stars to them that are sailing upon the Seas.

MNA. Then Mr. *Mnason* stamped with his Foot, and his Daughter *Grace* came up; so he said unto her, *Grace* go you, tell my Friends, Mr. *Contrite*, Mr. *Holy-man*, Mr. *Love-saint*, Mr. *Dare-not-lie*, and Mr. *Penitent*, that I have a Friend or two at my House, that have a mind this Evening to see them.

So *Grace* went to call them, and they came, and after Salutation made, they sat down together at the Table.

Then said Mr. *Mnason*, their Landlord, My Neighbours, I have, as you see, a company of *Strangers* come to my House, they are *Pilgrims*: they come from afar, and are going to Mount *Sien*. But who, quoth he, do you think this is? pointing with his Finger to *Christiana*. It is *Christiana*, the Wife of *Christian*, that famous Pilgrim, who with *Faithful* his Brother were so shamefully handled in our Town. At that they stood amazed, saying, we little thought to see *Christiana*, when *Grace* came to call us, wherefore this is a very comfortable Surprize. Then they asked her of her welfare, and if these young Men were her Husbands Sons. And when she had told them they were; they said, The King whom you love, and serve, make you as your Father, and bring you where he is in Peace.

HON. Then Mr. *Honest* (when they were all sat down) asked Mr. *Contrite* and the rest, in what posture their Town was at present.

*Some talk
between Mr.
Honest and
Contrite.*

CONTRITE. You may be sure we are full of Hurry in Fair time. 'Tis hard keeping our Hearts and Spirits in any good Order, when we are in a cumbred Condition. He that lives in such a place as this is, and that has to do with such as we have, has Need of an Item, to caution him to take heed, every Moment of the Day.

*The Fruit
of Watchful-
ness.*

HON. But how are your Neighbors for quietness?

CONT. They are much more moderate now than formerly. You know how *Christian* and *Faithful* were used at our Town; but of late, I say, they have been far more moderate. I think the Blood of *Faithful* lieth with load upon them till now; for since they burned him, they have been ashamed to burn any more. In those Days we were afraid to walk the Streets,

*Percussion
not so hot at
Vandy-Fair
as formerly.*

but *now* we can shew our Heads. *Then* the Name of a Professor was odious, *now* specially in some parts of our Town (for you know our Town is large) Religion is counted Honourable.

Then said Mr. Contrite to them, Pray how fareth it with you in your Pilgrimage, how stands the Country affected towards you?

HON. It happens to us, as it happeneth to Wayfaring men; sometimes our way is clean, sometimes foul; sometimes up hill, sometimes down hill; we are seldom at a Certainty. 10 The Wind is not always on our Backs, nor is every one a Friend that we meet with in the Way. We have met with some notable Rubs already; and what are yet behind we know not, but for the most part we find it true, that has been talked of of old: *A good Man must suffer Trouble.*

CONT. *You talk of Rubs, what Rubs have you met withal?*

HON. Nay, ask Mr. *Great-heart*, our Guide, for he can give the best Account of that.

GREATH. We have been beset three or four times already: First *Christiana* and her Children were beset with two 20 Ruffians, that they feared would a took away their Lives; We was beset with Giant *Bloody-Man*, Giant *Maul*, and Giant *Slay-good*. Indeed we did rather beset the last, than were beset of him. And thus it was: After we had been some time at the House of *Gaius*, mine Host and of the whole Church, we were minded upon a time to take our Weapons with us, and so go see if we could light upon any of those that were Enemies to Pilgrims; (for we heard that there was a notable one thereabouts.) Now *Gaius* knew his *Hauwt* better than I, because he dwelt thereabout, so we looked and looked, 30 till at last we discerned the Mouth of his Cave; then we were glad and pluck'd up our Spirits. So we approached up to his Den, and lo when we came there, he had dragged by mere force into his Net, this poor man, Mr. *Feeble-mind*, and was about to bring him to his End. But when he saw us, supposing, as we thought, he had had another Prey, he left the poor man in his Hole, and came out. So we fell to it full sore, and he lustily laid about him; but, in conclusion, he was

brought down to the Ground, and his Head cut off, and set up by the Way side for a Terror to such as should after practise such Ungodliness. That I tell you the Truth, here is the man himself to affirm it, who was as a Lamb taken out of the Mouth of the Lion.

FEEBLE. *Then said Mr. Feeble-mind, I found this true to my Cost, and Comfort. To my Cost, when he threatned to pick my Bones every Moment, and to my Comfort, when I saw Mr. Great-heart and his Friends with their Weapons approach so near for*
10 *my Deliverance.*

HOLY-MAN. *Then said Mr. Holy-man, there are two things* Mr. Holy-man's Speech.
that they have need to be possessed with that go on Pilgrimage, Courage, and an unspotted Life. If they have not
Courage, they can never hold on their way; and if their Lives
be loose, they will make the very name of a Pilgrim stink.

LOVES. *Then said Mr. Love-saint; I hope this Cau-* Mr. Love-saint's Speech.
tion is not needful amongst you. But truly there are many
that go upon the Road, that rather declare themselves
Strangers to Pilgrimage, than Strangers and Pilgrims in the
20 *Earth.*

DARENOT. *Then said Mr. Dare-not-lye, 'Tis true; they* Mr. Dare-not-lye his Speech.
neither have the Pilgrim's Weed, nor the Pilgrim's Courage; Speech.
they go not uprightly, but all awry with their Feet; one shoe
goes inward, another outward, and their Hosen out behind;
there a Rag, and there a Rent, to the Disparagement of their
Lord.

PENIT. *These things said Mr. Penitent, they ought to be* Mr. Penitent his Speech.
troubled for, nor are the Pilgrims like to have that Grace
put upon them and their Pilgrim's Progress, as they desire,
30 *until the way is cleared of such Spots and Blemishes.*

Thus they sat talking and spending the time, until Supper was set upon the Table. Unto which they went and refreshed their weary Bodies, so they went to Rest. Now they stayed in this Fair a great while, at the House of this Mr. *Mnason*, who in process of time, gave his Daughter *Grace* unto *Samuel*, *Christiana's* Son, to Wife, and his Daughter *Martba* to *Joseph*.

The time, as I said, that they lay here, was long (for it was

not now as in former times.) Wherefore the *Pilgrims* grew acquainted with many of the good People of the Town, and did them what Service they could. *Mercy*, as she was wont, laboured much for the Poor, wherefore their Bellies and Backs blessed her, and she was there an Ornament to her Profession. And to say the truth for *Grace*, *Phoebe*, and *Martha*, they were all of a very good Nature, and did much good in their place. They were all also of them very Fruitful, so that *Christian's* Name, as was said before, was like to live in the World.

10

A Monster.

While they lay here, there came a *Monster* out of the Woods, and slew many of the People of the Town. It would also carry away their Children, and teach them to suck its Whelps. Now no Man in the Town durst so much as face this *Monster*; but all Men fled when they heard of the noise of his coming.

*Rev. xv. 2.
His Sheeps;
His Nations.*

The *Monster* was like unto no one Beast upon the Earth. Its Body was like a Dragon, and it had seven Heads and ten Horns. It made great havoc of Children, and yet it was governed by a Woman. This *Monster* propounded Conditions 20 to men; and such men as loved their Lives more than their Souls, accepted of those Conditions. So they came under.

Now this Mr. *Great heart*, together with these that came to visit the Pilgrims at Mr. *Mnason's* House, entered into a Covenant to go and engage this Beast, if perhaps they might deliver the People of this Town from the Paw and Mouths of this so devouring a Serpent.

How he is engaged.

Then did Mr. *Great-heart*, Mr. *Contrite*, Mr. *Holy-man*, Mr. *Dare-not-lye*, and Mr. *Penitent*, with their Weapons go forth to meet him. Now the *Monster* at first was very Ram- 30 pant, and looked upon these Enemies with great Disdain; but they so belabored him, being sturdy men at Arms, that they made him make a Retreat; so they came home to Mr. *Mnason's* House again.

The *Monster*, you must know had his certain Seasons to come out in, and to make his Attempts upon the Children of the People of the Town; also these Seasons did these valiant Worthies watch him in, and did still continually

assault him; in so much, that in process of time, he became not only wounded, but lame; also he has not made that havock of the Towns-men's Children, as formerly he has done. And it is verily believed by some, that this Beast will die of his Wounds.

This therefore made Mr. *Great-heart* and his Fellows of great Fame in this Town, so that many of the People that wanted their taste of things, yet had a reverend Esteem and Respect for them. Upon this account therefore it was that
 10 these Pilgrims got not much hurt there. True, there were some of the baser sort that could see no more than a *Mole*, nor understand more than a *Beast*, these had no reverence for these men, nor took they notice of their Valour or Adventures.

Well, the time grew on that the Pilgrims must go on their way, wherefore they prepared for their Journey. They sent for their Friends, they conferred with them, they had some time set apart therein to commit each other to the protection of their Prince. There was again that brought them
 20 of such things as they had, that was fit for the weak and the strong, for the Women and the men; and so *laded* them with Acts xii. 28. such things as was necessary.

Then they set forwards on their way, and their Friends accompanying them so far as was convenient, they again committed each other to the Protection of their King, and parted.

They therefore that were of the Pilgrims' Company went on, and Mr. *Great-heart* went before them. Now the Women and Children being weakly, they were forced to go as they
 30 could bear, by this means Mr. *Ready-to-halt* and Mr. *Feeble-mind* had more to sympathize with their Condition.

When they were gone from the Townsmen, and when their Friends had bid them farewell, they quickly came to the place where *Faithful* was put to Death. There therefore they made a stand, and thanked him that had enabled him to bear his Cross so well, and the rather, because they now found that they had a benefit by such a manly Suffering as his was.

They went on therefore after this a good way further, talking of *Christian* and *Faithful*, and how *Hopeful* joined himself to *Christian* after that *Faithful* was dead.

1 Part pag.
98

Now they were come up with the *Hill Lucrè*, where the *Silver-mine* was, which took *Demas* off from his Pilgrimage, and into which, as some think, *By-ends* fell and perished; wherefore they considered that. But when they were come to the old Monument that stood over against the *Hill Lucrè*, to wit, to the Pillar of Salt that stood also within view of *Sodom*, and its stinking Lake, they marvelled, as did *Christian* 10 before, that men of that Knowledge and ripeness of Wit as they was, should be so blinded as to turn aside here. Only they considered again, that Nature is not affected with the Harms that others have met with, specially if that thing upon which they look has an attracting Virtue upon the foolish Eye.

1 Part pag.
100.

I saw now that they went on till they came at the River that was on this Side of the Delectable Mountains. To the River where the fine Trees grow on both sides, and whose Leaves, if taken inwardly, are good against Surfeits; where 20 the Meadows are green all the year long, and where they might lie down safely.

Part. 17.

By this River-side in the Meadow, there were Cotes and Folds for Sheep, an House built for the *nourishing*, and bringing up of those Lambs, the Babes of those Women that go on Pilgrimage. Also there was here one that was intrusted with them, who could have compassion, and that could gather these Lambs with his Arm, and carry them in his Bosom, and that could gently lead those that were with young. Now to the Care of *this Man*, *Christiana* admonished 30 her four Daughters to commit their little ones; that by these Waters they might be housed, harbored, succoured, and nourished, and that none of them might *be lacking in time to come*. This *man*, if any of them go astray or be lost, he will bring them again, he will also bind up that which was broken, and will strengthen them that are sick. Here they will never want Meat and Drink and Cloathing, here they will be kept from Thieves and Robbers, for this man will die

Heb. 5. 2.
1st. 4th. 11.

Jer. 23. 4.
Ezek. 34.
11-16.

before one of those committed to his Trust shall be lost. Besides, here they shall be sure to have good *Nurture* and *Admonition*, and shall be taught to walk in right Paths, and that you know is a Favour of no small account. Also here, as you see, are delicate *Waters*, pleasant *Meadows*, dainty *Flowers*, Variety of *Trees*, and such as bear *wholsome Fruit*. Fruit, not like that that *Matthew* eat of, that fell over the Wall out of *Beelzebub's* Garden, but Fruit that procureth Health where there is none, and that continueth and in-
 10 creaseth it where it is.

So they were content to commit their little Ones to him; and that which was also an encouragement to them so to do was for that all this was to be at the Charge of the King, and so was as an Hospital to young Children, and *Orphans*.

Now they went on: and when they were come to *By-path* They being come to By-path Stile, *Meadow*, to the Stile over which *Christian* went with his Have a mind to have a Fellow *Hopeful*, when they were taken by *Giant Despair*, and pleach with Giant Despair. put into *Doubting* Castle, they sat down and consulted what
 20 got such a man as *Mr. Great-heart* for their Conductor; 1 Part, pag. 205-209. whether they had not best to make an Attempt upon the Giant, demolish his Castle, and if there were any Pilgrims in it, to set them at liberty before they went any further. So one said one thing, and another said the contrary. One questioned if it was lawful to go upon *unconsecrated* Ground, another said they might, provided their end was good; but *Mr. Great-heart* said, Though that assertion offered last, cannot be universally true, yet I have a Commandment to resist Sin, to overcome Evil, to fight the good Fight of Faith.
 30 And I pray, with whom should I fight this good Fight, if not with *Giant Despair*? I will therefore attempt the taking away of his Life, and the demolishing of *Doubting* Castle. Then said he, who will go with me? Then said old *Honest*, I will, and so John 2. 13, 14. will we too, said *Christian's* four Sons, *Matthew*, *Samuel*, *James*, and *Joseph*, for they were young men and strong.

So they left the Women in the Road, and with them *Mr. Feeble-mind*, and *Mr. Ready-to-halt*, with his Crutches, to be their Guard, until they came back, for in that place tho'

ISA. XL. 6. *Giant-Despair* dwelt so near, they keeping in the Road, a little Child might lead them.

So Mr. *Great-beart*, old *Honest*, and the four young men, went to go up to *Doubting-Castle* to look for *Giant-Despair*. When they came at the Castle Gate they knocked for Entrance with an unusual Noise. At that the old *Giant* comes to the Gate, and *Diffidence* his Wife follows. Then said he, Who, and what is he, that is so hardy, as after this manner to molest the *Giant-Despair*? Mr. *Great-beart* replied, It is I, *Great-beart*, one of the King of the Coelestial Country's Conductors of Pilgrims to their Place. And I demand of thee that thou open thy Gates for my Entrance, prepare thyself also to fight, for I am come to take away thy Head, and to demolish *Doubting Castle*.

Now *Giant-Despair*, because he was a *Giant*, thought no man could overcome him, and again, thought he, since heretofore I have made a Conquest of Angels, shall *Great-beart* make me afraid? So he harnessed himself and went out. He had a Cap of Steel upon his Head, a Breast-plate of Fire girded to him, and he came out in Iron-Shoes, with a great Club in his Hand. Then these six men made up to him, and beset him behind and before; also when *Diffidence*, the *Giantess*, came up to help him, old Mr. *Honest* cut her down at one Blow. Then they fought for their Lives, and *Giant Despair* was brought down to the Ground, but was very loth to die. He struggled hard, and had, as they say, as many Lives as a Cat, but *Great-beart* was his death, for he left him not till he had severed his Head from his shoulders.

Then they fell to demolishing *Doubting-Castle*, and that you know might with ease be done, since *Giant-Despair* was dead. They was seven Days in destroying of that; and in it of Pilgrims they found one Mr. *Dispondency*, almost starved to Death, and one *Much-afraid* his Daughter; these two they saved alive. But it would a made you a wondered to have seen the dead Bodies that lay here and there in the Castle Yard, and how full of dead men's Bones the Dungeon was.

When Mr. *Great-beart* and his Companions had performed this Exploit, they took Mr. *Dispondency*, and his Daughter

Much-afraid into their Protection, for they were honest People, tho' they were Prisoners in *Doubting-Castle* to that Tyrant *Giant Despair*. They therefore I say, took with them the Head of the Giant (for his Body they had buried under a heap of Stones) and down to the Road and to their Companions they came, and shewed them what they had done. Now when *Feeble-mind* and *Ready-to-halt* saw that it was the Head of *Giant-Despair* indeed, they were very jocund and merry. Now *Christiana*, if need was, could play upon the
 10 *Viol*, and her Daughter *Mercy* upon the *Lute*: so, since they were so merry disposed, she plaid them a Lesson, and *Ready-to-halt* would Dance. So he took *Dispondency's* Daughter, They have musick and dancing for her. named *Much-afraid*, by the Hand, and to dancing they went in the Road. True he could not dance without one Crutch in his Hand, but I promise you, he footed it well; also the Girl was to be commended, for she answered the Musick handsomely.

As for Mr. *Dispondency*, the Musick was not much to him; he was for feeding rather than dancing, for that he was almost
 20 starved. So *Christiana* gave him some of her Bottle of Spirits for present Relief, and then prepared him something to eat; and in little time the old Gentleman came to himself, and began to be finely revived.

Now I saw in my Dream, when all these things were finished, Mr. *Great-heart* took the Head of *Giant-Despair*, and set it upon a Pole by the Highway-side¹, right over against the Pillar that *Christian* erected for a *Caution* to Pilgrims that came after, to take heed of entering into his Grounds.

Then he writ under it upon a *Marble-stone*, these Verses
 30 following.

*This is the Head of him, Whose Name only
 In former times, did Pilgrims terrify.
 His Castle's down, and Diffidence his Wife,
 Brave Master Great-heart has bereft of Life.*

*A Monument
 of
 Deliv'rance.*

¹ Tho' *Doubting-Castle* be demolished
 And the Giant despair hath lost his head
 Sin can rebuild the Castle, make't remain,
 And make Despair the Giant live again.

Dispondency, his Daughter Much-afraid,
 Great-heart for them also the Man has plaid.
Who hereof doubts, if he'll but cast his Eye
Up hither, may his Scruples satisfy.
This Head also, when doubting Cripples dance,
Doth shew from Fears they have Deliverance.

When these men had thus bravely shewed themselves against *Doubting Castle*, and had slain *Giant Despair*, they went forward, and went on till they came to the *Delectable Mountains*, where *Christian* and *Hopeful* refreshed themselves 10 with the Varieties of the Place. They also acquainted themselves with the Shepherds there, who welcomed them as they had done *Christian* before, unto the *Delectable Mountains*.

Now the Shepherds seeing so great a train follow Mr. *Great-heart* (for with him they were well acquainted;) they said unto him, Good Sir, you have got a goodly Company here; pray where did you find all these?

Then Mr. *Great-heart* replied,

*The Guide's
 Speech to the
 Shepherds.*

First here's Christiana and her train,
Her Sons, and her Sons' Wives, who like the Wain, 20
Keep by the Pole, and do by Compass steer,
From Sin to Grace, else they had not been here.
Next here's old Honest come on Pilgrimage,
Ready-to-halt too, who, I dare engage,
True hearted is, and so is Feeble-mind,
Who willing was not to be left behind.
Dispondency, good-man, is coming after,
And so also is Much-afraid, his Daughter.
May we have Entertainment here, or must
We further go? let's know whereon to trust? 30

*Their Enter-
 tainment.*

Mat. 23. 40.

Then said the Shepherds, This is a comfortable Company.

You are welcome to us, for we have for the *Feeble*, as for the *Strong*; our Prince has an Eye to what is done to the least of these. Therefore Infirmary must not be a block to our Entertainment. So they had them to the Palace Door, and then said unto them, Come in Mr. *Feeble-mind*, come in Mr. *Ready-to-halt*, come in Mr. *Dispondency*, and Mrs. *Much-afraid* his

Daughter. *These Mr. Great-beart*, said the Shepherds to the Guide, we call in by name, for that they are most subject to draw back; but as for you, and the rest that are *strong*, we leave you to your wonted Liberty. Then said *Mr. Great-beart*, This day I see that Grace doth shine in your Faces, *A Description of false Shepherds. Ezek. 34. 21.* and that you are my Lord's Shepherds indeed; for that you have not *pushed* these Diseased neither with Side nor Shoulder, but have rather strewed their way into the Palace with Flowers, as you should.

10 So the Feeble and Weak went in, and *Mr. Great-beart* and the rest did follow. When they were also set down, the Shepherds said to those of the weakest sort, What is it that you would have? For, said they, all things must be managed here to the supporting of the Weak, as well as the warning of the Unruly.

So they made them a Feast of things easy of Digestion, and that were pleasant to the Palate, and nourishing; the which when they had received, they went to their Rest, each one respectively unto his proper place. When Morning was
20 come, because the mountains were high, and the day clear; and because it was the Custom of the Shepherds to shew to the Pilgrims before their Departure some Rarities; therefore after they were ready, and had refreshed themselves, the Shepherds took them out into the Fields, and shewed them first what they had shewed to *Christian* before.

Then they had them to some new places. The first was to *Mount-Marvel*, where they looked, and beheld a man at a *Mount Marvel.* Distance, *that tumbled the Hills about with Words*. Then they asked the Shepherds what that should mean? So they told
30 him, that that man was the Son of one *Great-grace*, of whom you read in the first part of the Records of the *Pilgrim's Progress*. And he is set there to teach Pilgrims how to believe *11th.* down, or to tumble out of their ways what Difficulties they shall meet with, by Faith. Then said *Mr. Great-beart*, I know him, he is a man above many. *Mark 11. 23.*

Then they had them to another place, called *Mount Innocent*. And there they saw a man clothed all in White; and two men, *Prejudice*, and *Ill-will*, continually casting Dirt upon *Mount Innocent.*

him. Now behold the Dirt, whatsoever they cast at him, would in little time fall off again, and his Garment would look as clear as if no Dirt had been cast thereat.

Then said the Pilgrims what means this? The Shepherds answered, This man is named *Godly-man*, and this Garment is to shew the Innocency of his Life. Now those that throw Dirt at him, are such as hate his *Well-doing*; but as you see the Dirt will not stick upon his Cloaths, so it shall be with him that liveth truly innocently in the World. Whoever they be that would make such men dirty, they labor all in vain; for 10 God, by that a little time is spent, will cause that their *Innocence* shall break forth as the Light, and their Righteousness as the Noon day.

*Mount
Charity.*

Then they took them, and had them to *Mount-Charity*, where they shewed them a man that had a bundle of Cloth lying before him, out of which he cut Coats and Garments for the Poor that stood about him; yet his Bundle or Roll of Cloth was never the less.

Then said they, what should this be? This is, said the Shepherds, to shew you, that he that has a Heart to give 20 of his Labor to the Poor, shall never want where-withal. He that watereth shall be watered himself. And the Cake that the Widow gave to the Prophet, did not cause that she had ever the less in her Barrel.

*The work
of one Fool,
and one
Want-wit.*

They had them also to a place where they saw one *Fool*, and one *Want-wit*, washing of an *Ethiopian* with intention to make him white, but the more they washed him, the blacker he was. They then asked the Shepherds what that should mean. So they told them, saying, Thus shall it be with the vile Person; all means used to get such an one a good Name, 30 shall in conclusion tend but to make him more abominable. Thus it was with the *Pharisees*, and so shall it be with all Hypocrites.

1 Part, pag.
112.
*Mercy has a
mind to see
the hole in
the Hill.*

Then said *Mercy* the Wife of *Matthew*, to *Christiana* her Mother, Mother, I would, if it might be, see the hole in the Hill; or that, commonly called, the *By-way* to Hell. So her Mother brake her mind to the Shepherds. Then they went to the Door. It was in the side of an Hill, and they opened it,

and bid *Mercy* hearken awhile. So she hearkened, and heard one saying, *Cursed be my Father for bolding of my Feet back from the way of Peace and Life*; and another said, *O that I had been torn in pieces before I had, to save my Life, lost my Soul*; and another said, *If I were to live again, how would I deny myself rather than come to this place*. Then there was as if the very Earth had groaned, and quaked under the Feet of this young Woman for fear; so she looked white, and came trembling away, saying, Blessed be he and she that is delivered from this
 10 Place.

Now when the Shepherds had shewed them all these things, then they had them back to the Palace, and entertained them with what the House would afford. But *Mercy*, being a young *Mercy longed and for what.* and breeding Woman, longed for something that she saw there, but was ashamed to ask. Her Mother-in-law then asked her what she ailed, for she looked as one not well. Then said *Mercy*, There is a Looking-glass hangs up in the Dining-room, off of which I cannot take my mind; if therefore I have it not, I think I shall miscarry. Then said her Mother,
 20 I will mention thy Wants to the Shepherds, and they will not deny it thee. But she said, I am ashamed that these men should know that I longed. Nay my Daughter, said she, it is no Shame, but a Virtue, to long for such a thing as that. So *Mercy* said, Then Mother, if you please, ask the Shepherds if they are willing to sell it.

Now the Glass was one of a thousand. It would present a *It was the Word of God.* man, one way, with his own Feature exactly, and turn it but another way, and it would shew one the very Face and Similitude of the Prince of Pilgrims himself. Yea I have talked
 30 with them that can tell, and they have said that they have seen the very Crown of Thorns upon his Head, by looking in that Glass, they have therein also seen the holes in his Hands, in his Feet, and his Side. Yea such an excellency is there in that Glass, that it will shew him to one where they have a mind to see him; whether living or dead, whether in Earth or Heaven, whether in a State of Humiliation or in his Exaltation, whether coming to Suffer, or coming to Reign.

Christiana therefore went to the Shepherds apart. (Now

1 Part, pag.
122. the Names of the Shepherds are *Knowledge, Experience, Watchful,* and *Sincere*) and said unto them, There is one of my Daughters a breeding Woman, that I think doth long for something that she hath seen in this House, and she thinks she shall miscarry if she should by you be denyed.

She doth not
lose her
Longing. EXPERIENCE. Call her, call her, she shall assuredly have what we can help her to. So they called her, and said to her, *Merry*, what is that thing thou wouldst have? Then she blushed and said, The great Glass that hangs up in the Dining-room. So *Sincere* ran and fetched it, and with a joyful Consent it was given her. Then she bowed her Head and gave Thanks, and said, By this I know that I have obtained Favor in your Eyes. 10

They also gave to the other young Women such things as they desired, and to their Husbands great Commendations for that they joined with Mr. *Great-heart* to the slaying of *Giant-Despair*, and the demolishing of *Doubting-Castle*.

How the
Shepherds
adorn the
Pilgrims. About *Christians's* Neck, the Shepherds put a Bracelet, and so they did about the Necks of her four Daughters, also they put Ear-rings in their Ears, and Jewels on their Fore- 20 heads.

1 Part, pag.
123. When they were minded to go hence, they let them go in Peace, but gave not to them those certain Cautions which before was given to *Christian* and his Companion. The Reason was for that these had *Great-heart* to be their Guide, who was one that was well acquainted with things, and so could give them their Cautions more seasonably, to wit, even then when the Danger was nigh the approaching.

1 Part, pag.
124. What Cautions *Christian* and his Companions had received of the Shepherds, they had also lost by that the time was come 30 that they had need to put them in practise. Wherefore here was the Advantage that this Company had over the other.

From hence they went on Singing, and they said,

*Behold, how fitly are the Stages set!
For their Relief that Pilgrims are become;
And how they us receive without one let,
That make the other Life our Mark and Home.*

*What Novelties they have, to us they give,
That we, tho' Pilgrims joyful Lives may Live;
They do upon us too such things bestow,
That shew we Pilgrims are, where'er we go.*

When they were gone from the Shepherds, they quickly came to the place where *Christian* met with one *Turn-away*, 1 Part, pag. 115 that dwelt in the Town of *Apostacy*. Wherefore of him Mr. *Great-heart* their Guide did now put them in mind; saying,
 10 This is the place where *Christian* met with one *Turn-away*, who carried with him the Character of his Rebellion at his Back. And this I have to say concerning this man, He would hearken to no Counsel, but once afalling, perswasion How one Turn-away managed his Apostacy. Heb. 10. 26. 27. 28, 29. could not stop him. When he came to the place where the Cross and the Sepulchre was, he did meet with one that did bid him *look there*; but he gnashed with his Teeth, and stamped, and said, he was resolved to go back to his own Town. Before he came to the Gate, he met with *Evangelist*, who offered to lay Hands on him, to turn him into the way
 20 again. But this *Turn-away* resisted him, and having done much *despite* unto him, he got away over the Wall, and so escaped his Hand.

Then they went on, and just at the place where *Little-faith* formerly was Robbed, there stood a man with his Sword drawn, and his Face all bloody. Then said Mr. *Great-heart* What art thou? The man made Answer, saying, I am one whose Name is *Valiant-for-Truth*. I am a Pilgrim, and am going to the *Cœlestial City*. Now as I was in my way, there was three men did beset me, and propounded unto me these
 30 three things. 1. Whether I would become one of them? 2. Or go back from whence I came? 3. Or die upon the place? To the first I answered, I had been a true Man a long Season, and therefore, it could not be expected that I now should cast in my Lot with Thieves. Then they demanded what I would say to the second. So I told them that the Place from whence I came, had I not found Incommodity there, I had not forsaken it at all, but finding it altogether unsuitable to me, and very unprofitable for me, I

One Valiant-for-Truth beset with Thieves.

Prov. 1. 20, 21, 22, 23 24

forsook it for this Way. Then they asked me what I said to the third. And I told them, my Life cost more dear far, than that I should lightly give it away. Besides, you have nothing to do thus to put things to my Choice; wherefore at your Peril be it, if you meddle. Then these three, to wit, *Wild-head, Inconsiderate, and Pragmatick*, drew upon me, and I also drew upon them.

How he behaved himself, and put them to flight.

So we fell to it, one against three, for the space of above three Hours. They have left upon me, as you see, some of the Marks of their Valour, and have also carried away with them some of mine. They are but just now gone. I suppose they might, as the saying is, hear your Horse dash, and so they betook them to flight.

Great-heart wonders at his Valour.

GREATH. *But here was great Odds, three against one.*

Psalms 57. 3.

VALIANT. 'Tis true, but little and more, are nothing to him that has the Truth on his side. *Though an Host should encamp against me, said one, my Heart shall not fear. Tho' War should rise against me, in this will I be Confident, &c.* Besides, said he, I have read in some Records, that one man has fought an army; and how many did *Sampson* slay with the Jaw-Bone of an Ass? 20

GREATH. *Then said the Guide, Why did you not cry out, that some might a come in for your Succour?*

VALIANT. So I did, to my King, who I knew could hear, and afford invisible Help, and that was sufficient for me.

GREATH. *Then said Great-heart to Mr. Valiant-for-truth, Thou hast worthily behaved thyself; let me see thy Sword.* So he shewed it him.

Isa. 2. 3.

When he had taken it in his Hand, and looked thereon a while, he said, Ha! *It is a right Jerusalem Blade.*

Ephes. 6. 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17. Heb. 4. 12.

VALIANT. It is so. Let a man have one of these Blades, 30 with a Hand to wield it, and skill to use it, and he may venture upon an Angel with it. He need not fear its holding, if he can but tell how to lay on. Its Edges will never blunt. It will cut *Flesh, and Bones, and Soul, and Spirit*, and all.

GREATH. *But you fought a great while, I wonder you was not weary?*

1 Sam. 23. 20.

VALIANT. I fought till my Sword did cleave to my Hand; and when they were joined together, as if a Sword grew out

of my Arm, and when the Blood run thorow my Fingers, then I fought with most Courage. The Word.
The Faith.
Blood.

GREATH. *Thou hast done well. Thou hast resisted unto Blood, striving against Sin. Thou shalt abide by us, come in, and go out with us; for we are thy Companions.*

Then they took him and washed his Wounds, and gave him of what they had, to refresh him, and so they went on together. Now as they went on, because Mr. Great-heart was delighted in him (for he loved one greatly that he found to be a man of his Hands) and because there was with his Company them that was feeble and weak, therefore he questioned with him about many things; as first, *what Country-man he was?*

VALIANT. I am of *Dark-land*, for there I was born, and there my Father and Mother are still.

GREATH. *Dark-land*, said the Guide, *Doth not that lye upon the same Coast with the City of Destruction?*

VALIANT. Yes it doth. Now that which caused me to come on Pilgrimage, was this. We had one Mr. Tell-true came into our parts, and he told it about what *Christian* had done, that went from the City of *Destruction*. Namely, how he had forsaken his *Wife* and *Children*, and had betaken himself to a *Pilgrim's* Life. It was also confidently reported how he had killed a *Serpent* that did come out to resist him in his Journey, and how he got thorow to whither he intended. It was also told what Welcome he had at all his Lord's Lodgings; specially when he came to the Gates of the *Cœlestial* City. For there, said the man, He was received with sound of Trumpet by a company of shining ones. He told it also, how all the Bells in the City did ring for Joy at his Reception, and what Golden Garments he was clothed with; with many other things that now I shall forbear to relate. In a word, that man so told the Story of *Christian* and his Travels, that my Heart fell into a burning haste to be gone after him, nor could Father or Mother stay me, so I got from them, and am come thus far on my Way. How Mr.
Valiant
came to go on
Pilgrimage.

GREATH. *You came in at the Gate, did you not?*

VALIANT. Yes, yes. For the same man also told us, that He begins
right.

all would be nothing, if we did not begin to enter this way at the Gate.

Christian's Name famous,

GREATH. *Look you, said the Guide, to Christiana, The Pilgrimage of your Husband, and what he has gotten thereby, is spread abroad far and near.*

VALIANT. Why, is this Christian's Wife?

GREATH. *Yes, that it is; and these are also her four Sons.*

VALIANT. What! and going on Pilgrimage too?

GREATH. *Yes verily, they are following after.*

He is much rejoiced to see Christian's Wife

VALIANT. It glads me at Heart! Good man! How Joyful will he be, when he shall see them that would not go with him, yet to enter after him in at the Gates into the City?

GREATH. *Without doubt it will be a Comfort to him. For next to the Joy of seeing himself there, it will be a Joy to meet there his Wife and his Children.*

VALIANT. But now you are upon that, pray let me hear your Opinion about it. Some make a Question whether we shall know one another when we are there?

GREATH. *Do they think they shall know themselves then? Or that they shall rejoyce to see themselves in that Bliss? And if they so think they shall know and do these, why not know others, and rejoyce in their Welfare also?*

Again, since Relations are our second self, tho' that State will be dissolved there, yet why may it not be rationally concluded that we shall be more glad to see them there, than to see they are wanting?

VALIANT. Well, I perceive whereabouts you are as to this. Have you any more things to ask me about my beginning to come on Pilgrimage?

GREATH. *Yes. Was your Father and Mother willing that you should become a Pilgrim?*

VALIANT. Oh, no. They used all means imaginable to perswade me to stay at Home.

GREATH. *Why, what could they say against it?*

The great stumbling-Block that by his Friends were laid in his way.

VALIANT. They said it was an idle Life, and if I myself were not inclined to Sloth and Laziness, I would never countenance a Pilgrim's Condition.

GREATH. *And what did they say else?*

· VALIANT. Why, They told me, That it was a dangerous Way; yea the most dangerous Way in the World, said they, is that which the Pilgrims go.

GREATH. *Did they show wherein this way is so dangerous?*

VALIANT. Yes, and that in many Particulars.

GREATH. *Name some of them.*

VALIANT. They told me of the Slough of *Dispond*, where *Christian* was well-nigh smothered. They told me that there were Archers standing ready in *Beelzebub-Castle*, to shoot
 10 them that should knock at the *Wicket-Gate* for Entrance. They told me also of the Wood and dark Mountains, of the Hill *Difficulty*, of the Lions, and also of the three Giants, *Bloody-Man*, *Maul*, and *Slay-good*. They said moreover, that there was a foul *Fiend* haunted the Valley of *Humiliation*, and that *Christian* was, by him, almost bereft of Life. Besides, said they, you must go over the *Valley of the Shadow of Death*, where the *Hobgoblins* are, where the Light is Darkness, where the way is full of Snares, Pits, Traps, and Gins. They told me also of *Giant-Despair*, of *Doubting-Castle*, and of the *Ruins*
 20 that the Pilgrims met with there. Further, they said, I must go over the enchanted Ground, which was dangerous. And that after all this, I should find a River, over which I should find no Bridge, and that that River did lie betwixt me and the *Cœlestial Country*.

GREATH. *And was this all?*

VALIANT. No, they also told me that this way was full of *The Second Deceivers*, and of Persons that laid await there, to turn good men out of the Path.

GREATH. *But how did they make that out?*

30 VALIANT. They told me that Mr. *Worldly-wise-Man* did there lie in wait to deceive. They also said that there was *Formality* and *Hypocrisy* continually on the Road. They said also that *By-ends*, *Talkative*, or *Demas*, would go near to gather me up; that the Flatterer would catch me in his Net; or that with green-headed *Ignorance* I would presume to go on to the Gate, from whence he always was sent back to the Hole that was in the side of the Hill, and made to go the By-way to Hell.

GREATH. *I promise you, this was enough to discourage. But did they make an end here?*

The Third.

VALIANT. No, stay. They told me also of many that had tried that way of old, and that had gone a great way therein, to see if they could find something of the Glory there that so many had so much talked of from time to time; and how they came back again, and befooled themselves for setting a foot out of Doors in that Path, to the Satisfaction of all the Country. And they named several that did so, as *Obstinate* and *Pliable*, *Mistrust*, and *Timorous*, *Turn-away*, and old *Atheist*, with several more; who, they said, had, some of them, gone far to see if they could find, but not one of them found so much Advantage by going as amounted to the weight of a Feather.

GREATH. *Said they any thing more to discourage you?*

The Fourth.

VALIANT. Yes, they told me of one Mr. *Fearing*, who was a Pilgrim, and how he found this way so solitary, that he never had comfortable Hour therein; also that Mr. *Dispondency* had like to been starved therein; yea, and also, which I had almost forgot, that *Christian* himself, about whom there has been such a Noise, after all his Ventures for a Celestial Crown, was certainly drowned in the black River, and never went foot further, however it was smothered up.

GREATH. *And did none of these things discourage you?*

VALIANT. No. They seemed but as so many Nothings to me.

If you be got over those stumbling-Blocks.

GREATH. *How came that about?*

VALIANT. Why, I still believed what Mr. *Tell-true* had said; and that carried me beyond them all.

GREATH. *Then this was your Victory, even your Faith.*

30

VALIANT. It was so. I believed and therefore came out, got into the Way, fought all that set themselves against me, and by believing am come to this Place.

*Who would true Valour see,
Let him come hither;
One here will constant be,
Come Wind, come Weather.*

*There's no Discouragement,
Shall make him once Relent,
His first avow'd Intent,
To be a Pilgrim.*

*Who so beset him round
With dismal Stories,
Do but themselves confound,
His Strength the more is.
No Lion can him fright,
He'll with a Giant Fight,
But he will have a right,
To be a Pilgrim.*

10

*Hobgoblin, nor foul Fiend,
Can daunt his Spirit;
He knows, he at the end,
Shall Life Inherit.
Then Fancies fly away,
He'll fear not what men say,
He'll labor Night and Day,
To be a Pilgrim.*

20

By this time they were got to the *enchanted Ground*, where 125 the Air naturally tended to make one *Drowsy*. And that place was all grown over with Briars and Thorns; excepting *here and there*, where was an *enchanted Arbor*, upon which, if a Man sits, or in which if a man sleeps, 'tis a question, say some, whether ever they shall rise or wake again in this World. Over this Forest therefore they went, both one with another, and Mr. *Great-heart* went before, for that he was the Guide, and Mr. *Valiant-for-truth*, he came behind, being there
30 a Guard, for fear lest peradventure some *Fiend*, or *Dragon*, or *Giant*, or *Thief*, should fall upon their Rear, and so do Mischief. They went on here each man with his Sword drawn in his Hand; for they knew it was a dangerous place. Also they cheered up one another as well as they could. *Feeble-mind*, Mr. *Great-heart* commanded should come up after him, and Mr. *Dispondency* was under the Eye of Mr. *Valiant*.

Now they had not gone far, but a great Mist and a Dark-

ness fell upon them all, so that they could scarce, for a great while, see the one the other. Wherefore they were forced for some time, to feel for one another by Words, for they walked not by Sight.

But any one must think that here was but sorry going for the best of them all, but how much worse for the Women and Children, who both of *Feet* and *Heart* were but tender. Yet so it was, that, thorow the incouraging Words of he that led in the Front, and of him that brought them up behind, they made a pretty good shift to wag along. 10

The Way also was here very wearisome thorow Dirt and Slabbiness. Nor was there on *all* this Ground, so much as one *Inn* or *Victualling-House*, therein to refresh the feebler sort. Here therefore was *grunting*, and *puffing*, and *sighing*: While one tumbleth over a Bush, another sticks fast in the Dirt, and the Children, some of them, lost their Shoes in the Mire. While one crys out, I am down, and another, Ho, where are you? and a third, the Bushes have got such fast hold on me, I think I cannot get away from them.

*An Arbor on
the Inchant-
ing Ground.*

Then they came at an *Arbor*, warm, and promising much so Refreshing to the Pilgrims; for it was finely wrought above-head, beautified with *Greens*, furnished with *Benches* and *Settles*. It also had in it a soft Couch whereon the weary might lean. This, you must think, all things considered, was tempting; for the Pilgrims already began to be foiled with the badness of the way; but there was not one of them that made so much as a motion to stop there. Yea, for ought I could perceive, they continually gave so good heed to the Advice of their Guide, and he did so faithfully tell them of *Dangers*, and of the *Nature* of Dangers when they were at them, that 30 usually when they were nearest to them, they did most pluck up their Spirits, and hearten one another to deny the Flesh. This *Arbor* was called *The slothful's Friend*, on purpose to allure, if it might be, some of the Pilgrims there, to take up their Rest, when weary.

*The Name of
the Arbor.*

*The Way
difficult to
find.*

I saw then in my Dream, that they went on in this their *solitary* Ground, till they came to a place at which a man is apt to lose his Way. Now, tho' when it was light, their Guide

could well enough tell how to miss those ways that led wrong, yet in the dark he was put to a stand. But he had in his Pocket a Map of all ways leading to or from the Cœlestial City; wherefore he strook a Light (for he never goes also without his Tinder-box) and takes a view of his Book or Map, which bids him be careful in that place to turn to the right-hand-way. And had he not here been careful to look in his Map, they had all, in probability, been smothered in the Mud, for just a little before them, and that at the end
 10 of the cleanest Way too, was a Pit, none knows how deep, full of nothing but Mud, there made on purpose to destroy the Pilgrims in.

The Guide has a Map of all ways leading to or from the City.

Then thought I with myself, who that goeth on Pilgrimage, but would have one of these Maps about him, that he may look when he is at a stand, which is the way he must take.

An Arbor and two asleep therein.

They went on then in this enchanted Ground, till they came to where was an other *Arbor*, and it was built by the Highway-side. And in that *Arbor* there lay two men whose Names were *Headless* and *Too-bold*. These two went thus far
 20 on Pilgrimage; but here being wearied with their Journy, they sat down to rest themselves, and so fell fast asleep. When the Pilgrims saw them, they stood still and shook their Heads, for they knew that the Sleepers were in a pitiful Case. Then they consulted what to do, whether to go on and leave them in their Sleep, or to step to them and try to awake them. So they concluded to go to them and wake them; that is, if they could; but with this Caution, namely, to take heed that themselves did not sit down nor embrace the offered Benefit of that *Arbor*.

30 So they went in and spake to the men, and called each by his Name, (for the Guide, it seems, did know them) but there was no Voice nor Answer. Then the Guide did shake them, and do what he could to disturb them. Then said one of them, *I will pay you when I take my Money*. At which the Guide shook his Head. *I will fight so long as I can bold my Sword in my Hand*, said the other. At that, one of the Children laughed.

The Pilgrims try to wake them.

Then said *Christiana*, what is the meaning of this? The
 Their Endeavour is fruitless.

Prov. 23. 34.
23

Guide said, *They talk in their Sleep*. If you strike them, beat them, or what ever else you do to them, they will answer you after this fashion; or as one of them said in old time, when the Waves of the Sea did beat upon him, and he slept as one upon the Mast of a Ship, *When I awake I will seek it again*. You know when men talk in their Sleeps, they say any thing; but their Words are not governed, either by Faith or Reason. There is an *Incoherency* in their Words now, as there was before, betwixt their going on Pilgrimage and sitting down here. This then is the Mischief on't, when *heedless* ones go on Pilgrimage, 'tis twenty to one, but they are served thus. For this *enchanted* Ground is one of the last Refuges that the Enemy to Pilgrims has; wherefore it is as you see, placed almost at the end of the Way, and so it standeth against us with the more Advantage. For when, thinks the Enemy, will these Fools be so desirous to sit down, as when they are weary? and when so like to be weary, as when almost at their Journeys end? Therefore it is, I say, that the *enchanted* Ground is placed so nigh to the Land *Beulah*, and so near the end of their Race. Wherefore let Pilgrims look to themselves, lest it happen to them as it has done to these, that, as you see, are fallen asleep, and none can wake them.

The Light of
the Word.
2 Pet. 1. 19.

Then the Pilgrims desired with trembling to go forward, only they prayed their Guide to strike a Light, that they might go the rest of their way by the help of the light of a Lanthorn. So he strook a light, and they went by the help of that thorow the rest of this way, tho' the Darkness was very great.

The Children
cry for
weariness.

But the Children began to be sorely weary, and they cried out unto him that loveth Pilgrims, to make their way more Comfortable. So by that they had gone a little further, a Wind arose that drove away the Fog, so the Air became more clear.

Yet they were not off (by much) of the *enchanted* Ground; only now they could see one another better, and the way wherein they should walk.

Now when they were almost at the end of this Ground,

they perceived that a little before them, was a solemn Noise, as of one that was much concerned. So they went on and looked before them, and behold, they saw, as they thought, a *Man upon his Knees*, with Hands and Eyes lift up, and speaking, *Standfast upon his Knees in the Enchanted Ground.* as they thought, earnestly to one that was above. They drew nigh, but could not tell what he said; so they went softly till he had done. When he had done, he got up and began to run towards the Cœlestial City. Then Mr. *Great-heart* called after him, saying, Soho, Friend, let us have your Com-
 10 pany, if you go, as I suppose you do, to the Cœlestial City. So the man stopped, and they came up to him. But so soon as Mr. *Honest* saw him, he said, I know this man. Then said Mr. *Valiant-for-truth*, Prithee, who is it? 'Tis one, said he, *The Story of Standfast.* that comes from whereabouts I dwell; his Name is *Stand-fast*, he is certainly a right good Pilgrim.

So they came up one to another and presently *Stand-fast* said to old *Honest*, Ho, Father *Honest*, are you there? Ay, said he, that I am, as sure as you are there. Right glad am I, said Mr. *Stand-fast*, that I have found you on this Road. And as
 20 glad am I, said the other, that I espied you upon your Knees. Then Mr. *Stand-fast* blushed, and said, But why? did you see me? Yes, that I did, quoth the other, and with my Heart was glad at the Sight. Why, what did you think, said *Stand-fast*? Think, said old *Honest*, what should I think? I thought we had an honest Man upon the Road, and therefore should have his Company by and by. If you thought not amiss, how happy am I? But if I be not as I should, I alone must bear it. That is true, said the other. But your fear doth further confirm me that things are right betwixt the Prince of Pil-
 30 grims and your Soul. For he saith, *Blessed is the Man that feareth always.*

VALIANT. Well but Brother, I pray thee tell us what was it that was the cause of thy being upon thy Knees, even now? *They found him at prayer.* Was it for that some special Mercy laid Obligations upon thee, or how?

STAND. Why we are as you see, upon the *enchanted Ground*, *if that it was that fetched him upon his Knees* and as I was coming along, I was musing with myself of what a dangerous Road the Road in this place was, and

how many that had come even thus far on Pilgrimage, had here been stopt, and been destroyed. I thought also of the manner of the Death with which this place destroyeth Men. Those that die here, die of no violent Distemper. The Death which such die, is not grievous to them. For he that goeth away in a *Sleep*, begins that Journey with Desire and Pleasure. Yea such acquiesce in the Will of that Disease.

HON. *Then Mr. Honest Interrupting of him said, did you see the two Men asleep in the Arbor?*

STAND. Ay, Ay, I saw *Heedless*, and *Too-bold* there; and for 10
 Prov 30, 7. ought I know, there they will lye till they Rot. But let me go on in my Tale? As I was thus Musing, as I said, there was one in very pleasant Attire, *but old*, that presented herself unto me, and offered me three things, to wit, her *Body*, her *Purse*, and her *Bed*. Now the Truth is, I was both aweary and sleepy; I am also as poor as a *Howlet*, and that, perhaps, the *Witch* knew. Well, I repulsed her once and twice, but she put by my Repulses, and smiled. Then I began to be angry, but she mattered that nothing at all. Then she made Offers again, and said, If I would be ruled by her, she would 20
 make me great and happy. For, said she, I am the Mistress of the World, and men are made happy by me. Then I asked her Name, and she told me it was *Madam Bubble*. This set me further from her; but she still followed me with Inticements. Then I betook me, as you see, to my Knees, and with Hands lift up and cries, I pray'd to him that had said, he would help. So just as you came up, the Gentlewoman went her way. Then I continued to give thanks for this my great Deliverance; for I verily believe she intended no good, but rather sought to make stop of me 30
 > in my Journey.

*Madam
Bubble, or
this vain
World:*

HON. *Without doubt her Designs were bad. But stay, now you talk of her, methinks I either have seen her, or have read some story of her.*

STANDF. Perhaps you have done both.

HON. *Madam Bubble? Is she not a tall comely Dame, something of a swarthy Complexion?*

STANDF. Right, you hit it, she is just such an one.

HON. *Doth she not speak very smoothly, and give you a Smile at the end of a Sentence?*

STANDF. You fall right upon it again; for these are her very Actions.

HON. *Doth she not wear a great Purse by her Side, and is not her Hand often in it, fingering her Money, as if that was her Heart's delight?*

STANDF. 'Tis just so. Had she stood by all this while, you could not more amply have set her forth before me, nor have
10 better described her Features.

HON. Then he that drew her Picture was a good *Limner*, and he that wrote of her, said true.

GREATH. This Woman is a *Witch*, and it is by Virtue of *The World*, her *Sorceries* that this Ground is *enchanted*. Whoever doth lay their Head down in *her Lap*, had as good lay it down upon that Block over which the Ax doth hang; and whoever lay their Eyes upon her Beauty are counted the Enemies of God. This is she that maintaineth in their
Splendor, all those that are the Enemies of Pilgrims. Yea, ^{Jam. 4. 4.}
20 This is she that has bought off many a man from a Pilgrim's Life. She is a great *Gossiper*, she is always, both she and her Daughters, at one Pilgrim's Heels or other, now commending, and then preferring the excellencies of this Life. She is a bold and impudent Slut; she will talk with any Man. She always laugheth poor Pilgrims to scorn, but highly commends the Rich. If there be one cunning to get Money in a Place, she will speak well of him from House to House. She loveth Banqueting, and Feasting, mainly well, she is always at one full Table or another. She has
30 given it out in some places, that she is a Goddess, and therefore some do Worship her. She has her times and open places of Cheating, and she will say and avow it, that none can shew a Good comparable to hers. She promiseth to dwell with Children's Children, if they will but love and make much of her. She will cast out of her Purse Gold like Dust, in some places, and to some Persons. She loves to be sought after, spoken well of, and to lie in the Bosoms of Men. She is never weary of commending her Com-

modities, and she loves them most that think best of her. She will promise to some Crowns and Kingdoms, if they will but take her Advice; yet many has she brought to the Halter, and ten thousand times more to Hell.

STANDF. *O! said Stand-fast, What a Mercy is it that I did resist her: for whither might she a drawn me?*

GREATH. Whither! Nay, none but God knows whither. But in general to be sure, she would a drawn thee into
 1 Tim. 6. 9. *many foolish and hurtful Lusts, which drown men in Destruction and Perdition.*

'Twas she that set *Absalom* against his Father, and *Jeroboam* against his Master. 'Twas she that persuaded *Judas* to sell his Lord, and that prevailed with *Demas* to forsake the godly Pilgrim's Life. None can tell of the Mischief that she doth. She makes Variance betwixt Rulers and Subjects, betwixt Parents and Children, 'twixt Neighbor and Neighbor, 'twixt a Man and his Wife, 'twixt a Man and himself, 'twixt the Flesh and the Heart.

Wherefore good Master *Stand-fast*, be as your Name is, and when you have done all *stand*.

At this Discourse there was among the Pilgrims a mixture of Joy and Trembling, but at length *they brake out* and Sang.

*What Danger is the Pilgrim in,
 How many are his Foes,
 How many ways there are to Sin,
 No living Mortal knows.
 Some of the Ditch they are, yet can
 Lie tumbling on the Mire.
 Some tho' they shun the Frying-pan,
 Do leap into the Fire.*

1 Part, pag.
 140.

After this I beheld, until they were come unto the Land of *Beulah*, where the Sun shineth Night and Day. Here, because they was weary, they betook themselves a while to Rest. And because this Country was common for Pilgrims, and because the Orchards and Vineyards that were here, belonged to the King of the Coelestial Country, therefore they were licensed to make bold with any of his things.

But a little while soon refreshed them here, for the Bells did so ring, and the Trumpets continually sound so melodiously, that they could not sleep, and yet they received as much refreshing as if they had slept their Sleep never so soundly. Here also all the noise of them that walked the Streets, was, *More Pilgrims are come to Town*. And another would answer, saying, And so many went over the Water, and were let in at the Golden Gates to Day. They would cry again, There is now a Legion of Shining ones, just come to
 10 Town; by which we know that there are more Pilgrims upon the Road, for here they come to wait for them, and to comfort them after all their Sorrow. Then the Pilgrims got up and walked to and fro. But how were their Ears now filled with heavenly Noises, and their Eyes delighted with Cœlestial Visions? In this Land, they *heard* nothing, *saw* nothing, *felt* nothing, *smelt* nothing, *tasted* nothing, that was offensive to their Stomach or Mind; only when they tasted of the Water of the River over which they were to go, they thought that tasted a little Bitterish to the Palate, but it proved sweeter
 20 when 'twas down.

Death bitter to the Flesh, but sweet to the Soul.

In this place there was a Record kept of the Names of them that had been Pilgrims of old, and a History of all the famous Acts that they had done. It was here also much discoursed how the *River* to some had had its *flowings*, and what *ebbings* it has had while others have gone over. It has been in a manner *dry* for some, while it has overflowed its Banks for others.

Death has its Ebbings and Flowings like the Tide.

In this place, the Children of the Town would go into the King's Gardens and gather Nosegays for the Pilgrims, and
 30 bring them to them with much Affection. Here also grew *Campfire* with *Spikenard*, and *Saffron*, *Calamus*, and *Cinnamon*, with all its Trees of *Frankincense*, *Myrrh*, and *Aloes*, with all *chief* Spices. With these the Pilgrims' Chambers were perfumed while they stayed here; and with these were their Bodies anointed to prepare them to go over the *River* when the time appointed was come.

Now while they lay here and waited for the good Hour, *A Messenger of Death sent to Christians.*
 there was a Noise in the Town, that there was a *Post* come

from the Cœlestial City, with Matter of great Importance, to one *Christiana*, the Wife of *Christian* the Pilgrim. So Enquiry was made for her, and the House was found out where she was, so the Post presented her with a Letter. The Contents whereof was, *Hail, Good Woman, I bring thee Tidings that the Master calleth for thee, and expecteth that thou shouldest stand in his Presence, in Cloaths of Immortality, within this ten Days.*

His Message.

When he had read this Letter to her, he gave her therewith a sure Token that he was a true Messenger, and was come to bid her make haste to be gone. The Token was, *An Arrow with a Point sharpened with Love, let easily into her Heart, which by degrees wrought so effectually with her, that at the time appointed she must be gone.*

How well come to Death to them that have nothing to do but to die.

When *Christiana* saw that her time was come, and that she was the first of this Company that was to go over, she called for Mr. *Great-heart* her Guide, and told him how Matters were. So he told her he was heartily glad of the News, and could a been glad had the Post came for him. Then she bid that he should give Advice how all things should be prepared for her Journey.

Her Speech to her Guide.

So he told her, saying, Thus and thus it must be, and we that survive will accompany you to the River-side.

20

Then she called for her Children, and gave them her Blessing, and told them that she yet read with Comfort the Mark that was set in their Foreheads, and was glad to see them with her there, and that they had kept their Garments so white. Lastly, she bequeathed to the Poor that little she had, and commanded her Sons and her Daughters to be ready against the Messenger should come for them.

To her Children.

When she had spoken these Words to her Guide and to her Children, she called for Mr. *Valiant-for-truth*, and said unto him, Sir, you have in all places shewed yourself true-hearted; be faithful unto Death, and my King will give you a Crown of Life. I would also intreat you to have an Eye to my Children, and if at any time you see them faint, speak comfortably to them. For my Daughters, my Sons' Wives, they have been faithful, and a fulfilling of the Promise upon them will be their end. But she gave Mr. *Stand-fast* a Ring.

To Mr. Valiant.

To Mr. Stand-fast.

Then she called for old Mr. *Honest*, and said of him, Behold an Israelite indeed, in whom is no Guile. Then said *he*, I wish you a fair Day when you set out for Mount *Sion*, and shall be glad to see that you go over the River dry-shod. But she answered, Come *Wet*, come *Dry*, I long to be gone. For however the Weather is in my Journey, I shall have time enough when I come there to sit down and rest me, and dry me.

Then came in that good Man Mr. *Ready-to-halt* to see her. To Mr. Ready-to-halt.
 10 So she said to him, Thy Travel hither has been with Difficulty, but that will make thy Rest the sweeter. But watch, and be ready, for at an Hour when you think not, the Messenger may come.

After him, came in Mr. *Dispondency*, and his Daughter *Much-afraid*. To Dispondency and his Daughter. To whom she said, You ought with Thankfulness for ever, to remember your Deliverance from the Hands of Giant *Despair*, and out of *Doubting-Castle*. The effect of that Mercy is that you are brought with Safety hither. Be ye watchful, and cast away Fear. Be sober, and
 20 hope to the End.

Then she said to Mr. *Feeble-Mind*, Thou wast delivered from the Mouth of Giant *Slay-good*, that thou mightest live in the Light of the Living for ever, and see thy King with Comfort. Only I advise thee to repent thee of thy aptness to fear and doubt of his Goodness before he sends for thee, lest thou shouldest when he comes, be forced to stand before him for that Fault with Blushing. To Feeble-mind.

Now the Day drew on that *Christiana* must be gone. So the Road was full of People to see her take her Journey. Her last Day, and manner of Departure.
 30 But behold all the Banks beyond the River were full of Horses and Chariots, which were come down from above to accompany her to the City-Gate. So she came forth and entered the *River*, with a *Beckon* of Farewell, to those that followed her to the River side. The last word she was heard to say here, was, *I come Lord, to be with thee and bless thee.*

So her Children and Friends returned to their Place, for that those that waited for *Christiana* had carried her out of their Sight. So she went, and called, and entered in at the

Gate with all the Ceremonies of Joy that her Husband *Christian* had done before her.

At her Departure her Children wept, but Mr. *Great-heart*, and Mr. *Valiant*, played upon the well-tuned Cymbal and Harp for Joy. So all departed to their respective Places.

In process of time there came a *Post* to the Town again, and his Business was with Mr. *Ready-to-balt*. So he enquired him out and said to him, I am come to thee in the Name of him whom thou hast Loved and Followed, tho' upon *Crutches*. And my Message is to tell thee, that he expects thee at his Table to Sup with him in his Kingdom the next Day after *Easter*. Wherefore prepare thyself for this Journey.

Ready-to-balt Summoned.

Then he also gave him a Token that he was a true Messenger, saying, *I have broken thy golden Bowl, and loosed thy silver Cord.*

Eccles. 12. 6.

After this, Mr. *Ready-to-balt* called for his Fellow Pilgrims, and told them, saying, I am sent for, and God shall surely visit you also. So he desired Mr. *Valiant* to make his *Will*. And because he had nothing to bequeath to them that should survive him but his *Crutches* and his good *Wishes*, therefore thus he said. *These Crutches I bequeath to my Son that shall tread in my Steps, with an hundred warm Wishes that he may prove better than I have done.*

Promises. His Will.

Then he thanked Mr. *Great-heart* for his Conduct and Kindness, and so addressed himself to his Journey. When he came at the brink of the River, he said, Now I shall have no more need of these *Crutches*, since yonder are Chariots and Horses for me to ride on. The last words he was heard to say, was, *Welcome Life*. So he went his way.

His last Words.

After this, Mr. *Feeble-mind* had Tidings brought him, that the *Post* sounded his Horn at his Chamber Door. Then he came in and told him, saying, I am come to tell thee that thy Master has need of thee, and that in very little time thou must behold his Face in Brightness. And take this as

Feeble-mind Summoned.

Eccles. 12. 2. a Token of the Truth of my Message. *Those that look out at the Windows shall be darkened.*

Then Mr. *Feeble-mind* called for his Friends, and told them what Errand had been brought unto him, and what Token he had received of the truth of the Message. Then he said, Since I have nothing to bequeath to any, to what purpose should I make a Will? As for my *feeble Mind*, that I will leave behind me, for that I have no need of that in the place whither I go. Nor is it worth bestowing upon the poorest Pilgrim. Wherefore when I am gone I desire that you, Mr. *Valiant*, would bury it in a Dunghill. This done, and
 10 the Day being come, in which he was to depart, he entered the River as the rest. His last Words were, *Hold out Faith and Patience*. So he went over to the other Side.

*He makes
no Will.*

*His last
Words.*

When Days had many of them passed away, Mr. *Dispondency* was sent for. For a Post was come and brought this Message to him. *Trembling Man*, these are to summon thee to be ready with thy King, by the next Lord's Day, to shout for Joy for thy Deliverance from all thy Doubtings.

*Mr. Dispon-
dency's
Summons.*

And said the Messenger, That my Message is true, take this for a Proof. So he gave him *The Grasshopper to be a Burthen unto him*. Now Mr. *Dispondency's* Daughter, whose Name was *Much-afraid*, said, when she heard what was done, that she would go with her Father. Then Mr. *Dispondency* said to his Friends, Myself and my Daughter, you know what we have been, and how troublesomely we have behaved ourselves in every Company. My will and my Daughter's is, That our *Disponds* and slavish Fears, be by no man ever received, from the day of our *Departure*, for ever. For I know that after my Death they will offer themselves to others. For, to be plain with you, they are
 30 Ghosts, the which we entertained when we first began to be Pilgrims, and could never shake them off after. And they will walk about and seek Entertainment of the Pilgrims; but for our Sakes shut ye the Doors upon them.

*Eccles. 12. 5.
His Daugh-
ter goes too.*

His Will.

When the time was come for them to depart, they went to the Brink of the River. The last Words of Mr. *Dispondency*, were, *Farewell Night, Welcome Day*. His Daughter went thorow the River singing, but none could understand what she said.

*His last
Words.*

Then it came to pass, awhile after, that there was a *Post* in the Town that enquired for Mr. *Honest*. So he came to his House where he was, and delivered to his Hand these Lines, *Thou art Commanded to be ready against this Day seven Night, to present thyself before thy Lord, at his Father's House.* And for a Token that my Message is true, *All thy Daughters of Musick shall be brought low.* Then Mr. *Honest* called for his Friends, and said unto them, I Die, but shall make no Will. As for my Honesty, it shall go with me; let him that comes after be told of this. When the Day that he was to be gone was to come, he addressed himself to go over the *River*. Now the *River* at that time overflowed the Banks in some places. But Mr. *Honest* in his Life time had spoken to one *Good-conscience* to meet him there, the which he also did, and lent him his Hand, and so helped him over. The last Words of Mr. *Honest* were, *Grace Reigns.* So he left the World.

After this, it was noised abroad that Mr. *Valiant-for-truth* was taken with a Summons, by the same *Post* as the other, and had this for a Token that the Summons was true, *That his Pitcher was broken at the Fountain.* When he understood it, he called for his Friends, and told them of it. Then said he, I am going to my Fathers, and tho' with great Difficulty I am got hither, yet now I do not repent me of all the Trouble I have been at to arrive where I am. *My Sword*, I give to him that shall succeed me in my Pilgrimage, and my *Courage* and *Skill*, to him that can get it. *My Marks* and *Scars* I carry with me, to be a Witness for me, that I have fought his Battles who now will be my Rewarder. When the Day that he must go hence, was come, many accompanied him to the River side, into which, as he went, he said, *Death, where is thy Sting?* And as he went down deeper, he said, *Grave, where is thy Victory?* So he passed over, and all the Trumpets sounded for him on the other side.

Then there came forth a Summons for Mr. *Stand-fast*, (This Mr. *Stand-fast*, was he that the rest of the Pilgrims found upon his Knees in the *enchanted* Ground.) For the *Post* brought it him open in his Hands. The Contents

whereof were, *That he must prepare for a Change of Life,*
for his Master was not willing that he should be so far from
him any longer. At this Mr. Stand-fast was put into a Muse.
 Nay, said the Messenger, you need not doubt of the Truth of
 my Message, for here is a Token of the Truth thereof, *Thy* Ecc. 12. 6.
Wheel is broken at the Cistern. Then he called to him Mr. He calls for
Great-heart who was their Guide, and said unto him, Sir, Mr. Great-
 Altho' it was not my hap to be much in your good Company Heart.
 in the Days of my Pilgrimage, yet since the time I knew you, His Speech
 10 you have been profitable to me. When I came from home,
 I left behind me a Wife, and five small Children. Let me
 entreat you, at your Return, (for I know that you will go,
 and return to your Master's House, in Hopes that you may
 yet be a Conductor to more of the Holy Pilgrims,) that you
 send to my Family, and let them be acquainted with all that
 bath and shall happen unto me. Tell them moreover, of my His Errand
 happy Arrival to this Place, and of the present late blessed to his
 Condition that I am in. Tell them also of *Christian* and Family.
Christiana his Wife, and how *She* and her Children came
 20 after her Husband. Tell them also of what a happy End
 she made, and whither she is gone. I have little or nothing
 to send to my Family, except it be Prayers and Tears for
 them. Of which it will suffice, if thou acquaint them, if perad-
 venture they may prevail. When *Mr. Stand-fast* had thus set
 things in order, and the time being come for him to haste him
 away, he also went down to the River. Now there was a great
 Calm at that time in the River, wherefore *Mr. Stand-fast*, when
 he was about half way in, he stood a while and talked to his
 Companions that had waited upon him thither. And he said,

30 This River has been a Terror to many, yea the thoughts of His last
 it also have often frightened me. But now methinks I stand Words.
 easy, my Foot is fixed upon that upon which the Feet of the Jos. 3. 17.
 Priests that bare the Ark of the Covenant stood while *Israel*
 went over this *Jordan*. The Waters indeed are to the
 Palate bitter, and to the Stomach cold, yet the thoughts of
 what I am going to, and of the Conduct that waits for me
 on the other side, doth lie as a glowing Coal at my Heart.

I see myself now at the *end* of my Journey, my *tailsome* Days are ended. I am going now to see *that* Head that was Crowned with Thorns, and *that* Face that was spit upon, for me.

I have formerly lived by Hear-say, and Faith, but now I go where I shall live by sight, and shall be with him, in whose Company I delight myself:

I have loved to hear my Lord spoken of, and wherever I have seen the print of his Shoe in the Earth, there I have coveted to set my Foot too.

His Name has been to me as a *Civet-Box*, yea, sweeter ¹⁰ than all Perfumes. His Voice to me has been most sweet, and his Countenance, I have more desired than they that have most desired the Light of the Sun. His Word I did use to gather for my Food, and for Antidotes against my Faintings. He has held me, and I have kept me from mine Iniquities. Yea, my Steps hath he strengthened in his Way.

Now while he was thus in Discourse, his Countenance changed, his *strong man* bowed under him, and after he had said, *Take me, for I come unto thee*, he ceased to be seen ²⁰ of them.

But Glorious it was, to see how the open Region was filled with Horses and Chariots, with Trumpeters and Pipers, with Singers and Players on stringed Instruments, to welcome the Pilgrims as they went up, and followed one another in at the beautiful Gate of the City.

As for *Christian's* Children, the four Boys that *Christiana* brought with her, with their Wives and Children, I did not stay where I was till they were gone over. Also since I came away, I heard one say, that they were yet alive, and so would be for the Increase of the Church in that Place where they ³⁰ were for a time.

Shall it be my Lot to go that way again I may give those that desire it an Account of what I here am silent about; mean time I bid my Reader *Adieu*.

FINIS.

GRACE ABOUNDING

TO THE

CHIEF OF SINNERS:

OR,

A BRIEF AND FAITHFUL RELATION OF THE EXCEEDING
MERCY OF GOD IN CHRIST TO HIS POOR SERVANT,

JOHN BUNYAN;

WHEREIN IS PARTICULARLY SHOWN THE MANNER OF HIS CONVERSION,
HIS SIGHT AND TROUBLE FOR SIN, HIS DREADFUL TEMPTATIONS,
ALSO HOW HE DESPAIRED OF GOD'S MERCY, AND HOW THE
LORD AT LENGTH THROUGH CHRIST DID DELIVER
HIM FROM ALL THE GUILT AND TERROR THAT
LAY UPON HIM.

Whereunto is added a brief relation of his call to the work of the ministry,
of his temptations therein, as also what he hath met with in prison.

All which was written by his own hand there, and now
published for the support of the weak and
tempted people of God.

*'Come and hear, all ye that fear God, and I will declare what he
hath done for my soul.'—Psal. lxxvi. 16.*

London: Printed by George Larkin, 1666.

A PREFACE,

OR

BRIEF ACCOUNT OF THE PUBLISHING THIS WORK,

Written by the Author thereof, and dedicated to those whom God hath counted him worthy to beget to Faith, by his Ministry in the Word.

Children, grace be with you, Amen. I being taken from you in presence, and so tied up that I cannot perform that duty that from God doth lie upon me to you-ward, for your further edifying and building up in faith and holiness, &c., yet that you may see my soul hath fatherly care and desire after your spiritual and everlasting welfare, I now once again, as before from the top of Shenir and Hermon, so now from the lions' dens, and from Cant. 4. 8. the Mountains of the Leopards, do look yet after you all, greatly longing to see your safe arrival into THE desired haven.

10 *I thank God upon every Remembrance of you; and rejoice, even while I stick between the Teeth of the Lions in the Wilderness, at the Grace, and Mercy, and Knowledge of Christ our Saviour, which God hath bestowed upon you, with abundance of faith and love. Your Hungerings and Thirstings also after further Acquaintance with the Father, in his Son; your Tenderness of Heart, your Trembling at Sin, your sober and holy Deportment also before both God and Men, is great Refreshment to me; For you are 1 Th. 2. 20. my glory and joy.*

I have sent you here enclosed a drop of that Honey, that I have Judg. 14. taken out of the Carcase of a Lion. I have eaten thereof myself⁵² also, and am much refreshed thereby. Temptations, when we meet them at first, are as the Lion that roared upon Samson; but

- if we overcome them, the next time we see them, we shall find a Nest of Honey within them. The Philistines understand me not. It is something a Relation of the Work of God upon my own Soul, even from the very first, till now; wherein you may perceive my Castings down, and Risings up; for he woundeth, and his Hands make whole. It is written in the Scripture, The father to the Children shall make known the Truth of God. Yea, it was for this Reason I lay so long at Sinai, to see the Fire, and the Cloud, and the Darkness, that I might fear the Lord all the days of my Life upon Earth, and tell of his wondrous Works to my Children.*
- Is. 58. 10.
Deut. 4. 10.
Ps. 78. 3-5.
- Moses writ of the Journeyings of the Children of Israel, from Egypt to the Land of Canaan; and commanded also, that they did remember their forty Years' Travel in the wilderness. Thou shalt remember all the way which the Lord thy God led thee these forty years in the wilderness, to humble thee, and to prove thee, to know what was in thine heart, whether thou wouldest keep his commandments, or no. Wherefore this I have endeavoured to do; and not only so, but to publish it also; that, if God will, others may be put in remembrance of what he hath done for their Souls, by reading his Work upon me.*
- Numb. 33. 1.
Deut. 8. 2.
- It is profitable for Christians to be often calling to mind the very Beginnings of Grace with their Souls. It is a night to be much observed unto the Lord for bringing them out from the land of Egypt: this is that night of the Lord to be observed of all the children of Israel in their generations.*
- Ex. 12. 42.
Ps. 42. 6.
- My God, saith David, my soul is cast down within me; therefore will I remember thee from the land of Jordan, and of the Hermonites, from the hill Mizar. He remembered also the Lion and the Bear, when he went to fight with the Giant of Gath.*
- 1 Sam. 17. 36.
37.
- It was Paul's accustomed manner, and that when tried for his life, even to open, before his Judges, the manner of his Conversion: he would think of that Day, and that Hour, in the which he first did meet with Grace; for he found it supported him. When God had brought the children of Israel out of the Red Sea, far into the Wilderness, yet they must turn quite about thither again, to remember the drowning of their Enemies there.*
- Acts 22.
Acts 24.
Numb. 14. 25.

For though they sang his Praise before, yet they soon forgot his Ps. 106.
Works. 11-13.

In this Discourse of mine you may see much; much, I say, of the Grace of God towards me. I thank God I can count it much, for it was above my Sins and Satan's temptations too. I can remember my Fears, and Doubts, and sad Months with Comfort; they are as the bead of Goliab in my Hand. There was nothing to David like Goliab's Sword, even that Sword that should have been beatbed in his Bowels; for the very sight and remembrance
 10 *of that did preach forth God's Deliverance to him. Oh, the Remembrance of my great Sins, of my great Temptations, and of my great Fears of perishing for ever! They bring afresh into my mind the Remembrance of my great Help, my great Support from Heaven, and the great grace that God extended to such a wretch as I.*

My dear children, call to mind the former days, and Tears Ps. 117. 5-12.
of ancient Times: remember also your Songs in the Night; and commune with your own Hearts. Yea, look diligently, and leave no Corner therein unsearched, for there is Treasure hid, even the
 20 *Treasure of your first and second Experience of the Grace of God toward you. Remember, I say, the word that first laid bold upon you; remember your Terrors of Conscience, and Fear of Death and Hell; remember also your Tears and Prayers to God; yea, how you sighed under every Hedge for Mercy. Have you never an Hill Mizax to remember? Have you forgot the Close, the Milk-house, the Stable, the Barn, and the like, where God*
did visit your Souls? Remember also the Word—the Word, I say, upon which the Lord hath caused you to Hope. If you have
 30 *sinned against Light; if you are tempted to Blasphemy; if you are down in Despair; if you think God fights against you; or if Heaven is hid from your Eyes, remember it was thus with your Father; but out of them all the Lord delivered me.*

I could have enlarged much in this my Discourse, of my Temptations and Troubles for Sin; as also of the merciful Kindness and Working of God with my Soul. I could also have stepped into a Style much higher than this in which I have here Discoursed, and could have adorned all things more than here I have seemed to do; but I dare not. God did not

play in convincing of me; the Devil did not play in tempting of me; neither did I play when I sunk as into a bottomless pit, when the pangs of hell caught hold upon me: wherefore I may not play in my relating of them, but be plain and simple, and lay down the thing as it was; } He that liketh it, let him receive it; and he that does not, let him produce a better. Farewell.

My dear children, the Milk and Honey is beyond this Wilderness. God be merciful to you, and grant you be not slothful to go in to possess the land. 10

JO. BUNYAN.



ELSTOW CHURCH.

GRACE ABOUNDING

TO THE

CHIEF OF SINNERS:

OR,

A BRIEF RELATION OF THE EXCEEDING MERCY OF GOD IN
CHRIST TO HIS POOR SERVANT, JOHN BUNYAN.

1. IN this my Relation of the merciful Working of God upon my Soul, it will not be amiss, if, in the first place, I do, in a few Words, give you a Hint of my Pedigree, and manner of bringing up; that thereby the Goodness and Bounty of God towards me may be the more advanced and magnified before the Sons of Men.

2. For my Descent then, it was, as is well known by many, of a low and inconsiderable Generation; my Father's House being of that Rank that is meanest and most despised of
10 all the Families in the Land. Wherefore I have not here, as others, to boast of noble Blood or of a high-born State according to the Flesh; though, all things considered, I magnify the heavenly Majesty, for that by this door he brought me into this world, to partake of the Grace and Life that is in Christ by the Gospel.

3. But yet, notwithstanding the meanness and inconsiderableness of my Parents, it pleased God to put it into their Hearts to put me to School, to learn both to read and

write; the which I also attained, according to the Rate of other poor Men's Children; though to my shame I confess I did soon lose that little I learnt, even almost utterly, and that long before the Lord did work his gracious Work of Conversion upon my Soul.

4. As for my own natural life, for the time that I was without *God* in the world, it was indeed *according to the Course of this World, and the Spirit that now worketh in the Children of disobedience*. It was my delight to be taken captive by the Devil *at his will*, being filled with all Unrighteousness: the 10 which did also so strongly work and put forth itself, both in my Heart and Life, and that from a Child, that I had but few Equals (especially considering my years, which were tender, being few,) both for cursing, swearing, lying, and blaspheming the holy Name of *God*.

5. Yea, so settled and rooted was I in these things, that they became as a second Nature to me. The which, as I also have with soberness considered since, did so offend the Lord, that even in my Childhood he did scare and affright me with fearful Dreams, and did terrify me with dreadful Visions. 20 For often after I had spent this and the other day in sin I have in my Bed been greatly afflicted, while asleep, with the apprehensions of Devils and wicked Spirits, who still, as I then thought, laboured to draw me away with them, of which I could never be rid.

6. Also I should, at these years, be greatly afflicted and troubled with the thoughts of the Day of Judgment, and that both night and day, and should tremble at the thoughts of the fearful Torments of Hell fire; still fearing that it would be my Lot to be found at last among those Devils and hellish 30 Fiends, who are there bound down with the Chains and Bonds of Darkness, unto the judgment of the great day.

7. These things, I say, when I was but a Child, but nine or ten years old, did so distress my Soul, that then in the midst of my many Sports and Childish Vanities, amidst my vain Companions, I was often much cast down and afflicted in my Mind therewith, yet could I not let go my Sins. Yea, I was also then so overcome with despair of life and heaven,

that I should often wish either that there had been no Hell, or *that I had been a Devil*—supposing they were only Tormentors; that if it must needs be that I went thither, I might be rather a Tormentor, than be tormented myself.

8. A while after these terrible dreams did leave me, which also I soon forgot; for my pleasures did quickly cut off the remembrance of them, as if they had never been. Wherefore, with more greediness, according to the strength of nature, I did still let loose the Reins to my lust, and delighted in all
 10 Transgression against the Law of God: so that, until I came to the State of Marriage, I was the very Ringleader of all the Youth that kept me company, in all manner of vice and ungodliness.

9. Yea, such prevalency had the Lusts and Fruits of the Flesh in this poor Soul of mine, that, had not a Miracle of precious Grace prevented, I had not only perished by the Stroke of eternal Justice, but had also laid myself open even to the Stroke of those Laws, which bring some to Disgrace and open Shame before the Face of the World.

20 10. In these days, the thoughts of Religion were very grievous to me. I could neither endure it myself, nor that any other should. So that when I have seen some read in those Books that concerned Christian Piety it would be as it were a prison to me. *Then I said unto God, Depart from me,* Job 22. 24. *for I desire not the knowledge of thy ways.* I was now void of all good Consideration; Heaven and Hell were both out of sight and mind; and as for Saving and Damning, they were least in my thoughts. *O Lord, thou knowest my life, and my ways were not hid from thee.*

30 11. Yet this I well remember, that though I could myself sin with the greatest Delight and Ease, and also take pleasure in the Vileness of my Companions; yet, even then, if I have at any time seen wicked things by those who professed goodness, it would make my Spirit tremble. As once, above all the rest, when I was in my heighth of Vanity, yet hearing one to swear that was reckoned for a religious Man, it had so great a stroke upon my Spirit, that it made my heart to ake.

12. But God did not utterly leave me, but followed me still, not now with Convictions, but Judgments; yet such as were mixed with Mercy. For once I fell into a Creek of the Sea, and hardly escaped drowning. Another time I fell out of a boat into *Bedford* river, but Mercy yet preserved me alive. Besides, another time, being in the Field with one of my Companions, it chanced that an Adder passed over the Highway; so I, having a stick in my Hand, struck her over the Back, and having stunned her, I forced open her Mouth with my Stick, and plucked her Sting out with my 10 Fingers; by which act, had not God been merciful unto me, I might, by my desperateness, have brought myself to mine End.

13. This also have I taken notice of with thanksgiving. When I was a Soldier, I, with others, were drawn out to go to such a place to besiege it; but when I was just ready to go, one of the Company desired to go in my Room; to which when I had consented, he took my Place; and coming to the Siege, as he stood Sentinel, he was shot into the head with a Musket bullet, and died. 20

✓ 14. Here, as I said, were Judgments and Mercy, but neither of them did awaken my Soul to Righteousness; wherefore I sinned still, and grew more and more Rebellious against God, and careless of mine own Salvation.

15. Presently after this, I changed my Condition into a married State, and my Mercy was to light upon a Wife whose Father was counted godly. This Woman and I, though we came together as poor as poor might be (not having so much household stuff as a Dish or Spoon betwixt us both,) yet this she had for her part, *The Plain Man's Pathway* 30 *to Heaven*, and *The Practice of Piety*, which her Father had left her when he died. In these two Books I should sometimes read with her, wherein I also found some things that were somewhat pleasing to me; (but all this while I met with no Conviction.) She also would be often telling of me, *what a godly Man her Father was, and how he would reprove and correct Vice, both in his House, and amongst his Neighbours; what*

a strict and holy life be lived in his Days both in Word and Deed.

16. Wherefore these Books with this relation, though they did not reach my Heart to awaken it about my sad and sinful State, yet they did beget within me some desires to Religion : so that, because I knew no better, I fell in very eagerly with the Religion of the times; to wit, to go to Church twice a day, and that too with the foremost; and there should very devoutly both say and sing as others did, yet retaining my
10 wicked Life. But withal, I was so overrun with the spirit of superstition, that I adored, and that with great devotion, even all things (both the High place, Priest, Clerk, Vestment, Service, and what else) belonging to the Church; counting all things holy that were therein contained, and especially the Priest and Clerk most happy, and without doubt, greatly blessed, because they were the Servants, as I then thought, of God, and were Principal in the holy Temple, to do his Work therein.

17. This Conceit grew so strong in little time upon my
20 Spirit, that had I but seen a priest (though never so sordid and debauched in his Life) I should find my Spirit fall under him, reverence him and knit unto him. Yea, I thought for the Love I did bear unto them (supposing they were the Ministers of God,) I could have lain down at their feet, and have been trampled upon by them; their Name, their Garb, and Work, did so intoxicate and bewitch me.

18. After I had been thus for some considerable time, another Thought came into my mind; and that was, whether we were of the *Israelites*, or no? For finding in the Scriptures
30 that they were once the peculiar People of God, thought I, if I were once of this Race, my Soul must needs be happy. Now again, I found within me a great longing to be resolved about this Question, but could not tell how I should. At last I asked my Father of it; who told me—*No, we were not*. Wherefore then I fell in my Spirit as to the hopes of that and so remained.

19. But all this while, I was not sensible of the danger and evil of sin. I was kept from considering that sin would damn

me, what Religion soever I followed, unless I was found in Christ. Nay, I never thought of him, nor whether there was
 Eccl. 10. 15. one, or no. *Thus man, while blind, doth wander, but wearieeth himself with vanity, for he knoweth not the way to the city of God.*

→ 20. But one day, amongst all the Sermons our Parson made, his Subject was, to treat of the Sabbath-day, and of the Evil of breaking that, either with Labour, Sports, or otherwise. Now I was, notwithstanding my Religion, one that took much delight in all manner of Vice, and especially 10 that was the day that I did solace myself therewith. Wherefore I fell in my Conscience under his Sermon, thinking and believing that he made that Sermon on purpose to show me my evil doing. And at that time I felt what guilt was, though never before, that I can remember. But then I was, for the present, greatly loaden therewith, and so went home when the Sermon was ended, with a great burden upon my Spirit.

21. This, for that instant, did benumb the Sinews of my best Delights, and did imbitter my former Pleasures to me. But behold, it lasted not, for before I had well dined, the Trouble 20 began to go off my Mind, and my Heart returned to its old Course. But oh! how glad was I, that this Trouble was gone from me, and that the Fire was put out, that I might sin again without control! Wherefore, when I had satisfied Nature with my Food, I shook the Sermon out of my Mind, and to my old Custom of Sports and Gaming I returned with great Delight.

22. But the same day, as I was in the midst of a game at Cat, and having struck it one blow from the Hole, just as I was about to strike it the second time, a Voice did suddenly 30 dart from Heaven into my Soul, which said, Wilt thou leave thy sins and go to Heaven, or have thy sins and go to Hell? At this I was put to an exceeding Maze. Wherefore, leaving my Cat upon the ground, I looked up to Heaven, and was as if I had, with the Eyes of my understanding, seen the Lord Jesus looking down upon me, as being very hotly displeased with me, and as if he did severely threaten me with some grievous Punishment for these and other my ungodly Practices.

23. I had no sooner thus conceived in my Mind, but suddenly this conclusion was fastened on my Spirit, (for the former hint did set my sins again before my Face,) *that I had been a great and grievous sinner, and that it was now too late for me to look after Heaven; for Christ would not forgive me, nor pardon my transgressions.* Then I fell to musing upon this also. And while I was thinking on it and fearing lest it should be so, I felt my Heart sink in despair, concluding it was too late; and therefore I resolved in my Mind I would go on in
 10 sin. For, thought I, if the case be thus, my State is surely miserable. Miserable if I leave my sins, and but miserable if I follow them. I can but be damned, and if I must be so, I had as good be damned for many sins as be damned for few.

24. Thus I stood in the midst of my Play, before all that then were present; but yet I told them nothing. But I say, I having made this conclusion, I returned desperately to my sport again; and I well remember, that presently this kind of Despair did so possess my Soul, that I was persuaded, I could never attain to other Comfort than what I should get in sin;
 20 for Heaven was gone already, so that on that I must not think. Wherefore I found within me a great desire to take my fill of sin, still studying what sin was yet to be committed, that I might taste the sweetness of it. And I made as much haste as I could to fill my Belly with its Delicates, lest I should die before I had my Desire; for that I feared greatly. In these things, *I protest before God, I lie not*, neither do I feign this sort of Speech. These were really, strongly, and with all my heart, my desires. *The good Lord, whose mercy is unsearchable, forgive me my transgressions.*

30 25. And I am very confident, that this Temptation of the Devil is more usual amongst poor Creatures than many are aware of, even to overrun their Spirits with a scurfy and seared frame of Heart, and benumbing of Conscience; which Frame, he stilly and sllily supplieth with such despair, that though not much guilt attendeth Souls, yet they continually have a secret conclusion within them, that there is no hopes for them; *for they have loved sins, therefore after them they*
will go. [cor. 2. 25;
12. 12.]

26. Now therefore I went on in sin with great greediness of Mind, still grudging that I could not be so satisfied with it as I would. This did continue with me about a Month, or more. But one day, as I was standing at a Neighbour's Shop-window, and there cursing and swearing, and playing the Madman, after my wonted manner, there sat within the Woman of the House and heard me; who, though she was a very loose and ungodly Wretch, yet protested that I swore and cursed at that most fearful Rate, that she was made to tremble to hear me; and told me further, *That I was the un-¹⁰godliest fellow for swearing that ever she heard in all her Life; and that I, by thus doing, was able to spoil all the Youth in a whole Town, if they came but in my Company.*

27. At this reproof I was silenced, and put to secret shame, and that too, as I thought, before the God of Heaven. Wherefore, while I stood there, and hanging down my Head, I wished with all my Heart that I might be a little child again, that my Father might learn me to speak without this wicked way of swearing; for, thought I, I am so accustomed to it, that it is in vain for me to think of a reformation; for I ¹⁰thought it could never be.

28. But, how it came to pass I know not, I did from this time forward so leave my swearing, that it was a great wonder to myself to observe it. And whereas before I knew not how to speak unless I put an Oath before, and another behind, to make my words have authority; now, I could, without it, speak better and with more *pleasantness*, than ever I could before. All this while I knew not *Jesus Christ*, neither did I leave my *Sports* and *Plays*.

29. But quickly after this, I fell in company with one poor ³⁰man that made profession of *Religion*; who, as I then thought, did talk pleasantly of the Scriptures, and of the matters of *Religion*. Wherefore, falling into some love and liking to what he said, I betook me to my Bible, and began to take great pleasure in reading; but especially with the historical part thereof. For, as for *Paul's* epistles, and suchlike Scriptures, I could not away with them, being as yet but ignorant,

either of the Corruptions of my Nature, or of the want and worth of *Jesus Christ* to save me.

30. Wherefore I fell to some outward Reformation, both in my words and life, and did set the Commandments before me for my way to Heaven; which Commandments I also did strive to keep, and, as I thought, did keep them pretty well *sometimes*, and then I should have *comfort*; yet now and then should break one, and so afflict my *Conscience*; but then I should repent, and say I was sorry for it, and promise God to do better next time, and there get help again, for then I thought I pleased God as well as any man in *England*.

31. Thus I continued about a year; all which time our Neighbours did take me to be a very godly Man, a new and religious man, and did marvel much to see such a great and famous alteration in my Life and Manners. And, indeed, so it was, though yet I knew not Christ, nor Grace, nor Faith, nor Hope. And, truly, as I have well seen since, had I then died, my state had been most fearful. Well, this, I say, continued about a twelvemonth or more.

32. But, I say, my Neighbours were amazed at this my great Conversion from prodigious Profaneness to something like a moral Life. And, truly, so they well might; for this my Conversion was as great, as for *Tom of Betblem* to become a sober Man. Now, therefore, they began to praise, to commend, and to speak well of me, both to my face, and behind my back. Now, I was, *as they said*, become godly; now, I was become a right *honest man*. But, oh! when I understood that these were their *words* and *opinions* of me, it pleased me mighty well. For though, as yet, I was *nothing* but a poor painted Hypocrite, yet I loved to be talked of as one that was truly godly. I was proud of my Godliness, and, indeed, I did all I did, either to be seen of, or to be well spoken of, by Man. And thus I continued for about a Twelve Month or more.

33. Now, you must know, that before this I had taken much delight in Ringing, but my *Conscience* beginning to be tender, I thought such *practice* was but vain, and therefore forced myself to leave it, yet my mind hankered. Wherefore

I should go to the Steeple house, and look on it, though I durst not ring. But I thought this did not become *Religion* neither, yet I forced myself, and would look on still. But quickly after, I began to think, *How, if one of the Bells should fall?* Then I chose to stand under a main Beam, that lay overthwart the Steeple, from side to side, thinking there I might stand sure. But then I should think again, Should the Bell fall with a swing, it might first hit the wall, and then rebounding upon me, might kill me for all this Beam. This made me stand in the Steeple door; and now, thought I, ¹⁰ I am safe enough; for, if a Bell should then fall I can slip out behind these thick Walls, and so be preserved notwithstanding.

34. So after this, I would yet go to see *them ring*, but would not go further than the Steeple-door; but then it came into my Head, *How, if the Steeple itself should fall?* And this *thought*, It may fall for ought I know, when I stood and looked on did continually so shake my *mind* that I durst not stand at the *Steeple-door* any longer, but was forced to flee, for fear the *Steeple* should fall upon my head. ²⁰

35. Another thing was my Dancing. I was a full year before I could quite leave that. But all this while, when I thought I kept this or that Commandment, or did, by word or deed, anything that I thought was good, I had great Peace in my *Conscience*; and should think with myself, God cannot choose but be now pleased with me; yea, to relate it in mine own way, I thought no man in *England* could please God better than I.

36. But poor Wretch as I was, I was all this while ignorant of Jesus Christ, and going about to establish my own ³⁰ *Righteousness*; and had perished therein, had not God, in mercy, showed me more of my State by nature.

37. But upon a day the good providence of God did cast me to *Bedford*, to work on my Calling; and in one of the Streets of that *Town*, I came where there were three or four poor *Women* sitting at a door in the Sun, and talking about the things of God; and being now willing to hear them discourse I drew near to hear what they said, for I was now a brisk

Talker also myself in the matters of Religion. But I may say, *I heard, but I understood not*; for they were far above, out of my reach. Their talk was about a new Birth, the work of God on their hearts, also how they were convinced of their miserable state by nature. They talked how God had visited their souls with his love in the *Lord Jesus*, and with what words and promises they had been refreshed, comforted, and supported against the temptations of the Devil. Moreover they reasoned of the Suggestions and Temptations of
 10 Satan in particular; and told to each other by which they had been afflicted, and how they were borne up under his assaults. They also discoursed of their own wretchedness of heart, of their Unbelief; and did condemn, slight, and abhor their own Righteousness, as filthy and insufficient to do them any good.

38. And methought they spake as if Joy did make them speak; they spake with such pleasantness of Scripture Language, and with such appearance of grace in all they said, that they were to me, as if they had found a new World, as
 20 if they were people that dwell alone, and were not to be reckoned Numb. 23.
amongst their Neighbours.

39. At this I felt my own Heart began to shake, and mistrust my *Condition* to be naught; for I saw that in all my thoughts about Religion and Salvation, the new Birth did never enter into my Mind, neither knew I the Comfort of the
 Word and Promise, nor the Deceitfulness and Treachery of my own wicked Heart. As for secret Thoughts, I took no notice of them; neither did I understand what Satan's Temptations were, nor how they were to be withstood and re-
 30 sisted, &c.

40. Thus, therefore, when I had heard and considered what they said, I left them, and went about my employment again, but their Talk and Discourse went with me; also my heart would tarry with them, for I was greatly affected with their words, both because by them I was convinced that I wanted the true Tokens of a truly godly Man, and also because by them I was convinced of the happy and blessed Condition of him that was such an one.

41. Therefore I should often make it my business to be going again and again into the Company of these poor People; for I could not stay away. And the more I went amongst them, the more I did question my Condition; and as I still do remember, presently I found two things within me at which I did sometimes marvel (especially considering what a blind, ignorant, sordid, and ungodly Wretch but just before I was); the one was a very great softness and tenderness of Heart, which caused me to fall under the Conviction of what by Scripture they asserted; and the other was a great Bending in my Mind to a continual meditating on them, and on all other good things which at any time I heard or read of.

42. By these things my Mind was now so turned that it lay like a Horse-leech at the Vein, still crying out, *Give, give*; yea, it was so fixed on Eternity, and on the things about the Kingdom of Heaven (that is, so far as I knew, though as yet, God knows, I knew but little); that neither Pleasures, nor Profits, nor Persuasions, nor Threats, could loosen it, or make it let go his Hold. And though I may speak it with shame, yet it is in very deed a certain Truth, it would then have been as difficult for me to have taken my mind from Heaven to Earth, as I have found it often since to get it again from Earth to Heaven.

43. One thing I may not omit. There was a *young man* in our town, to whom my Heart before was knit more than to any other, but he being a most wicked *Creature* for cursing and swearing and whoring, I now shook him off and forsook his Company; but about a quarter of a year after I had left him, I met him in a certain lane, and asked him how he did; he, after his old swearing and mad way, answered, He was well. But, Harry, said I, *Why do you swear and curse thus? What will become of you, if you die in this condition?* He answered me in a great chafe, *What would the Devil do for Company, if it were not for such as I am?*

44. About this time I met with some *Ranters' Books*, that were put forth by some of our *Countrymen*, which *Books* were also highly in esteem by several old *Professors*; some of these I read, but was not able to make a Judgment about them.

Wherefore as I read in them, and thought upon them (feeling myself unable to judge), I should betake myself to hearty prayer in this manner: *O Lord, I am a fool, and not able to know the Truth from Error. Lord, leave me not to my own Blindness, either to approve of, or condemn this Doctrine. If it be of God, let me not despise it; if it be of the Devil, let me not embrace it. Lord, I lay my Soul, in this matter, only at thy foot; let me not be deceived, I humbly beseech thee.* I had one religious intimate Companion all this while, and that was the poor Man 10 that I spoke of before. But about this time he also turned a most devilish *Ranter*, and gave himself up to all manner of filthiness, especially Uncleaness. He would also deny that there was a God, Angel, or Spirit; and would laugh at all exhortations to sobriety. When I laboured to rebuke his wickedness, he would laugh the more, and pretend that he had gone through all Religions, and could never light on the right till now. He told me also, that in a little time I should see all Professors turn to the ways of the *Ranters*. Wherefore, abominating those cursed Principles, I left his Company 20 forthwith, and became to him as great a Stranger, as I had been before a Familiar.

45. Neither was this man only a *temptation to me*; but my *Calling* lying in the country, I happened to light into several People's Company, who, though strict in Religion formerly, yet were also swept away by these *Ranters*. These would also talk with me of their Ways, and condemn me as legal and dark; pretending that they only had attained to perfection that could do what they would, and not sin. Oh! These *Temptations* were suitable to my Flesh, I being but a young 30 Man, and my *Nature* in its prime. But God, who had, as I hope, designed me for better things, kept me in the fear of his *name*, and did not suffer me to accept of such cursed Principles. And blessed be God, who put it into my *heart* to cry to him to be kept and directed, still distrusting mine own *wisdom*; for I have since seen even the effect of that Prayer, in his preserving me not only from *Ranting* errors, but from those also that have sprung up since. The Bible was precious to me in those days.

46. And now, methought, I began to look into the *Bible* with new eyes, and read as I never did before; and especially the Epistles of the Apostle St. Paul were sweet and pleasant to me; and, indeed, I was then never out of the *Bible*, either by reading or meditation; still crying out to God, that I might know the truth, and way to Heaven and Glory.

47. And as I went on and read, I lighted on that passage, *1 Cor. 12. 8, 9*
 'To one is given by the Spirit the word of wisdom; to another the word of knowledge by the same Spirit; and to another faith,' &c. And though, as I have since seen, that by this Scripture the Holy Ghost intends, in special, things extraordinary, yet on me it did then fasten with conviction, that I did want things ordinary, even that understanding and wisdom that other Christians had. On this word I mused, and could not tell what to do, especially this word *Faith* put me to it, for I could not help it, but sometimes must question, whether I had any Faith or no. For I feared that it shut me out of all the blessings that other good people had given them of God. But I was loth to conclude I had no Faith; for if I do so, thought I, then I shall count myself a very Cast-away indeed. 20

48. No, said I with myself, though I am convinced that I am an ignorant *Sot*, and that I want those blessed *Gifts of Knowledge and Understanding* that other good People have; yet, at a venture, I will conclude I am not altogether faithless, though I know not what Faith is. For it was shewed me, and that too (as I have seen since), by *Satan*, that those who conclude themselves in a *faithless State*, have neither rest nor quiet in their Souls; and I was loth to fall quite into despair.

49. Wherefore, by this suggestion, I was for a while made afraid to see my want of Faith. But God would not suffer me thus to undo and destroy my Soul, but did continually, against this my blind and sad *Conclusion*, create still within me such suppositions, insomuch that I could not rest content, until I did now come to some certain Knowledge, whether I had Faith or no; this always running in my mind, *But how if you want faith indeed? But how can you tell you have Faith?* And, besides, I saw for certain, if I had it not, I was sure to perish for ever.

50. So that though I endeavoured at the first to look over the business of *Faith*, yet in a little time, I better considering the matter, was willing to put myself upon the trial, whether I had Faith or no. But, alas, poor wretch, so ignorant and brutish was I, that I knew to this day no more how to do it, than I know how to begin and accomplish that rare and curious piece of Art, which I never yet saw nor considered.

51. Wherefore, while I was thus considering, and being put to my plunge about it (for you must know, that as yet 10 I had in this matter broken my Mind to no Man, only did hear and consider), the Tempter came in with his delusion. That there was no way for me to know I had faith, but by trying to work some Miracle; urging those *Scriptures* that seem to look that way, for the enforcing and strengthening his Temptation. Nay, one day as I was betwixt *Elstow* and *Bedford*, the temptation was hot upon me, to try if I had Faith, by doing of some *Miracle*: which *Miracle* at that time was this, I must say to the *Puddles* that were in the horse-pads, *Be dry*; and to the *dry places*, *Be you the Puddles.* And truly, one time I was 20 going to say so indeed; but just as I was about to speak, this thought came into my mind, *But go under yonder Hedge and pray first, that God would make you able.* But when I had concluded to pray, this came hot upon me, That if I prayed, and came again and tried to do it, and yet did nothing notwithstanding, then be sure I had no Faith, but was a Cast-away and lost. Nay, thought I, if it be so, I will never try yet, but will stay a little longer.

52. So I continued at a great loss; for I thought, if they only had Faith, which could do so wonderful things, then 30 I concluded, that, for the present, I neither had it, nor yet, for time to come, were ever like to have it. Thus I was tossed betwixt the Devil and my own Ignorance, and so perplexed, especially at some times, that I could not tell what to do.

53. About this time, the state and happiness of these poor people at *Bedford* was thus, in a *Dream or Vision*, presented to me. I saw, as if they were set on the *Sunny* side of some high Mountain, there refreshing themselves with the pleasant

also I should pray wherever I was, whether at home or abroad, in house or field, and should also often, with lifting up of heart, sing that of the 51st psalm, *O Lord, consider my distress; for as yet I knew not where I was.*

57. Neither as yet could I attain to any comfortable persuasion that I had Faith in Christ; but instead of having satisfaction, here I began to find my Soul to be assaulted with fresh doubts about my future happiness; especially with such as these, *Whether I was elected? But how, if the Day of*
 10 *Grace should now be past and gone?*

58. By these two Temptations I was very much afflicted and disquieted; sometimes by one, and sometimes by the other of them. And first, to speak of that about my questioning my Election, I found at this time that though I was in a flame to find the way to Heaven and Glory, and though nothing could beat me off from this, yet this Question did so offend and discourage me, that I was, especially at some times, as if the very strength of my body also had been taken away by the force and power thereof. This scripture did
 20 also seem to me to trample upon all my desires, *It is neither* Rom. 9. 16.
in him that willeth, nor in him that runneth, but in God that sheweth mercy.

59. With this Scripture I could not tell what to do; for I evidently saw that unless the great God, of his infinite Grace and Bounty, had voluntarily chosen me to be a Vessel of Mercy, though I should desire and long and labour until my heart did break, no good could come of it. Therefore, this would still stick with me, *How can you tell you are Elected? And what if you should not? How then?*

30 60. O Lord, thought I, what if I should not, indeed? It may be you are not, said the Tempter. It may be so, indeed, thought I. Why, then, said Satan, you had as good leave off, and strive no further; for if, indeed, you should not be elected and chosen of God, there is no talk of your being saved; *For it is neither in him that willeth, nor in him that*
runneth, but in God that sheweth mercy.

61. By these things I was driven to my Wits' end, not knowing what to say, or how to answer these temptations.

(Indeed, I little thought that Satan had thus assaulted me, but that rather it was my own Prudence, thus to start the Question;) for, that the Elect only attained Eternal Life, that I, without scruple, did heartily close withal; but that myself was one of them, there lay all the Question.

62. Thus, therefore, for several days, I was greatly assaulted and perplexed, and was often, when I have been walking, ready to sink where I went, with faintness in my Mind. But one day, after I had been so many Weeks oppressed and cast down therewith, as I was now quite giving up ¹⁰ the Ghost of all my hopes of ever attaining Life, that Sentence fell with weight upon my Spirit. *Look at the generations of Old and see; did ever any trust in God, and were confounded?*

63. At which I was greatly lightened and encouraged in my Soul; for thus, at that very instant, it was expounded to me, *Begin at the beginning of Genesis, and read to the end of the Revelations, and see if you can find that there was ever any that trusted in the Lord, and was confounded.* So, coming home I presently went to my Bible to see if I could find ²⁰ that saying, not doubting but to find it presently; for it was so fresh, and with such strength and comfort on my Spirit, that I was as if it talked with me.

64. Well, I looked, but I found it not; only it abode upon me. Then I did ask first this good Man, and then another, if they knew where it was, but they knew no such place. At this I wondered that such a sentence should so suddenly, and with such comfort and strength, seize and abide upon my heart, and yet that none could find it. For I doubted not but it was in holy Scripture. 30

65. Thus I continued above a year, and could not find the place; but at last, casting my eye into the *Apocrypha* books, I found it in Ecclesiasticus. This, at the first, did somewhat daunt me; but because, by this time, I had got more experience of the love and kindness of God, it troubled me the less; especially when I considered that though it was not in those Texts that we call Holy and Canonical, yet forasmuch as this sentence was the sum and substance of many of the

Promises, it was my duty to take the comfort of it. And I bless God for that word, for it was of God to me. That word doth still, at times, shine before my face.

66. After this, that other doubt did come with strength upon me, *But how if the day of Grace should be past and gone? How if you have overstood the time of Mercy?* Now, I remember that one day, as I was walking into the Country, I was much in the thoughts of this, *But how if the day of Grace be past?* And to aggravate my trouble, the Tempter presented to my mind those good people of *Bedford*, and suggested thus unto me, That these being converted already, they were all that God would save in those parts; and that I came too late, for these had got the Blessing before I came.

67. Now was I in great distress, thinking in very deed that this might well be so. Wherefore I went up and down bemoaning my sad condition, counting myself far worse than a thousand fools, for standing off thus long, and spending so many years in sin as I have done; still crying out, Oh, that I had turned sooner; Oh, that I had turned seven years ago! It made me also angry with myself, to think that I should have no more Wit, but to trifle away my time till my Soul and Heaven were lost.

68. But when I had been long vexed with this fear, and was scarce able to take one step more, just about the same place where I received my other encouragement, these words broke in upon my mind, *Compel them to come in, that my House may be filled; and yet there is room.* These words, but especially them, *And yet there is room*, were sweet words to me; for, truly, I thought that by them I saw there was place enough in Heaven for me; and, moreover, that when the Lord Jesus did speak these words, he then did think of me; and that he knowing that the time would come that I should be afflicted with fear that there was no place left for me in his Bosom, did before speak this word, and leave it upon record, that I might find help thereby against this vile Temptation. This, I then verily believed.

69. In the light and encouragement of this Word, I went

a pretty while; and the comfort was the more, when I thought that the Lord Jesus should think on me so long ago, and that he should speak them words on purpose for my sake. For I did then think verily that he did on purpose speak them to encourage me withal.

70. But I was not without my Temptations to go back again. Temptations, I say, both from Satan, mine own heart, and carnal acquaintance. But I thank God these were outweighed by that sound sense of Death and of the Day of Judgment, which abode, as it were, continually in my view. ¹⁰ I should often also think on *Nebuchadnezzar*, of whom it ¹⁰ *Dan. 5. 18, 19.* is said, *He had given him all the Kingdoms of the Earth.* Yet, thought I, if this great man had all his portion in this world, one Hour in Hell-fire would make him forget all. Which Consideration was a great help to me.

71. I was almost made, about this time, to see something concerning the beasts that *Moses* counted clean and unclean.
 ↓ I thought those Beasts were Types of Men; the *clean*, types of them that were the people of God; but the *unclean*, types of such as were the Children of the wicked One. Now, I ¹⁰ read that the clean beasts *Chewed the cud*; that is, thought I, they show us we must feed upon the Word of God. They also *parted the hoof*; I thought that signified we must part, if we would be saved, with the ways of ungodly men. And also, in further reading about them I found, that though we did ¹⁰ *Deut. 14. 6, 8.* chew the cud as the *Hare*, yet if we walked with Claws like a *Dog*, or if we did part the Hoof like the *Swine*, yet if we did not chew the cud as the *Sheep*, we were still, for all that, but unclean; for I thought the *Hare* to be a type of those that talk of the Word, yet walk in the ways of sin; and that ³⁰ the *Swine* was like him that parteth with his Outward pollutions, but still wanteth the Word of Faith, without which there could be no way of salvation, let a Man be never so devout. After this I found, by reading the Word, that those that must be glorified with Christ in another World must be called by him here; called to the partaking of a share in his Word and Righteousness, and to the comforts and first-Fruits of his Spirit, and to a peculiar interest in

all those heavenly things which do indeed fore-fit the Soul for that Rest and House of Glory which is in Heaven above.

72. Here, again, I was at a very great stand, not knowing what to do, fearing I was not called; for, thought I, *if I be not called, what then can do me good? None but those who are effectually called, inherit the kingdom of heaven.* But oh! how I now loved those words that spake of a Christian's calling! as when the Lord said to one, *Follow me*; and to another, *Come after me.* And oh! thought I, *that he would say so to me too, how gladly would I run after him!*

Which
are not
substantive
calling.

73. I cannot now express with what longings and breakings in my Soul I cried to Christ to call me. Thus I continued for a time, all on a flame to be converted to Jesus Christ; and did also see all that day, such glory in a Converted state, that I could not be contented without a share therein. Gold! could it have been gotten for Gold, what could I have given for it! had I had a whole World it had all gone ten thousand times over for this, that my Soul might have been in a converted state.

Use
would be
analogous
to Jewish
regiment
governance.

74. How lovely now was every one in my Eyes that I thought to be converted Men and Women! they shone, they walked like people that carried the Broad Seal of Heaven about them. Oh! I saw the Lot was fallen to them in pleasant places, and they had a goodly Heritage. But that which made me sick was that of Christ, in Mark, *He went up into a mountain and called to him whom he would, and they came unto him.*

75. This Scripture made me faint and fear, yet it kindled fire in my Soul. That which made me fear was this, lest Christ should have no liking to me, for he called *whom he would.* But oh! the glory that I saw in that Condition did still so engage my heart that I could seldom read of any that Christ did call but I presently wished, *Would I had been in their clothes; would I had been born Peter; would I had been born John; or would I had been by and had heard him when he called them, how would I have cried, O Lord, call me also.* But oh! I feared he would not call me.

Joel 3. 22.

76. And truly the Lord let me go thus many Months together and showed me nothing; either that I was already, or should be called hereafter. But at last, after much time spent, and many Groans to God, that I might be made partaker of the Holy and Heavenly calling, that Word came in upon me—*I will cleanse their Blood that I have not cleansed, for the Lord dwelleth in Zion.* These words I thought were sent to encourage me to wait still upon God, and signified unto me, that if I were not already, yet time might come I might be in truth converted unto Christ.

10

77. About this time I began (to break my mind to those poor people in Bedford, and to tell them my Condition; which, when they had heard, they told Mr. Gifford of me, who himself also took occasion to talk with me, and was willing to be well persuaded of me, though I think but from little grounds. But he invited me to his House, where I should hear him confer with others, about the dealings of God with their Souls, from all which I still received more Conviction, and from that time began to see something of the Vanity and inward Wretchedness of my wicked Heart, 20 for as yet I knew no great matter therein; but now it began to be discovered unto me, and also to work at that rate for wickedness as it never did before. Now I evidently found that Lusts and Corruptions would strongly put forth themselves within me, in wicked thoughts and desires, which I did not regard before; my Desires also for Heaven and Life began to fail. I found also, that whereas before my Soul was full of longing after God, now my heart began to hanker after every foolish vanity; yea, my heart would not be moved to mind that that was good; it began to be 30 careless, both of my Soul and Heaven; it would now continually hang back, both to, and in every duty; and was as a Clog on the Leg of a Bird to hinder her from flying.

78. Nay, thought I, now I grow worse and worse; now am I farther from Conversion than ever I was before. Wherefore I began to sink greatly in my Soul, and began to entertain such discouragement in my Heart as laid me low as Hell. If now I should have burned at the Stake,

I could not believe that Christ had love for me; alas, I could neither hear him, nor see him, nor feel him, nor savour any of his things. I was driven as with a Tempest: my Heart would be unclean: the *Canaanites* would dwell in the land.

79. Sometimes I would tell my Condition to the People of God, which, when they heard, they would pity me, and would tell me of the Promises. But they had as good have told me that I must reach the Sun with my finger as have
 10 bidden me receive or rely upon the Promise; and as soon as I should have done it, all my Sense and Feeling was against me; and I saw I had a Heart that would sin, and that lay under a Law that would condemn.

80. These things have often made me think of the Child which the Father brought to Christ, *who, while he was yet a coming to him, was thrown down by the Devil, and also so rent and torn by him that he lay and swallowed, foaming.* Luke 9. 42.
Mark 9. 20.

81. Further, in these days I should find my heart to shut itself up against the Lord, and against his holy Word. I
 20 have found my Unbelief to set, as it were, the shoulder to the door to keep him out, and that too even then, when I have with many a bitter sigh cried, *Good Lord, break it open; Ps. 107. 26. Lord, break these Gates of Brass, and cut these bars of Iron asunder.* Yet that word would sometimes create in my heart a peaceable pause, *I girded thee, though thou hast not known Isa. 45. 5 me.*

82. But all this while as to the act of sinning, I never was more tender than now. I durst not take a pin or a stick, though but so big as a straw, for my conscience now was
 30 sore, and would smart at every touch; I could not now tell how to speak my words, for fear I should misplace them. Oh, how gingerly did I then go in all I did or said! I found myself as on a miry Bog that shook if I did but stir; and was as there left both of God and Christ, and the Spirit, and all good things.

83. But, I observe, though I was such a great sinner before conversion, yet God never much charged the guilt of the sins of my ignorance upon me; only he showed me I was lost if

I had not Christ, because I had been a Sinner. I saw that I wanted a perfect Righteousness to present me without fault before God; and this Righteousness was nowhere to be found, but in the Person of Jesus Christ.

84. But my original and inward pollution, that, that was my plague and my affliction; that, I say, at a dreadful rate, always putting forth itself within me; that I had the guilt of, to amazement; by reason of that, I was more loathsome in my own Eyes than was a Toad; and I thought I was so in God's Eyes too. Sin and Corruption, I said, would as naturally bubble out of my Heart as Water would hubble out of a Fountain. I thought now that every one had a better heart than I had; and could have changed heart with any body. I thought none but the Devil himself could equalize me for inward wickedness and pollution of Mind. I fell, therefore, at the sight of my own vileness, deeply into despair; for I concluded that this condition that I was in could not stand with a state of Grace. Sure, thought I, I am forsaken of God; sure I am given up to the Devil, and to a reprobate mind. And thus I continued a long while, even for some 20 Years together.

85. While I was thus afflicted with the fears of my own damnation, there were two things would make me wonder; the one was, when I saw old People hunting after the things of this life, as if they should live here always; the other was, when I found Professors much distressed and cast down, when they met with outward losses; as of Husband, Wife, Child, &c. Lord, thought I, *what ado is here about such little things as these! What seeking after carnal things by some, and what grief in others for the loss of them! If they so much labour after, and spend so many tears for the things of this present life, how am I to be bemoaned, pitied, and prayed for!* My soul is dying, my soul is damning. Were my soul but in a good condition, and were I but sure of it, ah! how rich should I esteem myself, though blessed with Bread and Water. I should count those but small Afflictions, and should bear them as little Burthens. A wounded spirit who can bear?

86. And though I was thus troubled, and tossed, and

afflicted, with the sight and sense and terror of my own wickedness, yet I was afraid to let this sight and sense go quite off my mind; for I found, that unless guilt of Conscience was taken off the right way, that is, by the Blood of Christ, a man grew rather worse for the loss of his trouble of Mind, than better. Wherefore, if my guilt lay hard upon me, then I should cry that the Blood of Christ might take it off; and if it was going off without it (for the sense of Sin would be sometimes as if it would die, and go quite away), then I would
 10 also strive to fetch it upon my heart again, by bringing the punishment for sin in Hell-fire upon my Spirits; and should cry, *Lord, let it not go off my heart, but the right way, but by the Blood of Christ, and by the application of thy Mercy, through him, to my Soul*; for that Scripture lay much upon me, *without shedding of Blood is no remission.* And that which made me the more afraid of this was, because I had seen some, who, though when they were under wounds of Conscience, then they would cry and pray; but they seeking rather present ease from their trouble than pardon for their sin, cared not
 20 how they lost their guilt so they got it out of their mind; and, therefore, having got it off the wrong way, it was not sanctified unto them; but they grew harder and blinder and more wicked after their trouble. This made me afraid, and made me cry to God the more, that it might not be so with me.

87. And now was I sorry that God had made me a man, for I feared I was a Reprobate. I counted man as unconverted, the most doleful of all the Creatures. Thus being afflicted and tossed about my sad condition, I counted myself alone, and above the most of men unblessed.

30 88. Yea, I thought it impossible that ever I should attain to so much goodness of heart, as to thank God that he had made me a man. Man indeed is the most noble by Creation of all creatures in the visible World; but by sin he had made himself the most ignoble. The beasts, birds, fishes, &c., I blessed their condition, for they had not a sinful nature, they were not obnoxious to the wrath of God; they were not to go to Hell-fire after death. I could therefore have rejoiced, had my condition been as any of theirs.

guilt is
 enough?

Heb. 9. 22.

Cant. 4.

89. In this condition I went a great while; but when comforting time was come, I heard one preach a Sermon upon those words in the Song, *Behold thou art fair, my Love; behold, thou art fair.* But at that time he made these two words, *My Love*, his chief and subject matter; from which, after he had a little opened the Text, he observed these several Conclusions: 1. That the Church, and so every saved Soul, is Christ's Love, when loveless. 2. Christ's Love without a cause. 3. Christ's Love when hated of the World. 4. Christ's Love when under temptation, and under desertion. 10
5. Christ's Love from first to last.

90. But I got nothing by what he said at present, only when he came to the Application of the fourth Particular, this was the word he said; *If it be so, that the saved soul is Christ's Love when under Temptation and Desertion; then poor tempted Soul, when thou art assaulted and afflicted with temptation, and the bidings of God's Face, yet think on these two words, My Love, still.*

Acts 22. 9.

91. So as I was a going home, these words came again into my thoughts; and I well remember, as they came in, I said so thus in my heart, *What shall I get by thinking on these two words?* This thought had no sooner passed through my heart, but the words began thus to kindle in my spirit, *Thou art my Love, thou art my Love*, twenty times together; and still as they ran thus in my mind, they waxed stronger and warmer, and began to make me look up. But being as yet between hope and fear, I still replied in my heart, *But is it true, but is it true?* At which, that Sentence fell in upon me, *He wist not that it was true which was done by the angel.*

92. Then I began to give place to the Word, which, 30 with power, did over and over make this joyful sound within my Soul, *Thou art my Love, thou art my Love; and nothing shall separate thee from my Love;* and with that Romans eight, thirty-nine came into my mind. Now was my heart filled full of comfort and hope, and now I could believe that my sins should be forgiven me; yea, I was now so taken with the love and mercy of God, that I remember I could not tell how to contain till I got Home. I thought

I could have spoken of his Love, and of his Mercy to me, even to the very Crows that sat upon the ploughed Lands before me, had they been capable to have understood me; wherefore I said in my soul, with much gladness Well, I would I had a Pen and Ink here, I would write this down before I go any further, for surely I will not forget this Forty Years hence. But, alas! within less than Forty Days, I began to question all again; which made me begin to question all still.

93. Yet still at times, I was helped to believe that it was a true manifestation of Grace unto my Soul, though I had lost much of the life and savour of it. Now about a Week or Fortnight after this, I was much followed by this Scripture, *Simon, Simon, behold, Satan hath desired to have you.* And sometimes it would sound so loud within me, yea, and as it were call so strongly after me, that once above all the rest, I turned my head over my shoulder, thinking verily that some Man had, behind me, called to me; being at a great distance, methought he called so loud. It came, as I have thought since, to have stirred me up to prayer, and to watchfulness; it came to acquaint me that a cloud and a storm was coming down upon me, but I understood it not.

94. Also, as I remember, *that* time that it called to me so loud, was the *last* time that it sounded in mine ear; but methinks I hear still with what a loud voice these words, *Simon, Simon*, sounded in mine ears. I thought verily, as I have told you, that somebody had called after me, that was half a Mile behind me; and although that was not my Name, yet it made me suddenly look behind me, believing that he that called so loud meant me.

95. But so foolish was I, and ignorant, that I knew not the reason of this sound; which, as I did both see and feel soon after, was sent from Heaven as an Alarm, to awaken me to provide for what was coming; only it would make me muse and wonder in my mind, to think what should be the reason that this Scripture, and that at this rate, so often and so loud, should still be sounding and rattling in mine ears. But, as I said before, I soon after perceived the end of God therein.

96. For, about the space of a Month after a very great storm came down upon me, which handled me twenty times worse than all I had met with before. It came stealing upon me, now by one piece, then by another; first, all my comfort was taken from me, then darkness seized upon me, after which, whole floods of blasphemies, both against *God, Christ,* and the *Scriptures*, were poured upon my spirit, to my great confusion and astonishment. These blasphemous thoughts were such as also stirred up questions in me, against the very *Being* of God, and of his only beloved Son; as, whether ¹⁰ there were, in truth, a God, or Christ, or no? And whether the holy *Scriptures* were not rather a Fable, and cunning story, than the holy and pure Word of God?

97. The tempter would also much assault me with this, *How can you tell but that the Turks had as good Scriptures to prove their Mahomet the Saviour, as we have to prove our Jesus is? And, could I think, that so many ten thousands, in so many Countries and Kingdoms, should be without the knowledge of the right way to Heaven; (if there were indeed a heaven), and that we only, who live in a corner of the Earth, should alone be ²⁰ blessed therewith? Every one doth think his own religion rightest, both Jews and Moors, and Pagans! and how if all our Faith, and Christ, and Scriptures, should be but a Think-so too?*

98. Sometimes I have endeavoured to argue against these Suggestions, and to set some of the Sentences of blessed *Paul* against them; but, alas! I quickly felt, when I thus did, such arguings as these would return again upon me, *Though we made so great a matter of Paul, and of his words, yet how could I tell but that in very deed, he being a subtle and cunning man, might give himself up to deceive with strong delusions; and also ³⁰ take that pains and travel to undo and destroy his fellows.*

99. These suggestions, (with many other which at this time I may not, nor dare not utter, neither by word nor pen,) did make such a seizure upon my spirit, and did so overweigh my heart, both with their number, continuance, and fiery force, that I felt as if there were nothing else but these from morning to night within me; and as though, indeed, there could be room for nothing else; and also concluded, that God

had, in very wrath to my soul, given me up unto them, to be carried away with them, as with a mighty Whirlwind.

100. Only by the distaste that they gave unto my spirit, *I felt there was something in me, that refused to embrace them.* But this consideration I then only had, when God gave me leave to swallow my Spittle; otherwise the noise, and strength, and force of these temptations, would drown and overflow and as it were, bury all such thoughts or the remembrance of any such thing. While I was in this temptation, I should often find my Mind suddenly put upon it, to curse and swear, or to speak some grievous thing against God, or Christ his Son, and of the Scriptures.

101. Now I thought, *surely I am possessed of the devil.* At other times again, I thought I should be bereft of my wits; for instead of lauding and magnifying God the Lord with others, if I have but heard him spoken of, presently some most horrible blasphemous thought or other, would bolt out of my heart against him. So that whether I did think that God was, or again did think there were no such thing; no love, nor peace, nor gracious disposition could I feel within me.

102. These things did sink me into very deep despair; for I concluded, that such things could not possibly be found amongst them that loved God. I often, when these temptations have been with force upon me, did compare myself in the case of such a child, whom some Gipsy hath by force took up under her Apron, and is carrying from Friend and Country. Kick sometimes I did, and also shriek and cry; but yet I was as bound in the wings of the temptation, and the wind would carry me away. I thought also of Saul, and of the evil spirit that did possess him; and did greatly fear that my condition was the same with that of his.

103. In these days, when I have heard others talk of what was the sin against the Holy Ghost, then would the Tempter so provoke me to desire to sin that sin, that I was as if I could not, must not, neither should be quiet until I had committed that. Now, no sin would serve but that; if it were to be committed by speaking of such a word, then I have been

as if my Mouth would have spoken that word, whether I would or no; and in so strong a measure was this temptation upon me, that often I have been ready to clap my hand under my Chin, to hold my Mouth from opening; and to that end also I have had thoughts at other times, to leap with my head downward, into some Muck-hill hole or other, to keep my Mouth from speaking.

104. Now I blessed the condition of the Dog and Toad, and counted the estate of everything that God had made far better than this dreadful state of mine, and such as my Companions was; yea, gladly would I have been in the condition of Dog or Horse, for I knew they had no soul to perish under the everlasting weights of Hell or Sin, as mine was like to do. Nay, and though I saw this, felt this, and was broken to pieces with it, yet that which added to my sorrow was, that I could not find that with all my Soul I did desire deliverance. That scripture did also tear and rend my soul, in the midst of these distractions, *The wicked are like the troubled sea which cannot rest, whose Waters cast up Mire and Dirt. There is no peace to the wicked, saith my God.* 20

105. And now my heart was, at times, exceeding hard. If I would have given a thousand Pounds for a Tear, I could not shed one; no, nor sometimes scarce desire to shed one. I was much dejected to think that this should be my lot. I saw some could mourn and lament their sin; and others, again, could rejoice, and bless God for Christ; and others, again, could quietly talk of, and with gladness remember, the Word of God; while I only was in the storm or tempest. This much sunk me. I thought my condition was alone. I should, therefore, much bewail my hard hap; 30 but get out of, or get rid of, these things, I could not.

106. While this temptation lasted, which was about a year, I could attend upon none of the Ordinances of God but with sore and great Affliction. Yea, then was I most distressed with blasphemies; if I have been hearing the Word, then uncleanness, blasphemies, and despair would hold me a Captive there; if I have been reading, then, sometimes, I had sudden thoughts to question all I read; sometimes, again, my Mind

would be so strangely snatched away, and possessed with other things, that I have neither known, nor regarded, nor remembered so much as the sentence that but now I have read.

107. In Prayer, also, I have been greatly troubled at this time. Sometimes I have thought I should see the devil, nay, thought I have felt him, behind me, pull my Clothes. He would be, also, continually at me in the time of Prayer to have done; *Break off, make haste, you have prayed enough,*
 10 *and stay no longer;* still drawing my Mind away. Sometimes, also, he would cast in such wicked thoughts as these: that I must pray to him, or for him. I have thought sometimes of that—*Fall down, or, if thou wilt fall down and worship* Matt. 4. 9.
me.

108. Also, when, because I have had wandering thoughts in the time of this Duty, I have laboured to compose my Mind and fix it upon God, then, with great force, hath the Tempter laboured to distract me, and confound me, and to turn away my Mind, by presenting to my heart and
 20 fancy the form of a Bush, a Bull, a Besom, or the like, as if I should pray to those. To these he would, also, at some times especially, so hold my Mind that I was as if I could think of nothing else, or pray to nothing else but to these, or such as they.

109. Yet, at times I should have some strong and heart-affecting apprehensions of God, and the reality of the truth of his Gospel. But, oh! how would my heart, at such times, put forth itself with inexpressible groanings. My whole soul was then in every word. I should cry with pangs after
 30 God that he would be merciful unto me. But then I should be daunted again with such conceits as these; I should think that God did mock at these, my prayers, saying, and that in the audience of the holy angels, *This poor simple wretch doth banker after me as if I had nothing to do with my mercy but to bestow it on such as he. Alas, poor Fool! how art thou deceived! It is not for such as thee to have favour with the Higbest.*

110. Then hath the Tempter come upon me, also, with

such discouragements as these—*You are very hot for mercy, but I will cool you; this frame shall not last always; Many have been as hot as you for a spurt, but I have quenched their zeal.* And with this, such and such who were fallen off would be set before mine Eyes. Then I should be afraid that I should do so too. But, thought I, I am glad this comes into my Mind. *Well, I will watch, and take what heed I can. Though you do, said Satan, I shall be too hard for you; I will cool you insensibly, by degrees, by little and little. What care I, saith he, though I be seven years in chilling your heart 10 if I can do it at last! Continual rocking will lull a crying Child asleep. I will ply it close, but I will have my end accomplished. Though you be burning hot at present, yet, if I can pull you from this Fire, I shall have you cold before it be long.*

111. These things brought me into great straits; for as I at present could not find myself fit for present death, so I thought to live long would make me yet more unfit; for time would make me forget all, and wear even the remembrance of the evil of sin, the worth of Heaven, and 20 the need I had of the Blood of Christ to wash me, both out of Mind and Thought. But I thank Christ Jesus these things did not at present make me slack my crying, but rather did put me more upon it, (like her who met with the adulterer,) in which days that was a good word to me after I had suffered these things a while: *I am persuaded 30 that neither bright, nor depth, death nor life, &c., shall separate us from the Love of God, which is in Christ Jesus.* And now I hoped long life should not destroy me, nor make me miss of Heaven.

112. Yet I had some supports in this temptation, though they were then all questioned by me. That in the third of Jeremiah, at the first, was something to me, and so was the consideration of the fifth verse of that Chapter; that though we have spoken and done as evil things as we could, yet we should cry unto God, *My Father, thou art the guide of my youth; and should return unto him.*

113. I had, also, once a sweet glance from that in the

fifth of second Corinthians, *For he bath made him to be sin for us, who knew no sin; that we might be made the Righteousness of God in him.* I remember, also, that one day as I was sitting in a Neighbour's House, and there very sad at the consideration of my many blasphemies, and as I was saying in my mind, *What ground have I to think that I, who have been so vile and abominable, should ever inherit Eternal Life?* that word came suddenly upon me, *What shall we* Rom. 8. 31. *then say to these things? If God be for us, who can be against us?* That, also, was an help unto me, *Because I live, ye shall* John 14. 19. *live also.* But these were but hints, touches, and short visits, though very sweet when present; only they lasted not; but, like to Peter's Sheet, *of a sudden were caught up from me* Acts 10. 16. *to Heaven again.*

114. But afterwards the Lord did more fully and graciously discover himself unto me; and, indeed, did quite, not only deliver me from the guilt that, by these things, was laid upon my Conscience, but also from the very filth thereof; for the temptation was removed, and I was put into my right Mind
20 again, as other Christians were.

115. I remember that one day, as I was travelling into the Country and musing on the wickedness and blasphemy of my Heart, and considering of the enmity that was in me to God, that scripture came in my mind, *He bath made peace* Col. 1. 20. *by the Blood of his Cross.* By which I was made to see, both again, and again, and again, that day, that God and my soul were Friends by this Blood; yea, I saw that the Justice of God and my sinful Soul could embrace and kiss each other through this Blood. This was a good day to me; I hope
30 I shall not forget it.

116. At another time, as I sat by the fire in my House, and musing on my wretchedness, the Lord made that also a precious word unto me, *Forasmuch, then, as the Children are* Heb. 2. 14. *partakers of flesh and blood, he also himself likewise took part* 15. *of the same; that through death he might destroy him that had the power of death, that is, the Devil, and deliver them who, through fear of death, were all their lifetime subject to bondage.* I thought that the glory of these words was then so weighty

on me that I was, both once and twice, ready to swoon as I sat; yet not with grief and trouble, but with solid joy and peace.

117. At this time, also, I sat under the ministry of holy Mr. Gifford, whose Doctrine, by God's Grace, was much for my stability. This man made it much his business to deliver the People of God from all those false and unsound rests that, by nature, we are prone to take and make to our souls. He would bid us take special heed that we took not up any truth upon trust, as from this, or that, or any other¹⁰ man or men, but to cry mightily to God that he would convince us of the reality thereof, and set us down therein, by his own Spirit, in the Holy Word. *For, said he, if you do otherwise when temptations come, if strongly, you, not having received them with evidence from heaven, will find you want that help and strength now to resist as once you thought you had.*

118. This was as seasonable to my Soul as the former and latter Rain in their season; for I had found, and that by sad experience, the truth of these his words; for I had felt *no man can say*, especially when tempted by the Devil,¹⁰ *that Jesus Christ is Lord but by the Holy Ghost.* Wherefore I found my Soul, through Grace, very apt to drink in this Doctrine, and to incline to pray to God that, in nothing that pertained to God's glory and my own eternal happiness, he would suffer me to be without the confirmation thereof from Heaven; for now I saw clearly there was an exceeding difference betwixt the notions of flesh and blood, and the Revelations of God in Heaven; also, a great difference between that Faith that is feigned, and according to Man's Wisdom, and of that which comes by a Man's being born³⁰ thereto of God.

Matt. 26.

25-27.

1 John 5. 2.

119. But, oh! now, how was my Soul led from truth to truth by God! Even from the Birth and Cradle of the Son of God to his Ascension and Second Coming from Heaven to judge the world.

120. Truly, I then found, upon this account, the great God was very good unto me; for, to my remembrance, there was not anything that I then cried unto God to make

known and reveal unto me but he was pleased to do it for me; I mean not one part of the Gospel of the Lord Jesus, but I was orderly led into it. Methought I saw with great evidence, from the relation of the four Evangelists, the wonderful work of God, in giving Jesus Christ to save us, from his Conception and Birth even to his Second Coming to Judgment. Methought I was as if I had seen him born, as if I had seen him grow up, as if I had seen him walk through this World, from the Cradle to his Cross; to which, also, when he came, I saw how gently he gave himself to be hanged and nailed on it for my sins and wicked doings. Also, as I was musing on this, his progress, that dropped on my spirit, *He was ordained for the slaughter.*

1 Pet. 1. 19.
20.

121. When I have considered also the truth of his resurrection, and have remembered that word, *Touch me not, Mary, &c.*, I have seen as if he leaped at the Grave's mouth for joy that he was risen again, and had got the conquest over our dreadful foes. I have also, in the Spirit, seen him a Man on the Right Hand of God the Father for me; and have seen the manner of his coming from Heaven to judge the World with Glory, and have been confirmed in these things by these Scriptures following, Acts i. 9, 10; vii. 56; x. 42. 1 Thessalonians iv. 17, 18. Hebrews vii. 24; viii. 3. Revelations i. 18.

122. Once I was much troubled to know whether the Lord Jesus was both Man as well as God, and God as well as Man; and truly, in those days, let men say what they would, unless I had it with evidence from Heaven, all was as nothing to me, I counted not myself set down in any truth of God. Well, I was much troubled about this point, and could not tell how to be resolved; at last, that in the fifth of the Revelations came into my mind, *And I beheld, and lo, in the midst of the throne and of the four beasts, and in the midst of the Elders stood a Lamb.* In the midst of the Throne, thought I, there is his Godhead: in the midst of the Elders, there is his manhood; but oh! methought this did glisten! it was a goodly touch, and gave me sweet satisfaction. That other scripture also did help me much in this, *To us a Child is* ^{Isa. 9. 6.}

born, to us a Son is given; and the Government shall be upon his shoulder: and his Name shall be called Wonderful, Counsellor, The mighty God, The everlasting Father, the Prince of Peace, &c.

123. Also, besides these teachings of God in his Word, the Lord made use of two things to confirm me in these things; the one was the errors of the *Quakers*, and the other was the Guilt of Sin; for as the *Quakers* did oppose this Truth, so God did the more confirm me in it, by leading me into the Scriptures that did wonderfully maintain it. 10

124. The errors that this people then maintained were,
 1. That the holy Scriptures were not the Word of God.
 2. That every man in the world had the Spirit of Christ, Grace, Faith, &c. 3. That Christ Jesus, as crucified, and dying 1600 years ago, did not satisfy Divine Justice for the sins of His People. 4. That Christ's Flesh and Blood was within the Saints. 5. That the bodies of the Good and Bad that are buried in the Churchyard shall not arise again. 6. That the Resurrection is past with good Men already. 7. That that Man Jesus, that was crucified between two 10 Thieves on Mount *Calvary*, in the land of *Canaan*, by *Jerusalem*, was not ascended up above the starry Heavens. 8. That he should not, even the same Jesus that died by the hands of the *Jews*, come again at the last day, and as man judge all Nations, &c.

125. Many more vile and abominable things were in those days fomented by them, by which I was driven to a more narrow search of the Scripture, and was, through their light and testimony, not only enlightened, but greatly confirmed and comforted in the truth; and, as I said, the guilt of sin 30 did help me much, for still as that would come upon me, the Blood of Christ did take it off again, and again, and again, and that too, sweetly, according to the Scriptures. *O Friends! cry to God to reveal Jesus Christ unto you; there is none teacheth like him.*

126. It would be too long here to stay, to tell you in particular how God did set me down in all the things of Christ, and how he did, that he might so do, lead me into his words;

yea, and also how he did open them unto me, make them shine before me, and cause them to dwell with me, talk with me, and comfort me over and over, both of his own Being, and the Being of his Son, and Spirit, and Word, and Gospel.

127. Only this, as I said before I will say unto you again, *repet.* that in general he was pleased to take this course with me. First, to suffer me to be afflicted with temptation concerning them, and then reveal them to me: as sometimes I should lie under great guilt for sin, even crushed to the ground therewith, and then the Lord would show me the death of Christ; yea, and so sprinkle my Conscience with his Blood, that I should find, and that before I was aware, that in that Conscience where but just now did reign and rage the Law, even there would rest and abide the peace and love of God through Christ.

128. Now had I an evidence, as I thought, of my Salvation from Heaven, with many golden Seals thereon, all hanging in my sight; now could I remember this manifestation and the other discovery of Grace, with comfort; and should often long and desire that the last day were come, that I might for ever be inflamed with the sight, and joy, and communion with him whose Head was crowned with thorns, whose Face was spit on, and Body broken, and Soul made an offering for my sins: for whereas, before, I lay continually trembling at the mouth of Hell, now methought I was got so far therefrom that I could not, when I looked back, scarce discern it; and, oh! thought I, that I were Fourscore Years old now, that I might die quickly, that my Soul might be gone to rest.

129. But before I had got thus far out of these my Temptations, I did greatly long to see some ancient godly Man's experience, who had writ some hundreds of years before I was born; for those who had writ in our days, I thought, (but I desire them now to pardon me,) that they had writ only that which others felt, or else had, through the strength of their Wits and Parts, studied to answer such objections as they perceived others were perplexed with, without going down themselves into the deep. Well, after many such long-

ings in my mind, the God in whose hands are all our days and ways, did cast into my hand, one day, a Book of Martin Luther; it was his Comment on the Galatians—it also was so old that it was ready to fall piece from piece if I did but turn it over. Now I was pleased much that such an old Book had fallen into my hands; the which, when I had but a little way perused, I found my condition, in his experience, so largely and profoundly handled, as if his Book had been written out of my heart. This made me marvel; for thus thought I, *This Man could not know anything of the state of Christians now, 10 but must needs write and speak the experience of former days.*

130. Besides he doth most gravely also in that Book, debate of the rise of these temptations, namely, Blasphemy, Desperation, and the like; showing that the Law of Moses as well as the Devil, Death, and Hell hath a very great hand therein. The which, at first, was very strange to me; but considering and watching, I found it so indeed. But of particulars here I intend nothing; only this, methinks, I must let fall before all men, I do prefer this book of Martin Luther upon the Galatians, (excepting the Holy Bible,) before all the 20 Books that ever I have seen, as most fit for a wounded Conscience.

131. And (now I found, as I thought,) that I loved Christ dearly. Oh! methought my soul cleaved unto him, my affections cleaved unto him. I felt love to him as hot as Fire; and now, as Job said, *I thought I should die in my nest*; but I did quickly find that my great Love was but little, and that I, who had, as I thought, such burning love to Jesus Christ, could let him go again for a very trifle. But God can tell how to abase us, and can hide Pride from Man. Quickly 30 after this my love was tried to purpose.

132. For after the Lord had, in this manner, thus graciously delivered me from this great and sore Temptation, and had set me down so sweetly in the Faith of his holy Gospel, and had given me such strong consolation and blessed evidence from Heaven touching my interest in his love through Christ; the Tempter came upon me again, and that with a more grievous and dreadful Temptation than before.

133. And that was, *To sell and part with this most blessed Christ, to exchange him for the things of this life, for anything.* The Temptation lay upon me for the space of a year, and did follow me so continually that I was not rid of it one day in a Month, no, not sometimes one hour in many days together, unless when I was asleep.

134. And though, in my judgment, I was persuaded that those who were once effectually in Christ, as I hoped, through his Grace, I had seen myself, could never lose him for ever—
 10 *for the land shall not be sold for ever, for the land is mine,* saith Lev. 25. 23 God,—yet it was a continual vexation to me to think that I should have so much as one such thought within me against a Christ, a Jesus, that had done for me as he had done; and yet then I had almost none others, but such Blasphemous ones.

135. But it was neither my dislike of the thought, nor yet any desire and endeavour to resist it that in the least did shake or abate the continuation, or force and strength thereof; for it did always, in almost whatever I thought, intermix
 20 itself therewith in such sort that I could neither eat my food, stoop for a pin, chop a stick, or cast mine eye to look on this or that, but still the temptation would come, *Sell Christ for this, or sell Christ for that; sell him, sell him.*

136. Sometimes it would run in my thoughts, not so little as a hundred times together, *Sell him, sell him, sell him;* against which I may say, for whole hours together, I have been forced to stand as continually leaning and forcing my spirit against it, lest haply, before I were aware, some wicked thought might arise in my heart that might consent thereto;
 30 and sometimes also the Tempter would make me believe I had consented to it, then should I be as tortured upon a Rack for whole days together.

137. This Temptation did put me to such scares, lest I should at some times, I say, consent thereto, and be overcome therewith, that by the very force of my mind, in labouring to gainsay and resist this wickedness, my very body also would be put into action or motion by way of pushing or thrusting with my hands or elbows, still answering as fast as

the destroyer said, *Sell him; I will not, I will not, I will not, I will not; no, not for thousands, thousands, thousands of Worlds.* Thus reckoning lest I should, in the midst of these assaults, set too low a value of him, even until I scarce well knew where I was, or how to be composed again.

138. At these seasons he would not let me eat my food at quiet; but, forsooth, when I was set at the Table at my meat, I must go hence to pray; I must leave my food now, and just now, so counterfeit holy also would this Devil be. When I was thus tempted, I should say in myself, *Now I am at my meat, let me make an end. No, said he, you must do it now, for you will displease God, and despise Christ.* Wherefore I was much afflicted with these things; and because of the sinfulness of my nature, (imagining that these things were impulses from God,) I should deny to do it, as if I denied God; and then should I be as guilty, because I did not obey a temptation of the Devil, as if I had broken the Law of God indeed.

139. But to be brief, one Morning, as I did lie in my bed, I was, as at other times, most fiercely assaulted with this temptation, *to sell and part with Christ*; the wicked suggestion still running in my mind, *Sell him, sell him, sell him, sell him, sell him*, as fast as a man could speak. Against which also, in my mind, as at other times, I answered, *No, no, not for thousands, thousands, thousands*, at least twenty times together. But at last, after much striving, even until I was almost out of breath, I felt this thought pass through my heart, *Let him go, if he will!* and I thought also, that I felt my heart freely consent thereto. Oh, the diligence of Satan! Oh, the desperation of man's heart!

140. Now was the battle won, and down fell I, as a Bird that is shot from the top of a tree, into great guilt, and fearful despair. Thus getting out of my Bed, I went moping into the field; but God knows, with as heavy a heart as mortal man, I think, could bear; where, for the space of two hours, I was like a man bereft of life, and as now past all recovery, and bound over to eternal punishment.

141. And withal, that scripture did seize upon my soul,

Heb. 12. 16. *Or profane person, as Esau, who for one morsel of Meat, sold his*

birthright; for ye know, how that afterward, when he would have inherited the blessing, he was rejected; for he found no place of repentance, though he sought it carefully with tears.

142. Now was I as one bound; I felt myself shut up unto the judgment to come. Nothing now for two years together would abide with me but damnation, and an expectation of damnation. I say, nothing now would abide with me but this, save some few moments for relief, as in the sequel you will see.

10 143. These words were to my soul like fetters of brass to my legs, in the continual sound of which I went for several months together. But about ten or eleven o'clock one day, as I was walking under a hedge, (full of sorrow and guilt, God knows,) and bemoaning myself for this hard hap, that such a thought should arise within me; suddenly this sentence bolted in upon me, *The blood of Christ remits all guilt.* At this I made a stand in my spirit: with that, this word took hold upon me, *The blood of Jesus Christ, his Son, cleanseth us from all sin.* John 1. 7.

20 144. Now I began to conceive peace in my Soul, and methought I saw as if the Tempter did lear and steal away from me, as being ashamed of what he had done. At the same time also I had my sin, and the blood of Christ thus represented to me, that my sin, when compared to the blood of Christ, was no more to it, than this little clot or stone before me is to this vast and wide field that here I see. This gave me good encouragement for the space of two or three hours; in which time also, methought I saw, by faith, the Son of God, as suffering for my sins; but because it tarried
30 not I therefore sunk in my spirit under exceeding guilt again.

145. But chiefly by the afore-mentioned scripture, concerning *Esau's* selling of his Birthright; for that Scripture would lie all day long, all the week long, yea, all the year long in my mind, and hold me down, so that I could by no means lift up myself. For when I would strive to turn me to this Scripture, or that, for relief, still that sentence would be sounding in me, *For ye know, how that afterward, when he*

would have inherited the blessing he found no place of repentance, though he sought it carefully with tears.

146. Sometimes also, I should have a touch from that in
 Luke 22. 32. *I have prayed for thee, that thy faith fail not; but it would not abide upon me; neither could I indeed, when I considered my state, find ground to conceive in the least, that there should be the root of that Grace within me, having sinned as I had done. Now was I tore and rent in heavy case, for many days together.*

147. Then began I with sad and careful heart, to consider 10
 of the nature and largeness of my sin, and to search in the Word of God, if I could in any place espy a word of promise, or any encouraging sentence by which I might take relief.
 Mark 3. 28. Wherefore I began to consider that third of Mark, *All manner of sins and blasphemies shall be forgiven unto the sons of men, whosoever they shall blaspheme.* Which place, methought, at a blush, did contain a large and glorious Promise, for the pardon of high offences; but considering the place more fully, I thought it was rather to be understood as relating more chiefly to those who had, while in a natural 20
 estate, committed such things as there are mentioned; but not to me, who had not only received Light and Mercy, but that had, both after, and also contrary to that, so slighted Christ as I had done.

148. I feared therefore that this wicked sin of mine, might be that sin unpardonable, of which he there thus speaketh.
 Mark 3. 29. *But he that shall blaspheme against the Holy Ghost hath never forgiveness, but is in danger of eternal damnation.* And I did the rather give credit to this, because of that sentence in the Hebrews, *For ye know, how that afterward, when he 30*
would have inherited the blessing, he was rejected; for he found no place of repentance, though he sought it carefully with tears.
 And this stuck always with me.

149. And now was I both a burthen and a terror to myself; nor did I ever so know, as now, what it was to be weary of my life, and yet afraid to die. Oh, how gladly now would I have been anybody but myself! Anything but a man! and in any condition but mine own! for there was nothing

did pass more frequently over my mind, than that it was impossible for me to be forgiven my transgression, and to be saved from wrath to come.

150. And now began I to labour to call again time that was past; wishing a thousand times twice told, that the day was yet to come, when I should be tempted to such a sin! concluding with great indignation, both against my heart, and all assaults, how I would rather have been torn in pieces, than found a consenter thereto. But, alas! these thoughts,
 10 and wishings, and resolvings, were now too late to help me; the thought had passed my heart; God hath let me go, and I am fallen. *Oh! thought I, that it was with me as in Job 19. 2. months past, as in the days when God preserved me!*

151. Then again, being loth and unwilling to perish, I began to compare my sin with others, to see if I could find that any of those that were saved had done as I had done. So I considered David's Adultery and Murder, and found them most heinous crimes; and those too committed after Light and Grace received. But yet by considering, I perceived
 20 that his transgressions were only such as were against the Law of *Moses*; from which the Lord Christ could, with the consent of his Word, deliver him. But mine was against the Gospel; yea, against the Mediator thereof; I had sold my Saviour.

152. Now again should I be as if racked upon the wheel, when I considered, that, besides the guilt that possessed me, I should be so void of Grace, so bewitched. What, thought I, must it be no sin but this? Must it needs be the *great* Ps. 79. 13.
transgression? Must *that* wicked one touch my soul? Oh, 1 John 5. 18.
 30 what stings did I find in all these sentences!

153. What, thought I, is there but *one* sin that is unpardonable? But *one* sin that layeth the soul without the reach of God's mercy; and must I be guilty of *that*? Must it needs be that? Is there but *one* sin among so many millions of sins, for which there is no forgiveness; and must I commit this? Oh, unhappy *sin*! Oh, unhappy *Man*! These things would so break and confound my spirit, that I could not tell what to do; I thought, at times, they would have broke my

wits; and still, to aggravate my misery, that would run in my mind, *Ye knew how that afterward, when he would have inherited the blessing, he was rejected.* Oh! none knows the terrors of those days but myself.

154. After this I came to consider of Peter's sin, which he committed in denying his Master; and indeed, this came nighest to mine of any that I could find; for he had denied his Saviour, as I, and that after Light and Mercy received; yea, and that too, after Warning given him. I also considered, that he did it both once and twice; and that, after 10 time to consider betwixt. But though I put all these circumstances together, that, if possible, I might find help, yet I considered again, that his was but *a denial of his Master*, but mine was *a selling of my Saviour*. Wherefore I thought with myself, that I came nearer to *Judas*, than either to *David* or *Peter*.

155. Here again my torment would flame out and afflict me; yea, it would grind me, as it were, to powder, to discern the preservation of God towards others, while I fell into the snare; for in my thus considering of other men's sins, 20 and comparing of them with my own, I could evidently see how God preserved them, notwithstanding their wickedness, and would not let them, as he had let me, to become a Son of Perdition.

156. But oh, how did my Soul, at this time, prize the preservation that God did set about his people! Ah, how safely did I see them walk, whom God had hedged in! They were within his Care, Protection, and Special Providence, though they were full as bad as I by Nature; yet because he loved them, he would not suffer them to fall 30 without the range of Mercy; but as for me, I was gone, I had done it; he would not preserve me, nor keep me; but suffered me, because I was a Reprobate, to fall as I had done. Now, did those blessed places, that spake of God's keeping his People, shine like the Sun before me, though not to comfort me, but to show me the blessed state and heritage of those whom the Lord had blessed.

157. Now I saw, that as God had his hand in all pro-

vidences and dispensations that overtook his Elect, so he had his hand in all the Temptations that they had to sin against him, not to animate them unto Wickedness, but to choose their Temptations and Troubles for them; and also to leave them, for a time, to such Sins only as might not destroy, but humble them; as might not put them beyond, but lay them in the way of the renewing of his Mercy. But oh, what Love, what Care, what Kindness and Mercy did I now see, mixing itself with the most severe and dreadful
 10 of all God's ways to his people! He would let *David*, *Hezekiah*, *Solomon*, *Peter*, and others fall, but he would not let them fall into sin unpardonable, nor into Hell for Sin. Oh! thought I, these be the Men that God hath loved; these be the Men that God, though he chastiseth them, keeps them in safety by him, and them whom he makes to abide under the shadow of the Almighty. But all these thoughts added sorrow, grief, and horror to me, as whatever I now thought on, it was killing to me. If I thought how God kept his own, that was killing to me. If I thought of
 20 how I was falling myself, that was killing to me. As all things wrought together for the best, and to do good to them that were called, according to his purpose; so I thought that all things wrought for my damage, and for my eternal overthrow.

158. Then, again, I began to compare my sin with the sin of *Judas*, that, if possible, I might find that mine differed from that which, in truth, is unpardonable. And, oh! thought I, if it should differ from it, though but the breadth of an hair, what a happy condition is my Soul in! And, by con-
 30 sidering, I found that *Judas* did his intentionally, but mine was against my prayer and strivings; besides, his was committed with much deliberation, but mine in a fearful hurry, on a sudden; all this while I was tossed to and fro, like the Locusts, and driven from trouble to sorrow; hearing always the sound of *Esau's* fall in mine ears, and of the dreadful consequences thereof.

159. Yet this consideration about *Judas*, his sin was, for a while, some little relief unto me; for I saw I had not, as to

the circumstances, transgressed so foully as he. But this was quickly gone again, for, I thought with myself, there might be more ways than one to commit the unpardonable sin; also I thought that there might be degrees of that, as well as of other transgressions; wherefore, for ought I yet could perceive, this iniquity of mine might be such, as might never be passed by.

160. I was often now ashamed, that I should be like such an ugly man as *Judas*. I thought, also, how loathsome I should be unto all the saints at the Day of Judgment; insomuch, 10 that now I could scarce see a good man, that I believed had a good Conscience, but I should feel my heart tremble at him, while I was in his presence. Oh! now I saw a glory in walking with God, and what a mercy it was to have a good Conscience before him.

161. I was much about this time tempted to content myself by receiving some false Opinion; as that there should be no such thing as a Day of Judgment, that we should not rise again, and that Sin was no such grievous thing; the Tempter suggesting thus, *For if these things should indeed be true, yet to 20 believe otherwise, would yield you ease for the present. If you must perish, never torment yourself so much before hand; drive the thoughts of damning out of your mind, by possessing your mind with some such conclusions that Atheists and Ranters do use to help themselves withal.*

162. But, oh! when such thoughts have led through my heart, how, as it were, within a step, hath Death and Judgment been in my view! Methought the Judge stood at the door, I was as if it was come already; so that such things could have no entertainment. But, methinks, I see by this, 30 that Satan will use any means to keep the Soul from Christ; he loveth not an awakened frame of spirit; security, blindness, darkness, and error is the very kingdom and habitation of the wicked one.

163. I found it hard work now to pray to God, because despair was swallowing me up; I thought I was, as with a tempest, driven away from God, for always when I cried to God for mercy, this would come in, *'Tis too late, I am lost, God*

hath let me fall; not to my correction, but condemnation; my sin is unpardonable; and I know, concerning Esau, how that, after he had sold his birthright, he would have received the blessing, but was rejected. About this time, I did light on that dreadful story of that miserable mortal, *Francis Spira*; a Book that was to my troubled spirit as salt when rubbed into a fresh wound; every sentence in that Book, every groan of that Man, with all the rest of his actions in his dolours, as his tears, his prayers, his gnashing of teeth, his wringing of hands, his twining and twisting, languishing and pining away under that mighty hand of God that was upon him, was as knives and daggers in my soul; especially that sentence of his was frightful to me, *Man knows the beginning of sin, but who bounds the issues thereof?* Then would the former sentence, as the conclusion of all, fall like a hot thunderbolt again upon my conscience; for you know how that afterward, when he would have inherited the blessing, he was rejected; for he found no place of repentance, though he sought it carefully with tears.

164. Then was I struck into a very great trembling, inso-
 20 much that at sometimes I could, for whole days together, feel my very body, as well as my mind, to shake and totter under the sense of the dreadful judgment of God, that should fall on those that have sinned that most fearful and unpardonable sin. I felt also such a clogging and heat at my stomach, by reason of this my terror, that I was, especially at some times, as if my breast bone would have split asunder. Then I thought of that concerning *Judas, who, by his falling headlong, burst* Acts 1. 18.
asunder, and all his bowels gushed out.

165. I feared also that this was the mark that the Lord did
 30 set on *Cain*, even continual fear and trembling, under the heavy load of guilt that he had charged on him for the blood of his brother *Abel*. Thus did I wind, and twine, and shrink, under the burthen that was upon me; which burthen also did so oppress me, that I could neither stand, nor go, nor lie, either at rest or quiet.

166. Yet that saying would sometimes come to my mind, *He hath received gifts for the rebellious.* The rebellious, thought Ps. 68. 18.
 I; why, surely they are such as once were under subjection to

their prince, even those who, after they have sworn subjection to his Government, have taken up Arms against him; and this, thought I, is my very condition; once I loved him, feared him, served him; but now I am a rebel; I have sold him, I have said, Let him go if he will; but yet he has gifts for rebels, and then why not for me?

167. This sometimes I thought on, and should labour to take hold thereof, that some, though small, refreshment might have been conceived by me; but in this also I missed of my desire, I was driven with force beyond it, I was like a Man 10 that is going to execution, even by that place where he would fain creep in and hide himself, but may not.

168. Again, after I had thus considered the sins of the Saints in particular, and found mine went beyond them, then I began to think thus with myself: *Set the case I should put all theirs together, and mine alone against them, might I not then find some Encouragement? For if mine, though bigger than any one, yet should but be equal to all, then there is hopes; for that blood that bath virtue enough in it to wash away all theirs, bath also virtue enough in it to do away mine, though this one be full* 20 *as big, if no bigger, than all theirs.* Here, again, I should consider the sin of David, of Solomon, of Manasseh, of Peter, and the rest of the great offenders; and should also labour, what I might with fairness, to aggravate and heighten their sins by several circumstances: but, alas! it was all in vain.

169. I should think with myself that David shed blood to cover his Adultery, and that by the sword of the children of Ammon; a work that could not be done but by continuance and deliberate contrivance, which was a great aggravation to his sin. But then this would turn upon me: *Ab! but these* 30 *were but sins against the Law, from which there was a Jesus sent to save them; but yours is a sin against the Saviour, and who shall save you from that?*

170. Then I thought on Solomon, and how he sinned in loving strange Women, in falling away to their Idols, in building them Temples, in doing this after light, in his old Age, after great mercy received; but the same conclusion that cut me off in the former consideration, cut me off as

to this; namely, that all those were but sins against the Law, for which God had provided a remedy; but I had sold my Saviour, and there now remained no more sacrifice for sin.

171. I would then add to those men's sins, the sins of *Manasseh*, how that he built Altars for Idols in the House of the Lord; he also observed times, used enchantment, had to do with Wizards, was a Wizard, had his familiar Spirits, burned his Children in the Fire in Sacrifice to Devils, and
10 made the Streets of *Jerusalem* run down with the blood of Innocents. These, thought I, are great sins, sins of a bloody colour; yea, it would turn again upon me: *They are none of them of the nature of yours; you have parted with Jesus, you have sold your Saviour.*

172. This one consideration would always kill my heart, *My sin was point blank against my Saviour*; and that too, at that height, that I had in my heart said of him, *Let him go if he will.* Oh! methought, this sin was bigger than the sins of a Country, of a Kingdom, or of the whole World, no one
20 pardonable, nor all of them together, was able to equal mine; mine outwent them every one.

173. Now I should find my mind to flee from God, as from the face of a dreadful judge; yet this was my torment, I could not escape his hand: *It is a fearful thing to fall into the* Heb. x. 31. *hands of the living God.* But blessed be his Grace, that scripture, in these flying sins, would call as running after me, *I have* Isa. 44. 22. *blotted out, as a thick cloud, thy transgressions; and, as a cloud, thy sins: return unto me, for I have redeemed thee.* This, I say, would come in upon my mind, when I was fleeing from the
30 face of God; for I did flee from his face, that is, my mind and spirit fled before him; by reason of his highness, I could not endure; then would the text cry, *Return unto me*; it would cry aloud with a very great voice, *Return unto me, for I have redeemed thee.* Indeed, this would make me make a little stop, and, as it were, look over my shoulder behind me, to see if I could discern that the God of grace did follow me with a pardon in his hand, but I could no sooner do that, but all would be clouded and darkened again by that sentence, *For*

you know how that afterwards, when he would have inherited the blessing, he found no place of repentance, though he sought it carefully with tears. Wherefore I could not return, but fled, though at sometimes it cried, *Return, return*, as if it did holloa after me. But I feared to close in therewith, lest it should not come from God; for that other, as I said, was still sounding in my conscience, *For you know how that afterwards, when he would have inherited the blessing, he was rejected, &c.*

174. Once as I was walking to and fro in a good man's shop, bemoaning of myself in my sad and doleful state, afflict-
ing myself with self-abhorrence for this wicked and ungodly thought; lamenting, also, this hard hap of mine, for that I should commit so great a sin, greatly fearing I should not be pardoned; praying, also, in my heart, that if this sin of mine did differ from that against the Holy Ghost, the Lord would show it me; and being now ready to sink with fear, suddenly there was, as if there had rushed in at the Window the Noise of wind upon me, but very pleasant, and as if I heard a voice speaking, *Didst ever refuse to be justified by the Blood of Christ?* And, withal my whole life and profession past was, in a moment, opened to me, wherein I was made to see that *designedly I had not; so my heart answered groaningly, No.*

Heb. 12. 25. Then fell, with power, that Word of God upon me, *See that ye refuse not him that speaketh.* This made a strange seizure upon my spirit; it brought light with it, and *commanded a silence in my heart of all those tumultuous thoughts that before did use, like masterless Hell-hounds, to roar and bellow, and make a hideous noise within me.* It showed me, also, that Jesus Christ had yet a word of Grace and Mercy for me, that he had not, as I had feared, quite forsaken and cast off my Soul; yea, this was a kind of a chide for my proneness to desperation; a kind of a threatening me if I did not, notwithstanding my sins and the heinousness of them, venture my Salvation upon the Son of God. But as to my determining about this strange dispensation, what it was I knew not; or from whence it came I know not. I have not yet, in twenty years' time, been able to make a judgement of it. I thought then what here I shall be loth to speak. But verily, that

sudden rushing wind was as if an Angel had come upon me; but both it and the Salutation I will leave until the Day of Judgment; only this I (say) it commanded a great calm in my Soul; it persuaded me there might be hope; it showed me, as I thought, what the sin unpardonable was, and that my Soul had yet the blessed privilege to flee to Jesus Christ for Mercy. But I say, concerning this dispensation, I know not what yet to say unto it; which was, also, in truth, the cause that, at first, I did not (speak) of it in the Book. I do now, also, leave it to be thought on by men of sound judgment. I lay not the stress of my Salvation thereupon, but upon the Lord Jesus, in the promise; yet, seeing I am here unfolding of my secret things, I thought it might not be altogether inexpedient to let this also show itself, though I cannot now relate the matter as there I did experience it. This lasted, in the savour of it, for about three or four days, and then I began to mistrust and to despair again.

175. Wherefore, still my life hung in doubt before me, not knowing which way I should tip; only this I found my Soul's desire, even to cast itself at the foot of Grace, by Prayer and Supplication. But, oh! 'Twas hard for me now to bear the Face to pray to this Christ for mercy, against whom I had thus most vilely sinned. 'Twas hard work, I say, to offer to look him in the face against whom I had so vilely sinned; and, indeed, I have found it as difficult to come to God by prayer, after backsliding from him, as to do any other thing. Oh, the shame that did now attend me! especially when I thought I am now a-going to pray to him for mercy that I had so lightly esteemed but a while before! I was ashamed, yea, even confounded, because this villany had been committed by me; but I saw there was but one way with me, I must go to him and humble myself unto him, and beg that he, of his wonderful Mercy, would show pity to me, and have Mercy upon my wretched sinful Soul.

176. Which, when the Tempter perceived, he strongly suggested to me, *That I ought not to pray to God; for prayer was not for any in my case, neither could it do me good, because I*

had rejected the Mediator, by whom all prayer came with acceptance to God the Father, and without whom no prayer could come into his presence. Wherefore, now to pray is but to add sin to sin; yea, now to pray, seeing God has cast you off, is the next way to anger and offend him more than you ever did before.

177. For God, saith he, hath been weary of you for these several years already, because you are none of his; your howlings in his ears hath been no pleasant voice to him; and, therefore, he let you sin this sin, that you might be quite cut off; and will you pray still? This the Devil urged, and set forth that, in ^{Num. 14. 54.} Numbers, when Moses said to the children of Israel, ^{27. &c.} That because they would not go up to possess the land when God would have them, therefore, for ever after, God did bar them out from thence, though they prayed, they might with tears.

^{Ex. 22. 14.} 178. As it is said in another place, the man that sins presumptuously shall be taken from God's Altar that he may ^{1 Kings 2. 28.} die; even as Joab was by King Solomon, when he thought to find shelter there, &c. These places did pinch me very sore; yet, my case being desperate, I thought with myself ²⁰ I can but die; and if it must be so it shall once be said, that such an one died at the foot of Christ in Prayer. This I did, but with great difficulty, God doth know; and that because, together with this, still that saying about Esau would be set at my heart, even like a flaming Sword to keep the way of the Tree of Life, lest I should taste thereof and live. Oh! who knows how hard a thing I found it to come to God in prayer.

179. I did also desire the prayers of the people of God for me, but I feared that God would give them no heart ³⁰ to do it; yea, I trembled in my soul to think that some or other of them would shortly tell me, that God had said those words to them that he once did say to the prophet concerning the children of Israel, ^{Isa. 22. 14.} Pray not thou for this people, for I have rejected them. So, pray not for him, for I have rejected him. Yea, I thought that he had whispered this to some of them already, only they durst not tell me so, neither durst I ask them of it, for fear, if it should be so, it would

make me quite besides myself. *Man knows the beginning of sin*, said Spira, *but who bounds the issues thereof?*

180. About this time I took an opportunity to break my mind to an ancient Christian, and told him all my case. I told him, also, that I was afraid that I had sinned the sin against the Holy Ghost; and he told me *He thought so too*. Here, therefore, I had but cold comfort; but, talking a little more with him, I found him, though a good man, a stranger to much combat with the Devil. Wherefore, I
10 went to God again, as well as I could, for mercy still.

181. Now, also, did the Tempter begin to mock me in my misery, saying, *That, seeing I had thus parted with the Lord Jesus, and provoked him to displeasure who would have stood between my Soul and the flame of devouring fire, there was now but one way, and that was, To pray that God the Father would be the Mediator betwixt his Son and me, that we might be reconciled again, and that I might have that blessed benefit in him that his blessed Saints enjoyed.*

182. Then did that Scripture seize upon my soul, *He is of*
20 *one mind, and who can turn him? Oh! I saw 'twas as easy to persuade him to make a new World, a new Covenant, or new Bible, besides that we have already, as to pray for such a thing. This was to persuade him that what he had done already was mere folly, and persuade him to alter, yea, to disannul, the whole way of Salvation; and then would that saying rent my soul asunder, Neither is there salvation in any* Acts 4. 12. *other: for there is none other name under heaven, given among men, whereby we must be saved.*

183. Now, the most free and full and gracious words of
30 the Gospel were the greatest torment to me; yea, nothing so afflicted me as the thoughts of Jesus Christ. The remembrance of a Saviour, because I had cast him off, brought forth the villany of my sin, and my loss by it to mind. Nothing did twinge my Conscience like this. Every time that I thought of the Lord Jesus, of his Grace, Love, Goodness, Kindness, Gentleness, Meekness, Death, Blood, Promises and blessed Exhortations, Comforts and Consolations, it went to my Soul like a sword; for still, unto these my considerations

of the Lord Jesus, these thoughts would make place for themselves in my heart; *Aye, this is the Jesus, the loving Saviour, the Son of God, whom thou hast parted with, whom you slighted, despised, and abused. This is the only Saviour, the only Redeemer, the only one that could so love sinners as to wash them from their sins in his own most precious Blood; but you have no part nor lot in this Jesus, you have put him from you, you have said in your heart, Let him go if he will. Now, therefore, you are severed from him; you have severed yourself from him. Behold, then, his Goodness, but yourself to be no partaker of it.* Oh, thought I, what have I lost! What have I parted with! What have I disinherited my poor Soul of! Oh! it is sad to be destroyed by the Grace and Mercy of God; to have the Lamb, the Saviour, turn Lion and Destroyer. I also trembled, as I have said, at the sight of the Saints of God, especially at those that greatly loved him, and that made it their business to walk continually with him in this World; for they did, both in their words, their carriages, and all their expressions of tenderness and fear to sin against their precious Saviour, condemn, lay guilt upon, and also add continual affliction and shame unto my soul. *The dread of them was upon me, and I trembled at God's Samuels.*

184. Now, also, the Tempter began afresh to mock my Soul another way, saying *That Christ, indeed, did pity my case, and was sorry for my loss; but forasmuch as I had sinned and transgressed, as I had done, he could by no means help me, nor save me from what I feared; for my sin was not of the nature of theirs for whom he bled and died, neither was it counted with those that were laid to his charge when he hanged on the Tree. Therefore, unless he should come down from heaven and die anew for this sin, though, indeed, he did greatly pity me, yet I could have no benefit of him.* These things may seem ridiculous to others, even as ridiculous as they were in themselves, but to me they were most tormenting cogitations; every of them augmented my misery, that Jesus Christ should have so much love as to pity me when he could not help me; nor did I think that the reason why he could not help me

was because his Merits were weak, or his Grace and Salvation spent on them already, but because his faithfulness to his threatening would not let him extend his mercy to me. Besides, I thought, as I have already hinted, that my sin was not within the bounds of that Pardon that was wrapped up in a Promise; and if not, then I knew assuredly, that it was more easy for Heaven and Earth to pass away than for me to have Eternal Life. So that the ground of all these fears of mine did arise from a steadfast belief that I had
 10 of the stability of the holy Word of God, and, also, from my being misinformed of the nature of my sin.

185. But, oh! how this would add to my affliction, to conceit that I should be guilty of such a sin for which he did not die. These thoughts would so confound me, and imprison me, and tie me up from faith, that I knew not what to do. But, oh! thought I, that he would come down again! Oh! that the work of Man's Redemption was yet to be done by Christ! How would I pray him and entreat him to count and reckon this sin amongst the rest for which
 20 he died! But this Scripture would strike me down as dead, *Christ being raised from the dead dieth no more; death hath Rom. 6. 9. no more dominion over him.*

186. Thus, by the strange and unusual assaults of the Tempter, was my Soul, like a broken Vessel, driven as with the Winds, and tossed sometimes headlong into despair, sometimes upon the Covenant of Works, and sometimes to wish that the new Covenant, and the conditions thereof, might, so far forth as I thought myself concerned, be turned another way and changed. But in all these I was but as those
 30 that jostle against the Rocks; more broken, scattered, and rent. Oh, the unthought of imaginations, frights, fears, and terrors that are affected by a thorough application of guilt, yielded to desperation! *This is the man that bath his dwelling among Mark 5. 2-5 the tombs with the dead; that is always crying out and cutting himself with stones.* But I say, all in vain. Desperation will not comfort him, the old Covenant will not save him; nay, Heaven and Earth shall pass away before one jot or title of the Word and Law of Grace shall fail or be removed.

This I saw, this I felt, and under this I groaned; yet this advantage I got thereby, namely, a further confirmation of the certainty of the way of salvation, and that the Scriptures were the Word of God! Oh! I cannot now express what then I saw and felt of the steadiness of Jesus Christ, the Rock of Man's Salvation; what was done could not be undone, added to, nor altered. I saw, indeed, that sin might drive the soul beyond Christ, even the sin which is unpardonable; but woe to him that was so driven, for the Word would shut him out.

187. Thus was I always sinking, whatever I did think or do. So one day I walked to a neighbouring Town, and sat down upon a Settle in the Street, and fell into a very deep pause about the most fearful state my sin had brought me to; and, after long musing, I lifted up my head, but methought I saw as if the Sun that shineth in the Heavens did grudge to give light, and as if the very stones in the Street, and tiles upon the Houses, did bend themselves against me; methought that they all combined together to banish me out of the World. I was abhorred of them, and ¹⁰ unfit to dwell among them, or be partaker of their benefits, because I had sinned against the Saviour. O how happy, now, was every creature over I was. For they stood fast and kept their station, but I was gone and lost.

188. Then breaking out in the bitterness of my soul, I said to myself, with a grievous sigh, *How can God comfort such a wretch as I?* I had no sooner said it but this returned upon me, as an echo doth answer a voice, *This sin is not unto death.* At which I was as if I had been raised out of a Grave, and cried out again, *Lord, how couldst thou find out ³⁰ such a word as this?* For I was filled with admiration at the fitness, and, also, at the unexpectedness of the sentence. The fitness of the Word, the rightness of the timing of it, the power, and sweetness, and light, and glory that came with it, also, was marvellous to me to find. I was now, for the time, out of doubt as to that about which I so much was in doubt before. My fears before *were*, that my sin was not pardonable, and so that I had no right to pray,

to repent, &c., or that if I did, it would be of no advantage or profit to me. But now, thought I, if *this* sin is not unto death, then it is pardonable; therefore, from this I have encouragement to come to God, by Christ, for mercy; to consider the promise of forgiveness as that which stands with open arms to receive me, as well as others. This, therefore, was a great easement to my mind (to wit, that my sin was pardonable, that it was not the sin unto death). ^{John 5. 24.} None but those that know what my trouble, by their own ^{appeal} experience, was, can tell what relief came to my Soul by this consideration. ^{to} It was a release to me from my former bonds, and a shelter from my former storm. I seemed now to stand upon the same ground with other sinners, and to have as good right to the Word and Prayer as any of them. ^{experience.} ^(i.e. : will not say I. Legal night.)

189. Now, I say, I was in hopes that my sin was not unpardonable, but that there might be hopes for me to obtain forgiveness. But, oh, how Satan did now lay about him for to bring me down again! But he could by no means do it, ^{so} neither this day nor the most part of the next, for this sentence stood like a mill-post at my back; yet, towards the evening of the next day, I felt this word begin to leave me and to withdraw its supportation from me, and so I returned to my old fears again, but with a great deal of grudging and peevishness, for I feared the sorrow of despair; nor could my faith now longer retain this word.

190. But the next day, at evening, being under many fears, I went to seek the Lord; and as I prayed, I cried, and my Soul cried to him in these words, with strong cries: *O Lord, I beseech thee, show me that thou hast loved me with everlasting* ^{1a. 2. 3.} love. I had no sooner said it but, with sweetness, this returned upon me, as an echo or sounding-again, *I have loved thee with an everlasting love.* Now I went to bed at quiet; also, when I awaked the next morning, it was fresh upon my Soul, and I believed it.

191. But yet the Tempter left me not; for it could not be so little as an hundred times that he that day did labour to break my peace. Oh! the combats and conflicts that I did

then meet with as I strove to hold by this word; that of *Esau* would fly in my face like to Lightning. I should be sometimes up and down twenty times in an hour, yet God did bear me up and keep my heart upon this word, from which I had also, for several days together, very much sweetness and comfortable hopes of pardon. For thus it was made out to me, *I loved thee whilst thou wast committing this sin, I loved thee before, I love thee still, and I will love thee for ever.*

192. Yet I saw my sin most barbarous, and a filthy crime, and could not but conclude, and that with great shame and astonishment, that I had horribly abused the holy Son of God. Wherefore I felt my soul greatly to love and pity him, and my bowels to yearn towards him; for I saw he was still my Friend, and did reward me good for evil; yea, the love and affection that then did burn within to my Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ did work, at this time, such a strong and hot desire of revengement upon myself for the abuse I had done unto him, that, to speak as then I thought, had I had a thousand gallons of blood within my veins, I could freely then have spilt it all at the command and feet of this my Lord and Saviour.

193. And as I was thus in musing and in my studies, considering how to love the Lord and to express my love to him, that saying came in upon me, *If thou, Lord, shouldest mark iniquities, O Lord, who shall stand? But there is forgiveness with thee, that thou mayest be feared.* These were good words to me, especially the latter part thereof; to wit, that there is forgiveness with the Lord, that he might be feared; that is, as then I understood it, that he might be loved and had in reverence; for it was thus made out to me, *That the great God did set so high an esteem upon the love of his poor Creatures, that rather than he would go without their love he would pardon their transgressions.*

194. And now was that word fulfilled on me, and I was also refreshed by it, *Then shall they be ashamed and confounded, and never open their mouth any more because of their shame, when I am pacified toward them for all that they have done, saith the Lord God.* Thus was my Soul at this time (and, as I then did

think, for ever) set at liberty from being again afflicted with my former guilt and amazement.

195. But before many weeks were over I began to despond again, fearing lest, notwithstanding all that I had enjoyed, that yet I might be deceived and destroyed at the last; for this consideration came strong into my mind, *That whatever comfort and peace I thought I might have from the Word of the promise of Life, yet unless there could be found in my refreshment a concurrence and agreement in the Scriptures, let me*
 10 *think what I will thereof, and hold it never so fast, I should find no such thing at the end; for the Scriptures cannot be broken.* John 10. 35.

✓ 196. Now began my heart again to ake and fear I might meet with disappointment at the last. Wherefore I began, with all seriousness, to examine my former comfort, and to consider whether one that had sinned as I have done might with confidence trust upon the faithfulness of God, laid down in those words by which I had been comforted and on which I had leaned myself. But now were brought those sayings to my mind, *For it is impossible for those who were once enlightened,* Heb. 6. 4.
 20 *and have tasted of the heavenly gift, and were made partakers of the Holy Ghost, and have tasted the good Word of God, and the Powers of the World to come, if they shall fall away, to renew them again into repentance. For if we sin wilfully after that we* Heb. 10. 26.
have received the knowledge of the truth, there remaineth no more 27.
sacrifice for sins, but a certain fearful looking for of Judgment and fiery indignation, which shall devour the adversaries. Even
as Esau, who for one morsel of meat sold his Birthright; for ye Heb. 12. 16.
know how that afterward, when he would have inherited the 17.
blessing, he was rejected; for he found no place of repentance,
 30 *though he sought it carefully with tears.*

197. (Now) was the Word of the Gospel forced from my Soul, so that no promise or encouragement was to be found in the Bible for me. And now would that saying work upon my spirit to afflict me, *Rejoice not, O Israel, for joy as other people.* Hos. 10. 15.
 For I saw indeed there was cause of rejoicing for those that held to Jesus; but as for me, I had cut myself off by my transgressions, and left myself neither foot-hold, nor hand-hold, amongst all the stays and props in the precious Word of Life.

198. And truly I did now feel myself to sink into a gulf, as an house whose foundation is destroyed. I did liken myself, in this condition, unto the case of a child that was fallen into a mill-pit, who, though it could make some shift to scabble and sprawl in the water, yet because it could find neither hold for hand nor foot, therefore at last it must die in that condition. So soon as this fresh assault had fastened on my Soul, that scripture came into my heart, *This is for many days*. And indeed I found it was so; for I could not be delivered, nor brought to peace again, until well nigh two years and an half ¹⁶ were completely finished. Wherefore these words, though in themselves they tended to discouragement, yet to me, who feared this condition would be eternal, they were at sometimes as an help and refreshment to me.

Dea. 20. 24.

199. For, thought I, *many days* are not, not for ever; *many days* will have an end; therefore seeing I was to be afflicted, not a few, but *many days*, yet I was glad it was but for *many days*. Thus, I say, I could recal myself sometimes, and give myself a help, for as soon as ever the words came into my mind at first, I knew my trouble would be long; yet this ²⁰ would be but sometimes, for I could not always think on this, nor ever be helped by it, though I did.

Lu. 22. 2.

200. Now, while these Scriptures lay before me, and laid sin anew at my door, that saying in the 18th of Luke, with others, did encourage me to prayer. Then the Tempter again laid at me very sore, suggesting, *That neither the Mercy of God, nor yet the Blood of Christ, did at all concern me, nor could they help me for my sin; therefore it was in vain to pray*. Yet, thought I, I will pray. But, said the Tempter, *your sin is unpardonable*. Well, said I, I will pray. It is to no ³⁰ boot, said he. Yet, said I, I will pray. So I went to prayer to God; and while I was at prayer, I uttered words to this effect, *Lord, Satan tells me that neither thy Mercy, nor Christ's Blood, is sufficient to save my Soul. Lord, shall I honour thee most, by believing thou wilt and canst? or him, by believing thou neither wilt nor canst? Lord, I would fain honour thee, by believing thou wilt and canst*.

201. And as I was thus before the Lord, that scripture

fastened on my heart, *O man, great is thy faith*, even as if Matt. 15. 28. one had clapped me on the back, as I was on my knees before God. Yet I was not able to believe this, that this was a prayer of faith, till almost six months after; for I could not think that I had faith, or that there should be a word for me to act faith on; therefore I should still be as sticking in the jaws of desperation, and went mourning up and down in a sad condition, crying, *Is his mercy clean gone? Is his mercy clean gone for ever?* And I thought sometimes, even 10 when I was groaning in these expressions, they did seem to make a question whether it was or no; yet I greatly feared it was.

202. There was nothing now that I longed for more than to be put out of doubt, as to this thing in question; and, as I was vehemently desiring to know if there was indeed hopes for me, these words came rolling into my mind. *Will* Ps. 77. 7-9. *the Lord cast off for ever? And will he be favourable no more? Is his mercy clean gone for ever? Doth his promise fail for evermore? Hath God forgotten to be gracious? Hath he in* 20 *anger shut up his tender mercies?* And all the while they run in my mind, methought I had this still as the answer, *It is a question whether he hath or no; it may be he hath not.* Yea, the interrogatory seemed to me to carry in it a sure affirmation that indeed he had not, nor would so cast off, but would be favourable; that his promise doth not fail, and that he had not forgotten to be gracious, nor would in anger shut up tender mercy. Something, also, there was upon my heart at the same time, which I now cannot call to mind; which, with this Text, did sweeten my heart, and made me con- 30 clude that his mercy might not be quite gone, nor clean gone for ever.

203. At another time, I remember I was again much under this question, *Whether the Blood of Christ was sufficient to save my Soul?* In which doubt I continued from morning till about seven or eight at night; and at last, when I was, as it were, quite worn out with fear, lest it should not lay hold on me, these words did sound suddenly within my heart, *He is able.* But methought this word *able* was spoke so loud Heb. 7. 25.

I can't remember how it was.
A state of mind.

unto me; it showed such a *great* word, it seemed to be writ in *great* letters, and gave such a justle to my fear and doubt, (I mean for the time it tarried with me, which was about a day,) as I never had from that all my life, either before or after that.

204. But one morning, when I was again at prayer, and trembling under the fear of this, *That no Word of God could help me*, that piece of a sentence darted in upon me, *My Grace is sufficient*. At this methought I felt some stay, as if there might be hopes. But, oh how good a thing it is ¹⁰ for God to send his Word! For about a fortnight before I was looking on this very place, and then I thought it could not come near my Soul with comfort, therefore I threw down my Book in a pet. Then I thought it was not large enough for me; no, not large enough. But now, it was as if it had Arms of Grace so wide that it could not only enclose me, but many more besides.

205. By these words I was sustained, yet not without exceeding conflicts, for the space of seven or eight weeks; for my peace would be in and out, sometimes twenty times ¹⁰ a day; Comfort now, and Trouble presently; Peace now, and before I could go a furlong as full of Fear and Guilt as ever heart could hold; and this was not only now and then, but my whole seven weeks' experience; for this about the sufficiency of Grace, and that of *Esau's* parting with his Birthright, would be like a pair of Scales within my mind, sometimes one end would be uppermost, and sometimes again the other; according to which would be my peace or trouble.

206. Therefore I did still pray to God that he would ³⁰ come in with this Scripture more fully on my heart; to wit, that he would help me to apply the whole sentence, for as yet I could not. That he gave, I gathered; but further I could not go, for as yet it only helped me to hope there might be mercy for me, *My Grace is sufficient*. And though it came no further, it answered my former question; to wit, that there was hope; yet, because *for thee* was left out, I was not contented, but prayed to God for that also.

Wherefore, one day as I was in a meeting of God's People, full of sadness and terror, for my fears again were strong upon me; and as I was now thinking my Soul was never the better, but my case most sad and fearful, these words did, with great power, suddenly break in upon me, *My Grace is sufficient for thee, my Grace is sufficient for thee, my Grace is sufficient for thee*, three times together; and, oh! methought that every word was a mighty word unto me; as *my*, and *Grace*, and *sufficient*, and *for thee*; they were then, and some-
 10 times are still, far bigger than others be.

207. At which time my understanding was so enlightened, that I was as though I had seen the Lord Jesus look down from Heaven through the Tiles upon me, and direct these words unto me. This sent me mourning home; it broke my heart, and filled me full of joy, and laid me low as the dust; only it stayed not long with me, I mean in this glory and refreshing comfort, yet it continued with me for several weeks, and did encourage me to hope. But so soon as that powerful operation of it was taken off my heart, that other
 30 about *Even* returned upon me as before; so my Soul did hang as in a pair of Scales again, sometimes up and sometimes down, now in peace, and anon again in terror.

208. Thus I went on for many weeks, sometimes comforted, and sometimes tormented; and, especially at some times, my torment would be very sore, for all those scriptures forenamed in the *Hebrews* would be set before me, as the only Sentences that would keep me out of Heaven. Then, again, I should begin to repent that ever that thought went through me, I should also think thus with myself, *Why, how*
 30 *many Scriptures are there against me? There are but three or four: and cannot God miss them, and save me for all them?* Sometimes, again, I should think, *Oh! if it were not for these three or four words, now how might I be comforted?* And I could hardly forbear, at some times, but to wish them out of the Book.

209. Then methought I should see as if both *Peter*, and *Paul*, and all the Writers, did look with scorn upon me, and hold me in derision; and as if they said unto

me, All our words are truth, one of as much force as another. It is not we that have cut you off, but you have cast away yourself; there is none of our sentences that you must take hold upon but these, and such as these: It is impossible; there remains

Heb. 6. 4.

2 Pet. 2. 22.

no more sacrifice for sin. And it had been better for them not to have known the Will of God, than after they have known it to turn from the holy commandment delivered unto them. For the Scriptures cannot be broken.

Josh. 22. 3. 4.

210. These, as the Elders of the City of Refuge, I saw were to be the Judges both of my case and me, while I stood, with the Avenger of blood at my heels, trembling at their Gate for deliverance; also with a thousand fears and mistrusts, I doubted that they would shut me out for ever.

211. Thus was I confounded, not knowing what to do, nor how to be satisfied in this question, *Whether the Scriptures could agree in the salvation of my soul?* I quaked at the Apostles, I knew their words were true, and that they must stand for ever.

212. And I remember one day, as I was in diverse frames so of spirit, and considering that these frames were still according to the nature of the several Scriptures that came in upon my mind; if this of Grace, then was I quiet; but if that of Esau, then tormented; Lord, thought I, if both these Scriptures would meet in my heart at once, I wonder which of them would get the better of me. So methought I had a longing mind that they might come both together upon me; yea, I desired of God they might.

213. Well, about two or three days after, so they did indeed; they bolted both upon me at a time, and did work and struggle strangely in me for a while; at last, that about Esau's birthright began to wax weak, and withdraw, and vanish; and this about the sufficiency of Grace prevailed with peace and joy. And as I was in a muse about this thing, that Scripture came home upon me, *Mercy rejoiceth against judgment.*

James 2. 13.

214. This was a wonderment to me; yet truly I am apt to think it was of God. For the Word of the Law and

Wrath must give place to the Word of Life and Grace; because, though the Word of Condemnation be glorious, ^{1 Cor. 3. 8-12} yet the Word of Life and Salvation doth far exceed in glory. Also, that *Moses* and *Elias* must both vanish, and ^{Mark 9. 5. 8} leave Christ and his Saints alone.

215. This Scripture did also most sweetly visit my soul,
And him that cometh to me I will in no wise cast out. ^{John 6. 37.} Oh
 the comfort that I have had from this word, *in no wise!*
 as who should say, *by no means, for no thing, whatever be*
 10 *both done.* But Satan would greatly labour to pull this promise
 from me, telling of me *That Christ did not mean me, and such*
as I, but sinners of a lower rank, that had not done as I had
done. But I should answer him again, *Satan, here is in this*
word no such exception; but him that comes; him, any him;
him that cometh to me I will in no wise cast out. And this
 I well remember still, that of all the sleights that Satan used
 to take this scripture from me, yet he never did so much
 as put this question, *But do you come aright?* And I have
 thought the reason was, because he thought I knew full
 20 well what coming aright was; for I saw that to come aright
 was to come as I was, a vile and ungodly sinner, and to cast
 myself at the feet of Mercy, condemning myself for sin.
 If ever Satan and I did strive for any Word of God in all
 my life, it was for this good word of Christ; he at one
 end and I at the other. Oh, what work did we make! It
 was for this in John, I say, that we did so tug and strive;
 he pulled and I pulled; but, God be praised, I got the better
 of him, I got some sweetness from it.

216. But, notwithstanding all these helps and blessed words
 30 of grace, yet that of *Evan's* selling of his Birthright would still
 at times distress my Conscience; for though I had been most
 sweetly comforted, and that but just before, yet when that
 came into my mind, it would make me fear again, I could not
 be quite rid thereof, it would every day be with me. Where-
 fore now I went another way to work, even to consider the
 nature of this blasphemous thought; I mean, if I should take
 the words at the largest, and give them their own natural
 force and scope, even every word therein. So when I had

ran 4/
 and
 15 John.
 (concerning)

thus considered, I found, that if they were fairly taken, they would amount to this, *That I had freely left the Lord Jesus Christ to his choice, whether he would be my Saviour or no*; for the wicked words were these, *Let him go if he will*. Then that Scripture gave me hope, *I will never leave thee nor forsake thee*. O Lord, said I, *but I have left thee*. Then it answered again, *But I will not leave thee*. For this I thank God also.

Heb. 13. 5.



217. Yet I was grievous afraid he should, and found it exceeding hard to trust him, seeing I had so offended him. I could have been exceeding glad that this thought had never befallen, for then I thought I could, with more ease and freedom abundance, have leaned upon his Grace. I see it was with me, as it was with *Joseph's* brethren; the guilt of their own wickedness did often fill them with fears that their brother would at last despise them.

Gen. 39. 23-27.

218. But above all the Scriptures that I yet did meet with, that in the twentieth of Joshua was the greatest comfort to me, which speaks of the slayer that was to flee for refuge. And if the avenger of blood pursue the slayer, then, saith Moses, they that are the Elders of the City of Refuge shall not deliver him into his hand, because he smote his Neighbour unwittingly, and hated him not aforetime. Oh, blessed be God for this word. I was convinced that I was the Slayer; and that the Avenger of Blood pursued me, that I felt with great terror; only now it remained that I inquire whether I have right to enter the City of Refuge. So I found that he must not, *who lay in wait to shed blood*. It was not the wilful Murderer, but he who *unwittingly* did it, he who did unawares shed blood; not of spight, or grudge, or malice, he that shed it unwittingly, even he who did not *bate his Neighbour before*. Wherefore,

Josh. 20. 5.



219. I thought verily I was the man that must enter, because I had smitten my Neighbour unwittingly, and hated him not aforetime. I hated him not aforetime; no, I prayed unto him, was tender of sinning against him; yea, and against this wicked temptation I had strove for a twelvemonth before; yea, and also when it did pass through my heart, it did it in spight of my Teeth. Wherefore I thought I had right to

enter this City, and the Elders, which are the Apostles, were not to deliver me up. This, therefore, was great comfort to me, and did give me much ground of hope.

220. Yet being very critical, for my smart had made me that I knew not what ground was sure enough to bear me, I had one question that my Soul did much desire to be resolved about; and that was, Whether it be possible for any Soul that hath indeed sinned the unpardonable sin, yet after that to receive though but the least true spiritual comfort from God through Christ? The which, after I had much considered, I found the answer was, No, they could not; and that for these reasons:— *relates to logic.* logic
(use it)

221. *First*, Because those that have sinned that sin, they are debarred a share in the Blood of Christ, and being shut out of that, they must needs be void of the least ground of hope, and so of spiritual comfort; *for to such there remains Heb. 10. 26. no more sacrifice for sin. Secondly*, Because they are denied a share in the Promise of Life; they shall never be forgiven, *neither in this World, neither in that which is to come. Thirdly*, Matt. 12. 32.
 22 The Son of God excludes them also from a share in his blessed Intercession, being for ever ashamed to own them both before Mark 8. 38 his holy Father, and the blessed Angels in Heaven.

222. When I had, with much deliberation, considered of this matter, and could not but conclude that the Lord had comforted me, and that too after this my wicked sin; then, methought, I durst venture to come nigh unto those most fearful and terrible Scriptures, with which all this while I had been so greatly awrighted, and on which, indeed, before I durst scarce cast mine Eye (yea, had much ado an hundred
 30 times to forbear wishing of them out of the Bible; for I thought they would destroy me); but now, I say, I began to take some measure of encouragement to come close to them, to read them, and consider them, and to weigh their scope and tendency.

223. The which, when I began to do, I found their visage changed for they looked not so grimly on me as before I thought they did. And, first, I came to the sixth of the Hebrews, yet trembling for fear it should strike me; which See text as visage (saw)

when I had considered, I found that the falling there intended was a falling quite away. That is, as I conceived, a falling from, and an absolute denial of the Gospel of remission of sins by Christ, for from them the Apostle begins his Arguments. *Secondly*, I found that this falling away must be openly, even in the view of the world, even so as to put Christ to an open shame. *Thirdly*, I found that those he there intended were for ever shut up of God, both in blindness, hardness, and impenitency: *It is impossible they should be renewed again unto Repentance.* By all these particulars, I found to God's everlasting Praise, my sin was not the sin in this place intended.

First, I confessed I was fallen, but not fallen away, that is, from the profession of Faith in Jesus unto eternal Life.

Secondly, I confessed that I had put Jesus Christ to shame by my sin, but not to open shame. I did not deny him before men, nor condemn him as a fruitless one before the World.

Thirdly, Nor did I find that God had shut me up, or denied me to come (though I found it hard work indeed to come), to him by sorrow and repentance. Blessed be God for unsearchable grace.

224. Then I considered that in the tenth of the Hebrews, and found that the wilful sin there mentioned is not every wilful sin, but that which doth throw off Christ, and then his Commandments too. *Secondly*, That must also be done openly, before two or three Witnesses, to answer that of the Law. *Thirdly*, This sin cannot be committed, but with great despite done to the Spirit of Grace; despising both the dissuasions from that sin, and the persuasions to the contrary. But the Lord knows, though this my sin was devilish, yet it did not so amount to these.

225. And as touching that in the twelfth of the Hebrews, about Esau's selling his Birthright, though this was that which killed me, and stood like a spear against me; yet now I did consider *First*, That his was not a hasty thought against the continual labour of his Mind, but a thought consented to and put in practice likewise, and that too after some deliberation. *Secondly*, It was a public and open action, even before his

Found
as in
that.

Gen. 25.
29-34.

labor
of
thought

Brother, if not before many more; this made his sin of a far more heinous nature than otherwise it would have been. *Thirdly*, He continued to slight his Birthright: *He did eat and drink, and went his way; thus Esau despised his birthright.* Yea, twenty years after, he was found to despise it still. *And Gen. 32: 8* *Esau said, I have enough, my Brother; keep that thou hast unto thyself.*

226. Now as touching this, That Esau sought a place of Repentance; thus I thought, *First*, This was not for the Birth-
 10 *right*, but for the *Blessing*; this is clear from the Apostle, and is distinguished by *Esau* himself; *he hath taken away my Birthright* *Gen. 27: 34* (that is, formerly); *and, behold, now he hath taken away my Blessing also.* *Secondly*, Now, this being thus considered, I came again to the Apostle to see what might be the mind of God, in a New-Testament style and sense, concerning *Esau's* sin; and so far as I could conceive, this was the mind of God, That the Birthright signified Regeneration, and the Blessing the Eternal Inheritance; for so the Apostle seems to hint, *Lest there be any profane person, as Esau, who for one morsel of meat*
 20 *sold his Birthright*; as if he should say, *Lest there be any Person amongst you, that shall cast off all those blessed beginnings of God that at present are upon him, in order to a new Birth, lest they become as Esau, even be rejected afterwards, when they would inherit the Blessing.*

227. For many there are who, in the day of Grace and Mercy, despise those things which are indeed the Birthright to Heaven, who yet, when the deciding day appears, will cry as loud as *Esau*, *Lord, Lord, open to us*; but then, as *Isaac* would not repent, no more will God the Father, but will say,
 30 *I have blessed these, yea, and they shall be blessed*; but as for you, *Depart from me, all ye workers of Iniquity.*

228. When I had thus considered these Scriptures and found that this to (understand) them was not against, but according to other Scriptures; this still added further to my encouragement and comfort, and also gave a great blow to that Objection, to wit, that the Scriptures could not agree in the Salvation of my Soul. And now remained only the hinder part of the Tempest, for the thunder was gone beyond me, only

← associated text (in 226) mapped out.

why recap this logic? for reader.

(can follow)

Gen. 27: 33
 Luke 13: 33-37

// ✓

← finish with order.

E: hush in P's cord.

some drops did still remain, that now and then would fall upon me; but because my former frights and anguish were very sore and deep, therefore it did oft befall me still, as it befalleth those that have been scared with fire, I thought every voice was *Fire, Fire*; every little touch would hurt my tender conscience.

trial:
response is
"seeing"

229. But one day, as I was passing in the field, and that too with some dashes on my Conscience, fearing lest yet all was not right, suddenly this sentence fell upon my soul, *Thy righteousness is in Heaven*; and methought withal, *I saw with the Eyes of my Soul, Jesus Christ at God's Right Hand.*

There, I say, was my righteousness; so that wherever I was, or whatever I was adoring, God could not say of me, *He wants my Righteousness*, for that was just before him. I also saw, moreover, that it was not my good frame of Heart that made my Righteousness better, nor yet my bad frame that made my Righteousness worse; for my Righteousness was Jesus Christ himself, *the same yesterday, and to-day, and for ever.*

Heb. 13. 8.

230. Now did my Chains fall off my Legs indeed; I was loosed from my Affliction and Irons; my Temptations also fled so away; so that, from that time, those dreadful Scriptures of God left off to trouble me; now went I also home rejoicing, for the Grace and Love of God. So when I came home, I looked to see if I could find that sentence, *Thy Righteousness is in Heaven*, but could not find such a saying; wherefore my Heart began to sink again; only that was brought to my remembrance, *He is made unto us of God Wisdom, and Righteousness, and Sanctification, and Redemption*; by this word I saw the other sentence true.

1 Cor. 1. 30.

231. For by this Scripture, I saw that the Man Christ 30
Jesus, as he is distinct from us, as touching his bodily presence,
so he is our Righteousness and Sanctification before God.
Here, therefore, I lived for some time, very sweetly at peace with God through Christ. Oh methought, Christ! Christ!
there was nothing but Christ that was before my Eyes, I was not now only for looking upon this and the other benefits of Christ apart, as of his Blood, Burial, or Resurrection, but considered him as a whole Christ; as he in whom all

these, and all other his Virtues, Relations, Offices, and Operations met together, and that, as he sat on the Right Hand of God in Heaven.

232. 'Twas glorious to me to see his Exaltation, and the Worth and Prevalency of all his Benefits, and that because now I could look from myself to him, and should reckon that all those graces of God that now were green on me, were yet but like those crack-groats and fourpence-halfpennies that rich men carry in their Purses, when their Gold is in their Trunks at home! Oh, I saw my Gold was in my Trunk at home! In Christ, my Lord and Saviour! Now Christ was all; all my Wisdom, all my Righteousness, all my Sanctification, and all my Redemption.

233. Further, the Lord did also lead me into the Mystery of Union with the Son of God; that I was joined to him, that I was flesh of his flesh, and bone of his bone, and now was that a sweet word to me in the thirtieth of the fifth of Ephesians. By this also was my Faith in him as my Righteousness the more confirmed to me; for if he and
30 I were one, then his Righteousness was mine, his Merits mine, his Victory also mine. Now could I see myself in Heaven and Earth at once; in Heaven by my Christ, by my Head, by my Righteousness and Life, though on Earth by my Body or Person.

234. Now I saw Christ Jesus was looked on of God, and should also be looked upon by us, as that common or public Person, in whom all the whole body of his Elect are always to be considered and reckoned; that we fulfilled the Law by him, died by him, rose from the dead by him, got the Victory
30 over Sin, Death, the Devil, and Hell by him; when he died, we died; and so of his Resurrection. *Thy dead men shall live, Isa. 26. 29. together with my dead body shall they arise*, saith he. And again, After two days he will revive us; in the third day he will
30 raise us up, and we shall live in his sight; which is now fulfilled by the sitting down of the Son of Man on the Right Hand of the Majesty in the Heavens, according to that to the Ephesians, *he hath raised us up together, and made us sit* Eph. 2. 6. *together in heavenly places in Christ Jesus.*

Manner
Body &
Soul.
Eve + Adam

Common
or Public

235. Ah, these blessed considerations and Scriptures, with many other of a like nature, were in those days made to spangle in mine Eyes, so that I have cause to say, *Praise ye the Lord God in his Sanctuary: praise him in the Firmament of his Power. Praise him for his mighty Acts: praise him according to his excellent Greatness.*

236. Having thus, in few words, given you a taste of the sorrow and affliction that my Soul went under, by the guilt and terror that this my wicked thought did lay me under; and having given you also a touch of my deliverance therefrom, and of the sweet and blessed comfort that I met with afterwards, (which comfort dwelt about a twelvemonth with my Heart, to my unspeakable admiration;) I will now, God willing, before I proceed any further, give you in a word or two, what, as I conceive, was the cause of this temptation; and also after that, what advantage, at the last, it became unto my Soul.

237. For the causes, I conceived they were principally two: of which two also I was deeply convinced all the time this trouble lay upon me. The first was, for that I did not, when I was delivered from the temptation that went before, still pray to God to keep me from temptations that were to come. For though, as I can say in truth, my Soul was much in Prayer before this trial seized me, yet then I prayed only, or at the most, principally for the removal of present troubles, and for fresh discoveries of his love in Christ: which I saw afterwards was not enough to do. I also should have prayed that the great God would keep me from the evil that was to come.

238. Of this I was made deeply sensible by the Prayer of holy David, who, when he was under present Mercy, yet prayed that God would hold him back from sin and temptation to come; For then, saith he, shall I be upright, and I shall be innocent from the great transgression. By this very word was I galled and condemned, quite through this long temptation.

239. That also was another word that did much condemn me for my folly, in the neglect of this Duty, *Let us therefore*

has body
now speaking

of
from him
(writing)

Ps. 119. 13.

Heb. 4. 14.

come boldly unto the throne of Grace, that we may obtain mercy, and find Grace to help in time of need. This I had not done, and therefore was suffered thus to sin and fall, according to what is written, *Pray that you enter not into temptation.* Matt. 26. 41.

And truly this very thing is to this day of such weight and awe upon me, that I dare not, when I come before the Lord, go off my knees until I entreat him for help and mercy against the temptations that are to come; and I do beseech thee, Reader, that thou learn to beware of my
 10 negligence, by the affliction that for this thing I did for days, and months, and years, with sorrow undergo.

240. Another cause of this temptation was that I had tempted God; and on this manner did I do it. Upon a time my wife was great with Child, and before her full time was come, her pangs, as of a Woman in travail, were fierce and strong upon her, even as if she would have immediately fallen in labour, and been delivered of an untimely Birth. Now, at this very time it was that I had been so strongly tempted to question the Being of God; wherefore,
 20 as my Wife lay crying by me, I said, but with all secrecy imaginable, even thinking in my heart, *Lord, if thou wilt now remove this sad affliction from my Wife, and cause that she be troubled no more therewith this night,* (and now were her pangs just upon her,) *then I shall know that thou canst discern the most secret thoughts of the Heart.*

241. I had no sooner said it in my heart, but her pangs were taken from her, and she was cast into a deep sleep, and so she continued till Morning. At this I greatly marvelled, not knowing what to think; but after I had been
 30 awake a good while, and heard her cry no more, I fell to sleep also. So when I waked in the Morning it came upon me again, even what I had said in my heart the last Night, and how the Lord had shewed me that he knew my secret Thoughts, which was a great astonishment unto me for several weeks after.

242. Well, about a year and a half afterwards, that wicked sinful thought, of which I have spoken before, went through my wicked heart, even this thought, *Let Christ go if he will;*

questing
 die labor
 pangs.

so when I was fallen under guilt for this, the remembrance of my other thought and of the effect thereof would also come upon me with this retort, which also carried rebuke along with it, *Now you may see that God doth know the most secret thoughts of the heart.*

Judges 6
32-42

243. And with this, that of the passages that were betwixt the Lord and his servant *Gideon* fell upon my Spirit; how because that *Gideon* tempted God with his fleece, both wet and dry, when he should have believed and ventured upon his word, therefore the Lord did afterwards so try him as to send him against an innumerable company of Enemies; and that too, as to outward appearance, without any Strength or Help. Thus he served me, and that justly, for I should have believed his word, and not have put an *if* upon the all-seeingness of God.

Gain for
temptation
243

244. And now to shew you something of the advantages that I also gained by this temptation; and *first*, By this I was made continually to possess in my soul a very wonderful sense both of the Being and Glory of God, and of his beloved Son. In the temptation that went before my Soul was perplexed with unbelief, blasphemy, hardness of heart, questions about the being of God, Christ, the Truth of the Word, and certainty of the World to come; I say, then I was greatly assaulted and tormented with Atheism; but now the case was otherwise, now was God and Christ continually before my Face, though not in a way of comfort, but in a way of exceeding dread and terror. The Glory of the Holiness of God did at this time break me to pieces; and the Bowels and Compassion of Christ did break me as on the Wheel; for I could not consider him but as a lost and rejected Christ, the remembrance of which was as the continual breaking of my Bones.

245. The Scriptures now also were wonderful things unto me. I saw that the truth and verity of them were the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven; *those* that the Scriptures favour, *they* must inherit bliss; but *those* that they oppose and condemn must perish evermore. Oh this word, *For the Scripture cannot be broken*, would rend the Caul of my heart; and so

would that other, *Whose sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them; but whose sins ye retain, they are retained.* Now I saw ^{John 8. 4} the Apostles to be the Elders of the City of Refuge; those that they were to receive in were received to Life; but those that they shut out were to be slain by the Avenger of Blood.

246. Oh! one Sentence of the Scripture did more afflict and terrify my mind, I mean those Sentences that stood against me, (as sometimes I thought they every one did,) 10 more I say, than an Army of forty thousand men that might have come against me. Woe be to him against whom the Scriptures bend themselves.

247. By this temptation I was made to see more into the Nature of the Promises than ever I was before; for I lying now trembling under the mighty hand of God, continually corn and rent by the thunderings of his Justice; this made me, with careful Heart and watchful Eye, with great seriousness, to turn over every leaf, and with much diligence, mixed with trembling, to consider every Sentence, 20 together with its natural force and latitude.

248. By this temptation, also, I was greatly beaten off my former foolish practice, of putting by the Word of Promise when it came into my mind; for now, though I could not suck that comfort and sweetness from the Promise as I had done at other times, yet, like to a man a-sinking, I should catch at all I saw. Formerly I thought I might not meddle with the Promise unless I felt its comfort, but now it was no time thus to do, the Avenger of Blood too hardly did pursue me.

30 249. Now therefore I was glad to catch at that word, which yet I feared I had no ground or right to own; and even to leap into the bosom of that Promise, that yet I feared did shut its heart against me. Now also I should labour to take the Word as God hath laid it down, without restraining the natural force of one syllable thereof. O what did I now see in that blessed sixth of *Jobn*, *And him that* ^{John 6. 27} *comes to me, I will in no wise cast out.* Now I began to consider with myself, that God had a bigger Mouth to speak

with than I had Heart to conceive with. I thought also with myself that he spake not his words in haste, or in unadvised heat, but with infinite Wisdom and Judgment, and in very truth and faithfulness.

250. I should in these days, often in my greatest Agonies, even flounce towards the Promise, (as the Horses do towards sound Ground that yet stick in the Mire,) concluding, (though as one almost bereft of his wits through fear,) on this I will rest and stay, and leave the fulfilling of it to the God of Heaven that made it. Oh! many a pull hath my heart 20 had with Satan for that blessed sixth of *Job*. I did not now, as at other times, look principally for comfort, (though, O how welcome would it have been unto me!) But now a word, a word to lean a weary Soul upon, that I might not sink for ever, it was that I hunted for.

251. Yea, often when I have been making to the Promise, I have seen as if the Lord would refuse my Soul for ever. I was often as if I had run upon the Pikes, and as if the Lord had thrust at me to keep me from him as with a flaming
Esther 4. 16. Sword. Then I should think of *Esther*, who went to petition 20
1 Kings 22. the King contrary to the Law. I thought also of *Benbadad's*
27. 32. servants, who went with ropes upon their Heads to their
Matt. 15. Enemies for mercy. The woman of *Canaan* also, that
23-26. would not be daunted, though called Dog by Christ.
Luke 11. 5-8. And the Man that went to borrow bread at midnight, were great encouragements unto me.

252. I never saw those heights and depths in Grace, and Love, and Mercy, as I saw after this temptation. Great Sins do draw out great Grace; and where Guilt is most terrible and fierce there the Mercy of God in Christ, when showed 30 to the Soul, appears most high and mighty. When *Job* had passed through his Captivity, he had twice as much as he had before. Blessed be God for Jesus Christ our Lord. Many other things I might here make observation of, but I would be brief, and therefore shall at this time omit them, and do pray God that my harms may make others fear to offend, lest they also be made to bear the Iron Yoke as I did.

Job 42. 20.

I had two or three times, at or about my deliverance from this temptation, such strange apprehensions of the Grace of God, that I could hardly bear up under it, it was so out of measure amazing, when I thought it could reach me, that I do think, if that sense of it had abode long upon me, it would have made me incapable for business.

253. Now I shall go forward to give you a relation of other of the Lord's dealings with me, of his dealings with me at sundry other seasons, and of the temptations I then
 10 did meet withal. I shall begin with what I met with when I first did join in fellowship with the people of God in *Bedford*. ✓
 After I had propounded to the church that my desire was to walk in the Order and Ordinances of Christ with them, and was also admitted by them; while I thought of that blessed Ordinance of Christ, which was his last Supper with his disciples before his Death, that Scripture, *Do this in remembrance of me*, was made a very precious word unto me; for by it the Lord did come down upon my Conscience with the discovery of his death for my sins; and as I then
 20 felt, did as if he plunged me in the virtue of the same. But, behold, I had not been long a partaker at that Ordinance, but such fierce and sad temptations did attend me at all times therein, both to blaspheme the Ordinance, and to wish some deadly thing to those that then did eat thereof; that, lest I should at any time be guilty of consenting to these wicked and fearful thoughts, I was forced to bend myself all the while to pray to God to keep me from such Blasphemies; and also to cry to God to bless the Bread and Cup to them as it went from mouth to mouth. The reason of
 30 this temptation I have thought since was, because I did not, with that reverence as became me, at first approach to partake thereof.

254. Thus I continued for three quarters of a Year, and could never have rest nor ease; but at last the Lord came in upon my Soul with that same Scripture by which my Soul was visited before; and after that I have been usually very well and comfortable in the partaking of that blessed Ordinance, and have, I trust, therein discerned the *Lord's Body* as

broken for my sins, and that his precious Blood hath been shed for my Transgressions.

255. Upon a time I was somewhat inclining to a Consumption, wherewith, about the Spring, I was suddenly and violently seized with much weakness in my outward man, insomuch that I thought I could not live. Now began I afresh to give myself up to a serious examination after my state and condition for the future, and of my evidences for that blessed World to come; for it hath, I bless the name of God, been my usual course, as always, so especially in the Day of affliction, to endeavour to keep my interest in the Life to come clear before my eye.

256. But I had no sooner began to recal to mind my former experience of the goodness of God to my Soul, but there came flocking into my mind an innumerable company of my Sins and Transgressions, amongst which these were at this time most to my affliction, namely, my Deadness, Dulness, and Coldness in holy duties; my Wanderings of heart, of my Wearisomeness in all good things, my Want of Love to God, his Ways, and People, with this at the end of all, *Are these the fruits of Christianity? are these the tokens of a blessed man?*

257. At the apprehensions of these things my sickness was doubled upon me; for now was I sick in my inward man, my Soul was clogged with guilt; now also was my former experience of God's goodness to me quite taken out of my mind, and hid as if it had never been, nor seen. Now was my soul greatly pinched between these two considerations, *Live I must not, Die I dare not*. Now I sunk and fell in my spirit, and was giving up all for lost; but as I was walking up and down in the house, as a man in a most woful state, that Word of God took hold of my heart, *You are justified freely by his Grace, through the Redemption that is in Christ Jesus.* But oh what a turn it made upon me!

Rom. 3. 24.

258. Now was I as one awakened out of some troublesome sleep and dream, and listening to this Heavenly Sentence, I was as if I had heard it thus expounded to me: *Sinner, thou thinkest that because of thy Sins and Infirmities I cannot save thy*

Soul: but behold my Son is by me, and upon him I look, and not on thee, and will deal with thee according as I am pleased with him. At this I was greatly lightened in my mind, and made to understand that God could justify a sinner at any time; it was but his looking upon Christ, and imputing of his benefits to us, and the work was forthwith done.

259. And as I was thus in a muse, that Scripture also came with great power upon my Spirit, *Not by works of righteousness* Tit. 2. 5. *which we have done, but according to his Mercy he saved us, &c.* 2 Tim. 1. 9.
- 10 Now was I got on high; I saw myself within the Arms of Grace and Mercy; and though I was before afraid to think of a dying hour, yet now I cried, *Let me die.* Now death was lovely and beautiful in my sight; for I saw *we shall never live indeed till we be gone to the other World.* Oh, methought this life is but a slumber in comparison of that above; at this time also I saw more in those words, *Heirs of God,* than ever I shall Rom. 8. 17. be able to express while I live in this world. *Heirs of God!* God himself is the portion of the Saints. This I saw and wondered at, but cannot tell you what I saw.
- 20 260. Again, as I was at another time very ill and weak, all that time also the Tempter did beset me strongly, (for I find he is much for assaulting the soul when it begins to approach towards the grave, then is his opportunity,) labouring to hide from me my former experience of God's goodness; also setting before me the terrors of Death and the Judgment of God, insomuch that at this time, through my fear of miscarrying for ever, (should I now die,) I was as one dead before Death came, and was as if I had felt myself already descending into the Pit; methought, I said, there was no
- 30 way but to Hell I must. But behold, just as I was in the midst of those fears, these words of the Angels carrying *Lazarus* into *Abraham's* bosom darted in upon me, as who Luke 17. 22. should say, *So it shall be with thee when thou dost leave this World.* This did sweetly revive my Spirit, and help me to hope in God; which, when I had with comfort mused on a while, that word fell with great weight upon my mind, *O Death where is thy sting? O Grave, where is thy Victory?* 1 Cor. 15. 55. At this I became both well in body and mind at once, for

my sickness did presently vanish, and I walked comfortably in my Work for God again.

261. At another time, though just before I was pretty well and savoury in my Spirit, yet suddenly there fell upon me a great cloud of darkness which did so hide from me the things of God and Christ that I was as if I had never seen or known them in my life. I was also so overrulen in my Soul with a senseless, heartless frame of spirit, that I could not feel my Soul to move or stir after Grace and Life by Christ. I was as if my loins were broken, or as if my hands and feet had been tied or bound with chains. At this time also I felt some weakness to seize upon my outward man, which made still the other affliction the more heavy and uncomfortable to me.

262. After I had been in this condition some three or four days, as I was sitting by the fire, I suddenly felt this word to sound in my heart, *I must go to Jesus*. At this my former Darkness and Atheism fled away and the blessed things of Heaven were set within my view. While I was on this sudden thus overtaken with surprise, *Wife*, said I, *is there ever such a scripture, I must go to Jesus?* She said she could not tell, therefore I sat musing still to see if I could remember such a place. I had not sat above two or three minutes but that came bolting in upon me, *And to an innumerable Company of Angels*, and withal, *Hebrews the twelfth*, about the mount *Sion*, was set before mine eyes.

263. Then with joy I told my wife, *O now I know, I know!* But that night was a good night to me, I never had but few better. I longed for the company of some of God's People that I might have imparted unto them what God had showed me. Christ was a precious Christ to my Soul that night; I could scarce lie in my Bed for Joy, and Peace, and Triumph, through Christ. This great Glory did not continue upon me until Morning, yet that twelfth of the Author to the Hebrews, was a blessed Scripture to me for many days together after this.

264. The words are these, *You are come unto mount Sion, to the City of the living God, to the heavenly Jerusalem, and*

to an innumerable company of Angels, to the general Assembly and Church of the firstborn, which are written in Heaven, to God the Judge of all, and to the Spirits of just men made perfect, and to Jesus the Mediator of the new Testament, and to the blood of sprinkling, that speaketh better things than that of Abel. Through this blessed sentence the Lord led me over and over, first to this Word, and then to that, and showed me wonderful glory in every one of them. These words also have oft since this time been great refreshment to my Spirit.

10 Blessed be God for having mercy on me.

A Brief Account of the Author's Call to the Work of the Ministry.

265. And now I am speaking my Experience, I will in this place thrust in a word or two concerning my preaching the Word, and of God's dealing with me in that particular also. For after I had been about five or six years awakened, and helped myself to see both the want and worth of Jesus Christ our Lord, and also enabled to venture my soul upon him, some of the most able among the Saints with us, I say the most able for Judgment and Holiness of life, as they conceived, did perceive that God had counted me worthy to understand something of his Will in his holy and blessed Word, and had given me utterance, in some measure, to express what I saw to others for edification; therefore they desired me, and that with much earnestness, that I would be willing, at sometimes, to take in hand, in one of the Meetings, to speak a word of Exhortation unto them.

266. The which, though at the first it did much dash and abash my Spirit, yet being still by them desired and intreated, I consented to their request, and did twice at two several Assemblies, (but in private,) though with much weakness and infirmity, discover my Gift amongst them. At which they not only seemed to be, but did solemnly protest, as in the sight of the great God, they were both affected and comforted, and gave thanks to the Father of Mercies for the grace bestowed on me.

End

of
Exhortation

on

conversion

Discovery of my Gift

Work of

ministry

(distinct)

on time!

on time!

come boldly unto the throne of Grace, that we may obtain mercy,
and find Grace to help in time of need. This I had not done,
and therefore was suffered thus to sin and fall, according
to what is written, *Pray that you enter not into temptation.* And truly this very thing is to this day of such weight and
awe upon me, that I dare not, when I come before the
Lord, go off my knees until I entreat him for help and
mercy against the temptations that are to come; and I
do beseech thee, Reader, that thou learn to beware of my
negligence, by the affliction that for this thing I did for
days, and months, and years, with sorrow undergo.

294. Another cause of this temptation was that I had
tempted God; and in this manner did: In a Uran a
time was come, her name, as if a Woman in travail, were
come and strong with child, and before her full
time was come, she was delivered of an untimely
birth. Now, at this very time I was that I had been in
temptation to question the Being of God. Therefore,
as my God by crying in me, I said, but with all necessary
imaginations, even thinking in my heart, Lord I have with me
removed his and affection from my life, and come that he is
drawn as much towards his right, and ever were not
young just upon me, but that ever that thou couldst discern
the same more strongly of his love.

is never in
the heart
of man.

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246. Oh! one Sentence of the Scripture did more afflict and terrify my mind, I mean those Sentences that stood against me, (as sometimes I thought they every one did,) ¹⁰ more I say, than an Army of forty thousand men that might have come against me. Woe be to him against whom the Scriptures bend themselves.

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³⁰ 249. Now therefore I was glad to catch at that word, which yet I feared I had no ground or right to own; and even to leap into the bosom of that Promise, that yet I feared did shut its heart against me. Now also I should labour to take the Word as God hath laid it down, without restraining the natural force of one syllable thereof. O what did I now see in that blessed sixth of *Job*, *And him that* ^{John 6. 37.} *comes to me, I will in no wise cast out.* Now I began to consider with myself, that God had a bigger Mouth to speak

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Soul: but behold my Son is by me, and upon him I look, and not on thee, and will deal with thee according as I am pleased with him. At this I was greatly lightened in my mind, and made to understand that God could justify a sinner at any time; it was but his looking upon Christ, and imputing of his benefits to us, and the work was forthwith done.

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- 10 Now was I got on high; I saw myself within the Arms of Grace and Mercy; and though I was before afraid to think of a dying hour, yet now I cried, *Let me die.* Now death was lovely and beautiful in my sight; for I saw *we shall never live indeed till we be gone to the other World.* Oh, methought this life is but a slumber in comparison of that above; at this time also I saw more in those words, Heirs of God, than ever I shall Rom. 8. 17. be able to express while I live in this world. *Heirs of God!* God himself is the portion of the Saints. This I saw and wondered at, but cannot tell you what I saw.
- 20 260. Again, as I was at another time very ill and weak, all that time also the Tempter did beset me strongly, (for I find he is much for assaulting the soul when it begins to approach towards the grave, then is his opportunity,) labouring to hide from me my former experience of God's goodness; also setting before me the terrors of Death and the Judgment of God, insomuch that at this time, through my fear of miscarrying for ever, (should I now die,) I was as one dead before Death came, and was as if I had felt myself already descending into the Pit; methought, I said, there was no
- 30 way but to Hell I must. But behold, just as I was in the midst of those fears, these words of the Angels carrying *Lazarus into Abraham's bosom* darted in upon me, as who should say, *So it shall be with thee when thou dost leave this World.* This did sweetly revive my Spirit, and help me to hope in God; which, when I had with comfort mused on a while, that word fell with great weight upon my mind, *O Death where is thy sting? O Grave, where is thy Victory?* 1 Cor. 15. 55. At this I became both well in body and mind at once, for

to an innumerable company of Angels, to the general Assembly and Church of the firstborn, which are written in Heaven, to God the Judge of all, and to the Spirits of just men made perfect, and to Jesus the Mediator of the new Testament, and to the blood of sprinkling, that speaketh better things than that of Abel. Through this blessed sentence the Lord led me over and over, first to this Word, and then to that, and showed me wonderful glory in every one of them. These words also have oft since this time been great refreshment to my Spirit.

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A Brief Account of the Author's Call to the Work of the Ministry.

Discovery of self (G. 84)

265. And now I am speaking my Experience, I will in this place thrust in a word or two concerning my preaching the Word, and of God's dealing with me in that particular also. For after I had been about five or six years awakened, and helped myself to see both the want and worth of Jesus Christ our Lord, and also enabled to venture my soul upon him, some of the most able among the Saints with us, I say the most able for Judgment and Holiness of life, as they conceived, did perceive that God had counted me worthy to understand something of his Will in his holy and blessed Word, and had given me utterance, in some measure, to express what I saw to others for edification; therefore they desired me, and that with much earnestness, that I would be willing, at sometimes, to take in hand, in one of the Meetings, to speak a word of Exhortation unto them.

266. The which, though at the first it did much dash and abash my Spirit, yet being still by them desired and intreated, I consented to their request, and did twice at two several Assemblies, (but in private,) though with much weakness and infirmity, discover my Gift amongst them. At which they not only seemed to be, but did solemnly protest, as in the sight of the great God, they were both affected and comforted, and gave thanks to the Father of Mercies for the grace bestowed on me.

End

✓ of
conversion

on
conversion

Work of
ministry
relished!
others!

✓

267. After this, sometimes when some of them did go into the Country to teach, they would also that I should go with them; where though as yet I did not, nor durst not, make use of my Gift in an open way, yet more privately still, as I came amongst the good People in those places, I did sometimes speak a word of Admonition unto them also; the which they, as the other, received with rejoicing at the mercy of God to me-ward, professing their Souls were edified thereby.

268. Wherefore, to be brief, at last, being still desired by the Church, after some solemn prayer to the Lord with fasting, I was more particularly called forth and appointed to a more ordinary and public Preaching the Word, not only to and amongst them that believed, but also to offer the Gospel to those who had not yet received the Faith thereof. About which time I did evidently find in my mind a secret pricking forward thereto; though I bless God, not for desire of vain Glory, for at that time I was most sorely afflicted with the fiery darts of the Devil concerning my Eternal State.

269. But yet I could not be content, unless I was found in so the Exercise of my Gift, unto which also I was greatly animated, not only by the continual desires of the Godly, but also by that saying of Paul to the Corinthians, *I beseech you, Brethren (ye know the household of Stephanus, that it is the first fruits of Achaia, and that they have addicted themselves to the Ministry of the Saints) that ye submit yourselves unto such, and to every one that helpeth with us, and laboureth.*

270. By this text I was made to see that the Holy Ghost never intended that men who have Gifts and Abilities should bury them in the earth, but rather did command and stir up such to the Exercise of their Gift, and also did commend those that were apt and ready so to do, *They have addicted themselves to the ministry of the saints.* This Scripture, in these days, did continually run in my mind, to encourage me and strengthen me in this my work for God. I have also been encouraged from several other Scriptures and Examples of the Godly, both specified in the Word, and other ancient histories.

271. Wherefore, though of myself of all the Saints the

Ac. 9. 41. 28
26. 25.
1 Pet. 4. 10.
Rom. 12. 6.
Fox, Acts
and Monu-
ments.

most unworthy, yet I, but with great fear and trembling at the sight of my own weakness, did set upon the work, and did according to my Gift, and the proportion of my Faith, preach that blessed Gospel that God had showed me in the Holy Word of Truth; which, when the Country understood, they came in to hear the Word by hundreds, and that from all parts, though upon sundry and divers accounts.

272. And I thank God he gave unto me some measure of bowels and pity for their Souls, which also did put me forward
 10 to labour with great diligence and earnestness, to find out such a word as might, if God would bless it, lay hold of, and awaken the Conscience; in which also the good Lord had respect to the desire of his Servant. For I had not preached long before some began to be touched, and to be greatly afflicted in their Minds at the apprehension of the greatness of their Sin, and of their need of Jesus Christ.

273. But I at first could not believe that God should speak by me to the heart of any man, still counting myself unworthy; yet those who thus were touched would love me
 20 and have a peculiar respect for me; and though I did put it from me, that they should be awakened by me, still they would confess it, and affirm it before the Saints of God; they would also bless God for me (unworthy Wretch that I am!) and count me God's Instrument that showed to them the way of Salvation. ✓

274. Wherefore, seeing them in both their words and deeds to be so constant, and also in their Hearts so earnestly pressing after the knowledge of Jesus Christ, rejoicing that ever God did send me where they were; then I began to conclude
 30 it might be so, that God had owned in his Work such a foolish one as I, and then came that Word of God to my heart with much sweet refreshment, *The blessing of them that were ready Job 29. 25 to perish came upon me; yea I caused the Widow's heart to sing for joy.*

275. At this therefore I rejoiced; yea, the tears of those whom God did awaken by my Preaching would be both solace and encouragement to me; for I thought on those Sayings, *Who is he that maketh me glad but the same which is made sorry 1 Cor. 12. 26*

1 Cor. 9. 2. *by me? and again, Though I be not an Apostle to others, yet, doubtless, I am to you: for the seal of mine Apostleship are ye in the Lord.* These things, therefore, were as another argument unto me that God had called me to, and stood by me in this Work.

276. In my preaching of the Word, I took special notice of this one thing, namely, That the Lord did lead me to begin where his Word begins with Sinners; that is, to condemn all flesh, and to open and allege that the Curse of God, by the Law, doth belong to, and lay hold on all men as they come into the World, because of Sin. Now this part of my Work I fulfilled with great sense; for the terrors of the Law, and guilt for my Transgressions, lay heavy on my Conscience. I preached what I felt, what I smartingly did feel, even that under which my poor Soul did groan and tremble to astonishment.

277. Indeed I have been as one sent to them from the dead. I went myself in Chains to preach to them in Chains; and carried that Fire in my own Conscience that I persuaded them to beware of. I can truly say, and that without dissimbling, that when I have been to preach, I have gone full of guilt and terror even to the Pulpit-door, and there it hath been taken off; I have been at liberty in my mind until I have done my work, and then immediately, even before I could get down the Pulpit-stairs, I have been as bad as I was before. Yet God carried me on, but surely with a strong hand, for neither Guilt or Hell could take me off my Work.

278. Thus I went for the space of two years, crying out against men's sins, and their fearful state because of them. After which the Lord came in upon my own soul with some staid peace and comfort through Christ; for he did give me many sweet discoveries of his blessed Grace through him. Wherefore now I altered in my preaching, (for still I preached what I saw and felt;) now therefore I did much about to hold forth Jesus Christ in all his Offices, Relations, and Benefits unto the World; and did strive also to discover, to condemn, and remove those false supports and props on which

the World doth both lean, and by them fall and perish. On these things also I staid as long as on the other.

279. After this, God led me into something of the Mystery of the Union with Christ. Wherefore that I discovered and showed to them also. And when I had travelled through these three chief points of the Word of God, about the space of five years or more, I was caught in my present practice and cast into Prison, where I have lain above as long again, to confirm the Truth by way of suffering, as I was before in testifying of it according to the Scriptures in a way of Preaching.

280. When I have been in Preaching, I thank God, my heart hath often, all the time of this and the other exercise, with great earnestness cried to God that he would make the Word effectual to the Salvation of the Soul; still being grieved lest the Enemy should take the Word away from the Conscience, and so it should become unfruitful. Wherefore I did labour so to speak the Word, as that thereby, if it were possible, the Sin and Person guilty might be particularized so by it.

281. Also, when I have done the exercise, it hath gone to my heart to think the Word should now fall as Rain on stony places, still wishing from my heart, *O that they who have heard me speak this day did but see as I do what Sin, Death, Hell, and the Curse of God is; and also what the Grace, and Love, and Mercy of God is, through Christ, to men in such a case as they are, who are yet estranged from him.* And, indeed, I did often say in my heart before the Lord, *That if to be banged up presently before their Eyes would be a means to awaken them, and* 30 *confirm them in the Truth, I gladly should be contented.*

282. For I have been in my preaching, especially when I have been engaged in the Doctrine of Life by Christ without works, as if an Angel of God had stood by at my back to encourage me. Oh, it hath been with such Power and heavenly Evidence upon my own Soul, while I have been labouring to unfold it, to demonstrate it, and to fasten it upon the Conscience of others, that I could not be contented with saying, *I believe, and am sure; methought I was more than*

sure, (if it be lawful so to express myself,) that those things which then I asserted were true.

283. When I went first to preach the Word abroad, the Doctors and Priests of the Country did open wide against me. But I was persuaded of this, not to render railing for railing, but to see how many of their carnal Professors I could convince of their miserable state by the Law, and of the want and worth of Christ; for, thought I, *This shall answer for me in time to come, when they shall be for my hire before their faces.* 10

284. I never cared to meddle with things that were controverted and in dispute amongst the Saints, especially things of the lowest Nature; yet it pleased me much to contend with great earnestness for the Word of Faith and the Remission of Sins by the Death and Sufferings of Jesus; but I say, as to other things, I should let them alone, because I saw they engendered strife, and because that they neither, in doing nor in leaving undone, did commend us to God to be his. Besides, I saw my Work before me did run in another Channel, even to carry an awakening word; to that therefore 20 did I stick and adhere.

Rom. 15. 20
2 Cor. 10. 17

285. I never endeavoured to, nor durst make use of other men's lines, (though I condemn not all that do,) for I verily thought, and found by experience, that what was taught me by the Word and Spirit of Christ, could be spoken, maintained, and stood to by the soundest and best established Conscience; and though I will not now speak all that I know in this matter, yet my experience hath more interest in that text of Scripture, Gal. i. 11, 12, than many amongst men are aware.

286. If any of those who were awakened by my Ministry 30 did after that fall back, (as sometimes too many did,) I can truly say their loss hath been more to me than if one of my own Children (begotten of my body) had been going to its Grave. I think, verily, I may speak it without an offence to the Lord, nothing hath gone so near me as that, unless it was the fear of the loss of the Salvation of my own Soul. I have counted as if I had goodly Buildings and Lordships in those places where my Children were born; my heart hath

been so wrapped up in the glory of this excellent Work, that I counted myself more blessed and honoured of God by this than if he had made me the Emperor of the Christian World, or the Lord of all the glory of the Earth without it. O these words, *He that converteth a sinner from the error of his way* James 5. 20. *doth save a soul from death. The fruit of the righteous is a Tree* Prov. 21. 30. *of Life; and he that winneth souls is wise. They that be wise* Dan. 12. 3. *shall shine as the brightness of the Firmament; and they that turn many to Righteousness as the Stars for ever and ever. For* 1 Thess. 2. 10 *what is our hope, or joy, or crown of rejoicing? Are not even ye in the presence of our Lord Jesus Christ at his coming? For ye are our glory and joy. These, I say, with many others of a like nature, have been great refreshments to me.*

287. I have observed, that where I have had a Work to do for God, I have had first, as it were, the going of God upon my Spirit to desire I might preach there. I have also observed that such and such Souls in particular have been strongly set upon my heart, and I stirred up to wish for their Salvation; and that these very Souls have, after this, been given in as the fruits of my Ministry. I have also observed, that a Word cast in by the by hath done more execution in a Sermon than all that was spoken besides; sometimes also when I have thought I did no good, then I did the most of all; and at other times when I thought I should catch them I have fished for nothing.

288. I have also observed, that where there hath been a Work to do upon Sinners, there the Devil hath begun to roar in the hearts, and by the mouths of his Servants. Yea, oftentimes when the wicked World hath raged most, there hath been souls awakened by the Word. I could instance particulars, but I forbear.

289. My great desire in my fulfilling my Ministry was to get into the darkest places of the Country, even amongst those people that were furthest off of profession. Yet not because I could not endure the Light, for I feared not to show my Gospel to any, but because I found my spirit leaned most after awakening and converting Work, and the Word that I carried did lead itself most that way also; yea, so have

columns -
Missionary
allusion

Rom. 15 I strived to preach the Gospel, not where Christ was named, lest I should build upon another man's Foundation.

✓ 290. In my preaching I have really been in pain, and have, as it were, travailed to bring forth Children to God; neither could I be satisfied unless some fruits shd appear in my Work. If I were fruitless it mattered not who commended me; but if I were fruitful, I cared not who did condemn. I have thought of that, He that winneth souls is wise; and again, Lo, children are an Heritage of the Lord; and the fruit of the Womb is his reward. As Arrows in the hand of a mighty man, so are 10 Children of the Youth. Happy is the man that hath filled his Quiver full of them; they shall not be ashamed, but they shall speak with the Enemies in the Gate.

Prov. 11. 32
Ps. 127. 3-5

12.
labor for
my
pains.

291. It pleased me nothing to see People drink in Opinions if they seemed ignorant of Jesus Christ, and the worth of their own Salvation, sound conviction for Sin, especially for Unbelief, and an heart set on Fire to be saved by Christ, with strong breathing after a truly sanctified Soul. That it was that delighted me; those were the Souls I counted blessed.

292. But in this Work, as in all other, I had my tempta- 20 tions attending me, and that of diverse kinds; as sometimes I should be assaulted with great discouragement therein, fearing that I should not be able to speak the Word at all to edification; nay, that I should not be able to speak sense unto the people; at which times I should have such a strange faintness and strengthlessness seize upon my body that my legs have scarce been able to carry me to the place of Exercise.

293. Sometimes, again, when I have been preaching, I have been violently assaulted with thoughts of blasphemy, and 30 strongly tempted to speak the words with my mouth before the Congregation. I have also at some times, even when I have begun to speak the Word with much clearness, evidence, and liberty of speech, yet been before the ending of that Opportunity so blinded, and so estranged from the things I have been speaking, and have also been so straitened in my speech as to utterance before the People, that I have been as if I had not known or remembered what I have been about,

or as if my head had been in a bag all the time of the Exercise.

294. Again, when at sometimes I have been about to preach upon some smart and searching portion of the Word, I have found the Tempter suggest, *What! will you preach this? this condemns yourself; of this your own Soul is guilty. Wherefore preach not of it at all; or if you do, yet so mince it as to make way for your own escape; lest instead of awakening others, you lay that guilt upon your own Soul, as you will never get from*
 10 under.

295. But, I thank the Lord, I have been kept from consenting to these so horrid suggestions, and have rather, as *Sampson*, bowed myself with all my might to condemn Sin and Transgression wherever I found it; yea, though therein also I did bring guilt upon my own Conscience! *Let me die*, thought I, ^{Judges 16. 29, 30.} *with the Philistines*, rather than deal corruptly with the blessed Word of God, *Thou that teachest another, teachest thou not thyself?* ^{Rom. 2. 21.} It is far better that thou do judge thyself, even by preaching plainly to others, than that thou, to save thyself, 30 imprison the Truth in Unrighteousness. Blessed be God for his help also in this.

296. I have also, while found in this blessed Work of Christ, been often tempted to pride and liftings up of Heart; and though I dare not say I have not been infected with this, yet truly the Lord, of his precious mercy, hath so carried it towards me, that, for the most part, I have had but small joy to give way to such a thing. For it hath been my every day's portion to be let into the evil of my own heart, and still made to see such a multitude of Corruptions and Infirmities therein, 30 that it hath caused hanging down of the head under all my Gifts and Attainments. I have felt this thorn in the Flesh ^{1 Cor. 12. 7.} the very God of mercy to me.

297. I have had also, together with this, some notable place or other of the Word presented before me, which word hath contained in it some sharp and piercing Sentence concerning the perishing of the Soul, notwithstanding gifts and parts. As, for instance, that hath been of great use unto ^{1 Cor. 13. 1, 2} me, *Though I speak with the Tongue of Men and Angels, and*

have not Charity, I am become as sounding Brass, and a tinkling Cymbal.

298. A tinkling Cymbal is an Instrument of Music, with which a skilful Player can make such melodious and heart-inflaming Musick that all who hear him play can scarcely hold from dancing; and yet behold the Cymbal hath not Life, neither comes the Musick from it, but because of the Art of him that plays therewith; so then the Instrument at last may come to nought and perish, though, in times past such Musick hath been made upon it. 10

299. Just thus I saw it was and will be with them who have Gifts, but want saving Grace. They are in the hand of Christ, as the Cymbal in the hand of David; and as David could, with the Cymbal, make that Mirth in the Service of God, as to elevate the hearts of the Worshippers, so Christ can use these gifted men as with them to affect the Souls of his People in his Church; yet when he hath done all, hang them by as lifeless, though sounding Cymbals.

300. This consideration, therefore, together with some others, were, for the most part, as a Maul on the head of Pride and desire of Vain-glory. *What, thought I, shall I be proud because I am a sounding brass? Is it so much to be a Fiddle? Hath not the least creature that hath life, more of God in it than these?* Besides, I knew *'twas Love should never die*, but these must cease and vanish. So I concluded, a little Grace, a little Love, a little of the true Fear of God, is better than all these Gifts. Yea, and I am fully convinced of it, that it is possible for Souls that can scarce give a man an answer but with great confusion as to method, I say it is possible for them to have a thousand times more Grace, 30 and so to be more in the love and favour of the Lord, than some who, by virtue of the Gift of Knowledge, can deliver themselves like Angels.

301. Thus, therefore, I came to perceive, that though Gifts in themselves were good to the thing for which they are designed, to wit, the Edification of others; yet empty and without power to save the soul of him that hath them, if they be alone. Neither are they, as so, any sign of a man's

state to be happy, being only a dispensation of God to some, of whose improvement or non-improvement, they must, when a little love more is over, give an account to him that is ready to judge the quick and the dead.

302. This showed me too, that gifts, being alone, were dangerous, not in themselves, but because of those evils that attend them that have them, to wit, Pride, Desire of Vain glory, Self-conceit, &c., all which were easily blown up at the applause and commendation of every unadvised Christian, to
 10 the endangering of a poor Creature to fall into the condemnation of the Devil.

303. I saw therefore that he that hath Gifts had need be let into a sight of the nature of them, to wit, that they come short of making of him to be in a truly saved condition, lest he rest in them, and so fall short of the grace of God.

304. He hath also cause to walk humbly with God, and be little in his own Eyes, and to remember withal, that his Gifts are not his own, but the Church's; and that by them he is made a Servant to the Church; and he must give at
 20 last an account of his Stewardship unto the Lord Jesus; and to give a good account, will be a blessed thing.

305. Let all men therefore prize a little with the fear of the Lord. Gifts indeed are desirable, but yet great Grace and small Gifts are better than great Gifts and no Grace. It doth not say, the Lord gives Gifts and Glory, but the Lord gives Grace and Glory; and blessed is such an one, to
 whom the Lord gives Grace, true Grace, for that is a certain
 forerunner of Glory. Pa. 24. 11.

306. But when Satan perceived that his thus tempting and
 30 assaulting of me would not answer his design, to wit, to overthrow my Ministry, and make it ineffectual, as to the ends thereof; then he tried another way, which was to stir up the minds of the ignorant and malicious, to load me with slanders and reproaches, Now therefore I may say, That what the devil could devise, and his instruments invent, was whirled up and down the Country against me, thinking, as I said, that by that means they should make my Ministry to be abandoned.

307. It began therefore to be rumoured up and down among the people, that I was a Witch, a Jesuit, a Highwayman, and the like.

308. To all which I shall only say, God knows that I am innocent. But as for mine accusers, let them provide themselves to meet me before the Tribunal of the Son of God, there to answer for all these things, with all the rest of their iniquities, unless God shall give them Repentance for them, for the which I pray with all my heart.

309. But that which was reported with the boldest confidence, was, that I had my *Misses*, my *Whores*, my *Bastards*, yea, *two Wives at once*, and the like. Now these slanders, (with the other), I glory in, because but slanders, foolish, or knavish lies, and falsehoods cast upon me by the Devil and his seed; and should I not be dealt with thus wickedly by the World, I should want one sign of a Saint, and a Child of God. *Blessed are you* (said the Lord Jesus) *when men shall revile you, and persecute you, and shall say all manner of evil against you falsely for my sake; rejoice, and be exceeding glad, for great is your reward in Heaven; for so persecuted they the* 20 *Prophets which were before you.*

310. These things therefore, upon mine own account, trouble me not; no, though they were twenty times more than they are. *I have a good Conscience, and whereas they* 1 Pet. 3. 16 *speak evil of me, as an evil doer, they shall be ashamed that falsely accuse my good Conversation in Christ.*

311. So then, what shall I say to those that have thus bespattered me? Shall I threaten them? Shall I chide them? Shall I flatter them? Shall I entreat them to hold their tongues? No, not I. Were it not for that these things 30 make them ripe for damnation that are the Authors and Abettors, I would say unto them, *Report it*, because it will increase my Glory.

312. Therefore I bind these lies and slanders to me as an ornament; it belongs to my Christian Profession to be vilified, slandered, reproached and reviled; and since all this is nothing else, as my God and my Conscience do bear me witness, *I rejoice in reproaches for Christ's sake.*

313. I also calling all those fools, or knaves, that have thus made it anything of their business, to affirm any of the things afore-named of me, namely, that I have been naught with other Women, or the like. When they have used to the utmost of their endeavours, and made the fullest inquiry that they can, to prove against me truly, that there is any Woman in Heaven, or Earth, or Hell, that can say, I have at any time, in any place, by day or night, so much as attempted to be naught with them. And speaking I thus, to beg mine Enemies into a good esteem of me? No, not I: I will in this beg belief of no man. Believe or disbelieve me in this, all is a case to me.

314. My foes have missed their mark in this their shooting at me. I am not the man. I wish that they themselves be guiltless. If all the Fornicators and Adulterers in England were hanged by the neck till they be dead, *John Bunyan*, the object of their Envy, would be still alive and well. I know not whether there be such a thing as a Woman breathing under the Copes of the whole Heaven, but by their Apparel, 20 their Children, or by common Fame, except my Wife.

315. And in this I admire the Wisdom of God, that he made me shy of Women from my first Conversion until now. Those know and can also bear me witness, with whom I have been most intimately concerned, that it is a rare thing to see me carry it pleasant towards a Woman. The common salutation of a Woman I abhor: 'tis odious to me in whomsoever I see it. Their company alone, I cannot away with. I seldom so much as touch a Woman's Hand, for I think these things are not so becoming me. When I have seen 30 good men salute those Women that they have visited or that have visited them, I have at times made my objection against it; and when they have answered, that it was but a piece of Civility, I have told them, it is not a Comely sight. Some indeed have urged the *Holy Kiss*; but then I have asked why they made baulks? Why they did salute the most handsome, and let the ill-favoured go? Thus, how laudable soever such things have been in the Eyes of others, they have been unseemly in my sight.

316. And now for a wind up in this matter, I calling not only Men, but Angels, to prove me guilty of having carnally to do with any Woman save my Wife; nor am I afraid to do it a second time, knowing that I cannot offend the Lord in such a case, to call God for a Record upon my Soul, that in these things I am innocent. Not that I have been thus kept, because of any goodness in me more than any other; but God has been merciful to me, and has kept me; to whom I pray that he will keep me still, not only from this, but from every evil way and work, and preserve me to his heavenly kingdom. *Amen.*

317. Now as Satan laboured by reproaches and slanders, to make me vile among my Countrymen, that if possible, my Preaching might be made of none effect, so there was added hereto a long and tedious Imprisonment, that thereby I might be frighted from my Service for Christ, and the World terrified and made afraid to hear me Preach, of which I shall in the next place give you a brief account.

A Brief Account of the Author's Imprisonment.

318. Having made profession of the Glorious Gospel of so Christ a long time, and preached the same about five years, I was apprehended at a Meeting of good People in the Country, (among whom, had they let me alone, I should have preached that day, but they took me away from amongst them,) and had me before a Justice; who, after I had offered security for my appearing at the next Sessions, yet committed me, because my Sureties would not consent to be bound that I should preach no more to the People.

319. At the Sessions after I was indicted for an Upholder and Maintainer of Unlawful Assemblies and Conventicles, and 30 for not conforming to the National Worship of the Church of England; and after some conference there with the Justices, they taking my plain dealing with them for a Confession, as they termed it, of the Indictment, did sentence me to perpetual Banishment, because I refused to conform. So being again delivered up to the Gaoler's hands, I was had home to Prison

again, and there have lain now complete twelve years, waiting to see what God would suffer these men to do with me. ✓✓

320. In which condition I have continued with much content, through Grace, but have met with many turnings and goings upon my Heart, both from the Lord, Satan, and my own Corruptions; by all which, (glory be to Jesus Christ,) I have also received among many things, much Conviction, Instruction, and Understanding, of which at large I shall not
 10 here discourse; only give you in a hint or two, a word that may stir up the Godly to bless God, and to pray for me; and also to take encouragement, should the case be their own, *not to fear what man can do unto them.*

321. I never had in all my life so great an inlet into the Word of God as now. Them Scriptures that I saw nothing in before, are made in this place and state to shine upon me. Jesus Christ also was never more real and apparent than now. Here I have seen him and felt him indeed. O that word, *We have not preached unto you cunningly devised* : Pet. 2. 16.
 20 *fables*; and that *God raised Christ from the dead, and gave him* : Pet. 2. 21.
Glory, that your Faith and Hope might be in God, were blessed words unto me in this my imprisoned Condition. ✓

322. These three or four scriptures also have been great refreshment in this condition to me. John xiv. 1—4. xvi. 33. Col. iii. 3, 4. Heb. xii. 22—24. So that sometimes when I have been in the savour of them, I have been able to laugh at destruction, and to *fear neither the horse nor his rider.* I Job 39. 12.
 have had sweet sights of the Forgiveness of my Sins in this place, and of my being with Jesus in another World. O, *the* Heb. 12.
 30 *mount Sion, the heavenly Jerusalem, the innumerable company of Angels, and God the Judge of all, and the Spirits of Just men made perfect, and Jesus, have been sweet unto me in this place.* I have seen *that* here, that I am persuaded I shall never, while in this world, be able to express. I have seen a truth in that Scripture, *Whom having not seen, ye love; in* : Pet. 1. 8.
whom, though now ye see him not, yet believing, ye rejoice with joy unspeakable and full of Glory.

323. I never knew what it was for God to stand by me

at all turns, and at every offer of Satan to afflict me, &c., as I have found him since I came in hither. For look, how fears have presented themselves so have supports and encouragements; yea, when I have started even as it were at nothing else but my shadow, yet God, as being very tender of me, hath not suffered me to be molested, but would with one Scripture and another strengthen me against all; insomuch that I have often said, *Were it lawful, I could pray for greater trouble, for the greater comfort's sake.*

Eccles. 7. 12
1 Cor. 1. 5

324. Before I came to Prison, I saw what was a-coming, 10 and had especially two Considerations warm upon my heart. The first was how to be able to endure, should my imprisonment be long and tedious; the second was how to be able to encounter death, should that be here my portion. For the first of these, that Scripture was great information to me, namely, to pray to God *to be strengthened with all might, according to his glorious power, unto all patience and long-suffering with joyfulness.* I could seldom go to prayer before I was imprisoned, but not for so little as a year together, this Sentence or sweet petition would, as it were, thrust itself 20 into my mind, and persuade me, that if ever I would go through long-suffering, I must have all patience, especially if I would endure it joyfully.

Col. 1. 11

325. As to the second Consideration, that saying was of great use to me, *But we had the sentence of death in ourselves, that we should not trust in ourselves, but in God which raiseth the dead.* By this Scripture I was made to see, that if ever I would suffer rightly, I must first pass a sentence of death upon everything that can properly be called a thing of this life, even to reckon myself, my Wife, my Children, my 30 Health, my Enjoyments, and all, as dead to me, and myself as dead to them. He that loveth father or mother, son or daughter, more than me, is not worthy of me.

1 Cor. 1. 9

Matt. 10. 37

326. The second was, to live upon God that is invisible. As Paul said in another place, the way not to faint, is to *look not at the things which are seen, but at the things which are not seen: for the things which are seen are temporal; but the things which are not seen are eternal.* And thus I reasoned with

1 Cor. 4. 18

myself. If I provide only for a Prison, then the Whip comes at unawares; and so does also the Pillory. Again, if I provide only for these, then I am not fit for Banishment; further, if I conclude that Banishment is the worst, then if Death come I am surprised. So that I see the best way to go through sufferings is to trust in God through Christ, as touching the World to come; and as touching this World, to count *the* ^{Job 17. 24.} *Grave my House, to make my Bed in Darkness, and to say to Corruption, Thou art my Father, and to the Worm, Thou art my Mother and Sister.* That is, to familiarize these things to me.

327. But notwithstanding these helps, I found myself a man, and compassed with Infirmities. The parting with my Wife and poor Children hath often been to me in this place as the pulling the Flesh from my Bones; and that not only because I am somewhat too fond of these great Mercies, but also because I should have often brought to my mind the many hardships, miseries and wants that my poor Family was like to meet with, should I be taken from them, *especially my* ³⁰ *poor blind Child, who lay nearer my heart than all I had besides.* O the thoughts of the hardship I thought my Blind-one might go under, would break my Heart to pieces.

328. *Poor Child, thought I, what sorrow art thou like to have for thy portion in this world! Thou must be beaten, must beg, suffer hunger, cold, nakedness, and a thousand calamities, though I cannot now endure the Wind should blow upon thee.* But yet recalling myself, thought I, *I must venture you all with God, though it goeth to the quick to leave you.* O, I saw in this condition I was as a man who was pulling down his House upon the ³⁰ *Head of his Wife and Children; yet, thought I, I must do it, I must do it.* And now I thought on those two *Milch-kine that were to carry the Ark of God into another Country, and to leave their Calves behind them.* ^{1 Sam. 6. 10-12.}

329. But that which helped me in this temptation was divers Considerations, of which three in special here I will name. The first was the consideration of those two Scriptures, *Leave thy fatherless children, I will preserve them alive,* ^{Jer. 49. 22: 15. 17.} *and let thy widows trust in me.* And again, *The Lord said,*

Verily it shall be well with thy Remnant; verily I will cause the Enemy to entreat thee well in the time of evil, &c.

330. I had also this Consideration, that if I should now venture all for God, I engaged God to take care of my Concernments; but if I forsook him and his ways, for fear of any trouble that should come to me or mine, then I should not only falsify my Profession, but should count also that my Concernments were not so sure, if left at God's feet while I stood to and for his Name, as they would be, if they were under my own tuition, though with the denial of the way of God. This was a smarting consideration, and was as Spurs unto my Flesh. That Scripture also greatly helped it to fasten the more upon me, where Christ prays against Judas, that God would disappoint him in all his selfish

Ps. 109. 6-20.

thoughts, which moved him to sell his Master. Pray read it soberly.

331. I had also another Consideration, and that was, the dread of the Torments of Hell, which I was sure they must partake of, that for fear of the Cross do shrink from their Profession of Christ, his Words, and Laws, before the Sons of men. I also thought of the Glory that he had prepared for those that, in Faith, and Love, and Patience, stood to his Ways before them. These things, I say, have helped me, when the thoughts of the misery that both myself and mine, might, for the sake of my Profession, be exposed to, hath lain pinching on my Mind.

332. When I have indeed conceited that I might be banished for my Profession, then I have thought of that Scrip-

Heb. 11. 37.

ture, They were stoned, they were sawn asunder, were tempted, were slain with the sword; they wandered about in Sheep-skins and Goat-skins; being destitute, afflicted, tormented, of whom the World was not worthy, for all they thought they were too bad to dwell and abide amongst them. I have also thought of

Acts 20. 23.

that saying, The Holy Ghost witnesseth in every city, that Bonds and Afflictions abide me. I have verily thought that my soul and it have sometimes reasoned about the sore and sad estate of a banished and exiled condition, how they are exposed to Hunger, to Cold, to Perils, to Nakedness, to Enemies, and

a thousand Calamities; and at last, it may be, to die in a Ditch, like a poor forlorn and desolate Sheep. But I thank God, hitherto I have not been moved by these most *delicate* reasonings, but have rather, by them, more approved my heart to God.

333. I will tell you a pretty business. I was once above all the rest in a very sad and low Condition for many Weeks; at which time also I being but a young Prisoner and not acquainted with the Laws, had this lay much upon my Spirit,
 10 That my Imprisonment might end at the Gallows for aught that I could tell. Now, therefore, Satan laid hard at me to beat me out of heart, by suggesting thus unto me, *But how if when you come indeed to die, you should be in this Condition; that is, as not to savour the things of God, nor to have any evidence upon your Soul for a better state hereafter?* (For indeed at that time all the things of God were hid from my Soul.)

334. Wherefore, when I at first began to think of this, it was a great trouble to me; for I thought with myself, that in the Condition I now was in, I was not fit to die,
 20 neither indeed did think I could, if I should be called to it. Besides, I thought with myself, *if I should make a scrabbling shift to clamber up the Ladder, yet I should either with quaking, or other symptoms of faintings, give occasion to the Enemy to reproach the Way of God and his People, for their timorousness.* This therefore lay with great trouble upon me, for methought I was ashamed to die with a pale Face, and tottering Knees, for such a cause as this.

335. Wherefore, I prayed to God that he would comfort me, and give me strength to do and suffer what he should
 30 call me to. Yet no comfort appeared, but all continued hid. I was also at this time so really possessed with the thought of Death, that oft I was as if I was on the Ladder with a Rope about my Neck; only this was some encouragement to me, I thought I might now have an opportunity to speak my last words to a Multitude, which I thought would come to see me die; and, thought I, if it must be so, if God will but convert one Soul by my very last words, I shall not count my Life thrown away, nor lost.

336. But yet all the things of God were kept out of my sight, and still the Tempter followed me with, *But whither must you go when you die? What will become of you? Where will you be found in another world? What evidence have you for Heaven and Glory, and an Inheritance among them that are Sanctified?* Thus was I tossed for many Weeks, and knew not what to do. At last this Consideration fell with weight upon me, *That it was for the Word and way of God, that I was in this Condition, wherefore I was engaged not to sinch a hair's breadth from it.* 10

337. I thought also, that God might choose, whether he would give me comfort now or at the hour of Death; but I might not therefore choose whether I would hold my Profession or no. I was bound, but he was free: yea, 'twas my duty to stand to his Word, whether he would ever look upon me or no, or save me at the last. *Wherefore, thought I, the point being thus, I am for going on, and venturing my eternal State with Christ, whether I have comfort here or no. If God doth not come in, thought I, I will leap off the Ladder even blindfold into Eternity, sink or swim, come Heaven, come 20 Hell. Lord Jesus, if thou wilt catch me, do; if not, I will venture for thy Name.*

338. I was no sooner fixed upon this Resolution, but that word dropped upon me, *Doth Job serve God for nought?* As if Job 1. 9. 11. the Accuser had said, *Lord, Job is no upright Man, he serves thee for by-respects: hast thou not made a Hedge about him, &c. but put forth thine Hand now, and touch all that he hath, and he will curse thee to thy Face.* How now, thought I, *is this the sign of an upright Soul, to desire to serve God, when all is taken from him? Is he a godly Man, that will serve God for nothing 30 rather than give out? Blessed be God, then, I hope I have an upright Heart, for I am resolved, (God giving me strength,) never to deny my Profession, though I have nothing at all for my Pains; and as I was thus considering, that Scripture was set before* Ps. 44. 12-14. *me.*

339. Now was my Heart full of Comfort, for I hoped it was sincere. I would not have been without this Trial for much. I am comforted every time I think of it, and I hope

I shall bless God for ever for the teaching I have had by it. Many more of the dealings of God towards me I might relate, but these, *out of the spoils won in Battle have I dedicated* : Chron. 26. 27. *to maintain the house of God.*

The Conclusion.

1. Of all the Temptations that ever I met with in my life, to question the Being of God and Truth of his Gospel is the worst, and the worst to be borne. When this Temptation comes it takes away my Girdle from me and removeth the
10 Foundation from under me. O, I have often thought of that word, *Have your Loins girt about with Truth*; and of that, *When the Foundations are destroyed, what can the Righteous do?*

2. Sometimes, when after sin committed I have looked for sore Chastisement from the Hand of God, the very next that I have had from him hath been the discovery of his Grace. Sometimes, when I have been comforted, I have called myself a Fool for my so sinking under trouble. And then again when I have been cast down I thought I was not wise, to
20 give such way to comfort. With such strength and weight have both these been upon me.

3. I have wondered much at this one thing, that though God doth visit my Soul with never so blessed a discovery of himself, yet I have found again, that such hours have attended me afterwards, that I have been in my Spirit so filled with darkness, that I could not so much as once conceive what that God and that Comfort was with which I have been refreshed.

4. I have sometimes seen more in a line of the Bible
30 than I could well tell how to stand under; and yet at another time the whole Bible hath been to me as dry as a stick; or rather, my Heart hath been so dead and dry unto it that I could not conceive the least dram of Refreshment, though I have look it all over.

5. Of all tears, they are the best that are made by the Blood of Christ; and of all Joy, that is the sweetest that

is mixed with mourning over Christ. Oh! it is a goodly thing to be on our knees, with Christ in our Arms, before God. I hope I know something of these things.

6. I find to this day seven Abominations in my Heart:
 1. Inclinations to Unbelief. 2. Suddenly to forget the Love and Mercy that Christ manifesteth. 3. A leaning to the Works of the Law. 4. Wanderings and coldness in Prayer. 5. To forget to watch for that I pray for. 6. Apt to murmur because I have no more, and yet ready to abuse what I have. 7. I can do none of those things which God commands me, 10 but my Corruptions will thrust in themselves. *When I would do good, evil is present with me.*

7. These things I continually see and feel, and am afflicted and oppressed with; yet the Wisdom of God doth order them for my good. 1. They make me abhor myself. 2. They keep me from trusting my Heart. 3. They convince me of the Insufficiency of all inherent Righteousness. 4. They show me the necessity of fleeing to Jesus. 5. They press me to pray unto God. 6. They show me the need I have to watch and be sober. 7. And provoke me to look 20 to God, through Christ, to help me, and carry me through this world. Amen.

A RELATION
OF THE
IMPRISONMENT OF MR. JOHN BUNYAN,

MINISTER OF THE GOSPEL AT BEDFORD, IN NOVEMBER, 1660.

**HIS EXAMINATION BEFORE THE JUSTICES;
HIS CONFERENCE WITH THE CLERK OF THE PEACE; WHAT
PASSED BETWEEN THE JUDGES AND
HIS WIFE WHEN SHE PRESENTED A PETITION FOR
HIS DELIVERANCE; ETC.**

Written by himself, and never before Published.

'Blessed are ye which are persecuted for righteousness' sake: for yours is the kingdom of heaven. Blessed are ye when men shall revile you, and persecute you; and shall say all manner of evil against you falsely, for my name's sake. Rejoice, and be exceeding glad: for great is your reward in heaven: for so persecuted they the prophets which were before you.'—Mat. v. 10—12.

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MDCCLXV.**



BEDFORD BRIDGE AND THE TOWN GAOL.

From an old drawing.

The Relation of my Imprisonment in the month of November 1660. When, by the good hand of my God, I had for five or six years together, without any great interruption, freely preached the blessed Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ; and had also, through his blessed Grace, some encouragement by his blessing thereupon; the Devil, that old enemy of man's salvation, took his opportunity to inflame the hearts of his vassals against me, insomuch that at the last I was laid out for by the warrant of a justice, and was taken and committed to prison. The relation thereof is as followeth:

Upon the 12th of this instant November 1660, I was desired by some of the friends in the country to come to teach at Samsell, by Harlington, in Bedfordshire. To whom I made a promise, if the Lord permitted, to be with them on the time aforesaid. The justice hearing thereof, (whose name is Mr. Francis Wingate,) forthwith issued out his warrant to take me, and bring me before him, and in the meantime to keep a very strong watch about the house where the meeting should be kept, as if we that was to
 20 meet together in that place did intend to do some fearful business, to the destruction of the country; when, alas, the constable, when he came in, found us only with our Bibles in our hands, ready to speak and hear the Word of God; for we was just about to begin our exercise. Nay, we had begun in prayer for the blessing of God upon our opportunity, intending to have preached the Word of the Lord unto them there present. But the constable coming in prevented us. So that I was taken and forced to depart the room.

But had I been minded to have played the coward I could have escaped and kept out of his hands. For when I was come to my friend's house there was whispering that that day I should be taken, for there was a warrant out to take me; which when my friend heard, he being somewhat timorous, questioned whether we had best have our meeting or not; and whether it might not be better for me to depart, lest they should take me and have me before the Justice, and after that send me to prison, (for he knew better than I what spirit they were of, living by them;) to whom I said, 10
No, by no means, I will not stir, neither will I have the meeting dismissed for this. Come, be of good cheer, let us not be daunted; our cause is good, we need not be ashamed of it; to preach God's Word it is so good a work, that we shall be well rewarded, if we suffer for that, or to this purpose; but as for my friend, I think he was more afraid of me, than of himself. After this I walked into the close, where, I somewhat seriously considering the matter, this came into my mind, That I had showed myself hearty and courageous in my preaching, and had, blessed be Grace, made it my business to encourage 20 others; therefore, thought I, if I should now run, and make an escape, it will be of a very ill savour in the country. For what will my weak and newly converted brethren think of it but that I was not so strong in deed as I was in word? Also I feared that if I should run, now there was a warrant out for me, I might by so doing make them afraid to stand, when great words only should be spoken to them. Besides, I thought, that seeing God of his mercy should choose me to go upon the forlorn hope in this country; that is, to be the first, that should be opposed, for the gospel; if I should 30 fly, it might be a discouragement to the whole body that might follow after. And further, I thought the world thereby would take occasion at my cowardliness to have blasphemed the gospel, and to have had some ground to suspect worse of me and my profession than I deserved. These things with others considered by me, I came in again to the house with a full resolution to keep the meeting, and not to go away, though I could have been gone about an hour before

the officer apprehended me; but I would not; for I was resolved to see the utmost of what they could say or do unto me. For blessed be the Lord, I knew of no evil that I had said or done. And so, as aforesaid, I began the meeting; but being prevented by the constable's coming in with his warrant to take me, I could not proceed. But before I went away, I spake some few words of counsel and encouragement to the people, declaring to them that they saw we was prevented of our opportunity to speak
 10 and hear the Word of God, and was like to suffer for the same: desiring them that they should not be discouraged, for it was a mercy to suffer upon so good account. For we might have been apprehended as thieves or murderers, or for other wickedness; but blessed be God it was not so, but we suffer as Christians for well doing: and we had better be the persecuted than the persecutors, &c. But the constable and the justice's man waiting on us would not be at quiet till they had me away, and that we departed the house. But because the justice was not at home that
 20 day, there was a friend of mine engaged for me to bring me to the constable on the morrow morning. Otherwise the constable must have charged a watch with me, or have secured me some other ways, my crime was so great. So on the next morning we went to the constable, and so to the justice. He asked the constable what we did, where we was met together, and what we had with us? I trow, he meant whether we had armour or not; but when the constable told him, that there was only met a few of us together to preach and hear the Word, and no sign of
 30 anything else, he could not well tell what to say: yet because he had sent for me, he did adventure to put out a few proposals to me, which was to this effect, namely, What I did there? and why I did not content myself with following my calling? for it was against the law, that such as I should be admitted to do as I did.

John Bunyan. To which I answered, that the intent of my coming thither, and to other places, was to instruct, and counsel people to forsake their sins, and close in with Christ.

lest they did miserably perish; and that I could do both these without confusion, (to wit,) follow my calling, and preach the Word also.

At which words, he was in a chafe, as it appeared; for he said that he would break the neck of our meetings.

Bun. I said, it may be so. Then he wished me to get sureties to be bound for me, or else he would send me to the jail.

My sureties being ready, I called them in, and when the bond for my appearance was made, he told them, that they was bound to keep me from preaching; and that if I did so preach, their bonds would be forfeited. To which I answered, that then I should break them; for I should not leave speaking the Word of God; even to counsel, comfort, exhort, and teach the people among whom I came; and I thought this to be a work that had no hurt in it: but was rather worthy of commendation than blame.

Wingate. Whereat he told me, that if they would not be so bound, my mittimus must be made, and I sent to the jail, there to lie to the quarter-sessions.

Now while my mittimus was a making, the justice was so withdrawn; and in comes an old enemy to the truth, Dr. Lindale, who, when he was come in, fell to taunting at me with many reviling terms.

Bun. To whom I answered, that I did not come thither to talk with him, but with the justice. Whereat he supposed that I had nothing to say for myself, and triumphed as if he had got the victory; charging and condemning me for meddling with that for which I could show no warrant; and asked me, if I had taken the oaths? and if I had not, 'twas pity but that I should be sent to prison, &c. 30

I told him, that if I was minded I could answer to any sober question that he should put to me. He then urged me again, how I could prove it lawful for me to preach, with a great deal of confidence of the victory.

But at last, because he should see that I could answer him if I listed, I cited to him that verse in Peter, which saith,

1 Pet. 4. 10. *As every man hath received the gift, even so let him minister the same, &c.*

Lind. Aye, saith he, to whom is that spoken ?

Bun. To whom ? said I, why, to every man that hath received a gift from God. Mark, saith the apostle, *As every man that hath received a gift from God, &c.* And again, *You may all prophecy one by one.* Whereat the man was a little stopt, and went a softlier pace : but not being willing to lose the day, he began again, and said :

Lind. Indeed I do remember that I have read of one Alexander a Coppersmith, who did much oppose and disturb the apostles ;—(aiming, 'tis like, at me, because I was a Tinker.)

Bun. To which I answered, that I also had read of very many priests and pharisees that had their hands in the blood of our Lord Jesus Christ.

Lind. Aye, saith he, and you are one of those scribes and phari-ees : for you, with a pretence, make long prayers to devour widows' houses.

Bun. I answered, that if he had got no more by preaching and praying than I had done, he would not be so rich as he now was. But that Scripture coming into my mind, *Answer not a fool according to his folly*, I was as sparing of my speech as I could, without prejudice to truth.

Now by this time my mittimus was made, and I committed to the constable to be sent to the jail in Bedford, &c.

But as I was going, two of my brethren met with me by the way, and desired the constable to stay, supposing that they should prevail with the justice, through the favour of a pretended friend, to let me go at liberty. So we did stay, while they went to the justice ; and after much discourse with him, it came to this ; that if I would come to him again, and say some certain words to him, I should be released. Which when they told me, I said if the words was such that might be said with a good conscience, I should, or, else, I should not. So through their importunity I went back again, but not believing that I should be delivered : for I feared their spirit was too full of opposition to the truth to let me go, unless I should in something or other dishonour my God, and wound my conscience. Wherefore, as I went,

I lift up my heart to God for light and strength to be kept that I might not do anything that might either dishonour him or wrong my own soul, or be a grief or discouragement to any that was inclining after the Lord Jesus Christ.

Well, when I came to the justice again there was Mr. *Foster* of Bedford, who coming out of another room, and seeing me by the light of the candle, (for it was dark night when I went thither,) he said unto me, Who is there? *John Bunyan?* with such seeming affection, as if he would have leaped in my neck and kissed me, which made me ¹⁰ somewhat wonder, that such a man as he, with whom I had so little acquaintance, and, besides, that had ever been a close opposer of the ways of God, should carry himself so full of love to me. But, afterwards, when I saw what he did, it caused me to remember those sayings, *Their tongues are smoother than oil, but their words are drawn swords.* And ¹¹ again, *Beware of men, &c.* When I had answered him, that blessed be God I was well, he said, *What is the occasion of your being here?* or to that purpose. To whom I answered, that I was at a meeting of people a little way off, intending to speak ¹² a word of exhortation to them; but the justice hearing thereof, (said I,) was pleased to send his warrant to fetch me before him, &c.

Foster. So, (said he,) I understand; but well, if you will promise to call the people no more together, you shall have your liberty to go home; for my brother is very loth to send you to prison, if you will be but ruled.

Bun. Sir, (said I,) pray what do you mean by calling the people together? My business is not anything among them when they are come together but to exhort them to look ¹³ after the salvation of their souls, that they may be saved, &c.

Fost. Saith he, We must not enter into explication or dispute now; but if you will say you will call the people no more together, you may have your liberty; if not, you must be sent away to prison.

Bun. Sir, said I, I shall not force or compel any man to hear me; but yet, if I come into any place where there is a people met together, I should, according to the best of my

skill and wisdom, exhort and counsel them to seek out after the Lord Jesus Christ, for the salvation of their souls.

Fost. He said, that was none of my work ; I must follow my calling ; and if I would but leave off preaching, and follow my calling, I should have the justice's favour, and be acquitted presently.

Bun. To whom I said, that I could follow my calling and that too, namely, preaching the Word ; and I did look upon it as my duty to do them both, as I had an opportunity.

10 *Fost.* He said, to have any such meetings was against the law ; and, therefore, he would have me leave off, and say I would call the people no more together.

Bun. To whom I said, that I durst not make any further promise ; for my conscience would not suffer me to do it. And again, I did look upon it as my duty to do as much good as I could, not only in my trade, but also in communicating to all people, wheresoever I came, the best knowledge I had in the Word.

Fost. He told me that I was the nearest the Papists of any ; 20 and that he would convince me of immediately.

Bun. I asked him wherein ?

Fost. He said, in that we understood the Scriptures literally.

Bun. I told him that those that were to be understood literally, we understood them so ; but for those that was to be understood otherwise, we endeavoured so to understand them.

Fost. He said, which of the Scriptures do you understand literally ?

30 *Bun.* I said this, *He that believeth shall be saved.* This was Mark x. 14 to be understood just as it is spoken ; that whosoever believeth in Christ shall, according to the plain and simple words of the text, be saved.

Fost. He said that I was ignorant, and did not understand the Scriptures ; for how, (said he,) can you understand them when you know not the original Greek ? &c.

Bun. To whom I said, that if that was his opinion, that none could understand the Scriptures but those that had the

original Greek, &c., then but a very few of the poorest sort should be saved; (this is harsh;) yet the Scripture saith, *That God hides his things from the wise and prudent, that is, from the learned of the world, and reveals them to babes and sucklings.*

Fast. He said there was none that heard me but a company of foolish people.

Bun. I told him that there was the wise as well as the foolish that do hear me; and again, those that are most commonly counted foolish by the world are the wisest before 10 God; also, that God had rejected the wise, and mighty, and noble, and chosen the foolish and the base.

Fast. He told me that I made people neglect their calling; and that God had commanded people to work six days, and serve him on the seventh.

Bun. I told him that it was the duty of people, (both rich and poor,) to look out for their souls on them days as well as for their bodies; and that God would have his people *ex-*
 Heb 3:13 *hort one another daily, while it is called to-day.*

Fast. He said again that there was none but a company of 20 poor, simple, ignorant people that came to hear me.

Bun. I told him that the foolish and ignorant had most need of teaching and information; and, therefore, it would be profitable for me to go on in that work.

Fast. Well, said he, to conclude, but will you promise that you will not call the people together any more? and then you may be released and go home.

Bun. I told him that I durst say no more than I had said; for I durst not leave off that work which God had called 30 me to.

So he withdrew from me, and then came several of the justice's servants to me, and told me that I stood so much upon a nicety. Their master, they said, was willing to let me go; and if I would but say I would call the people no more together, I might have my liberty, &c.

Bun. I told them there were more ways than one in which a man might be said to call the people together. As, for instance, if a man get upon the market place, and there

read a book, or the like, though he do not say to the people, Sirs, come hither and hear; yet if they come to him because he reads, he, by his very reading, may be said to call them together; because they would not have been there to hear if he had not been there to read. And seeing this might be termed a calling the people together, I durst not say I would not call them together; for then, by the same argument, my preaching might be said to call them together.

Wing. and Foster. Then came the justice and Mr. Foster to me again; (we had a little more discourse about preaching, but because the method of it is out of my mind, I pass it;) and when they saw that I was at a point, and would not be moved nor persuaded,

Mr. Foster told the justice that then he must send me away to prison. And that he would do well, also, if he would present all those that were the cause of my coming among them to meetings. Thus we parted.

And, verily, as I was going forth of the doors, I had much ado to forbear saying to them that I carried the peace of so God along with me; but I held my peace, and, blessed be the Lord, went away to prison, with God's comfort in my poor soul.

After I had lain in the jail five or six days, the brethren sought means, again, to get me out by bondsmen; (for so run my mittimus, that I should lie there till I could find sureties.) They went to a justice at Elstow, one Mr. Crumpton, to desire him to take bond for my appearing at the quarter-sessions. At the first he told them he would; but afterwards he made a demur at the business, and desired first to see my mittimus, which run to this purpose: That I went about to several conventicles in this county, to the great disparagement of the government of the church of England, &c. When he had seen it, he said that there might be something more against me than was expressed in my mittimus; and that he was but a young man, and, therefore, he durst not do it. This my jailer told me; whereat I was not at all daunted, but rather glad, and saw evidently that the Lord had heard me; for before I went down to the justice, I begged of God that if

I might do more good by being at liberty than in prison that then I might be set at liberty ; but if not, his will be done. For I was not altogether without hopes but that my imprisonment might be an awakening to the Saints in the country, therefore I could not tell well which to choose ; only I, in that manner, did commit the thing to God. And verily, at my return, I did meet my God sweetly in the prison again, comforting of me and satisfying of me that it was his will and mind that I should be there.

When I came back again to prison, as I was musing at the slender answer of the Justice, this word dropped in upon my heart with some life, *For he knew that for every they had delivered him.*

Thus have I, in short, declared the manner and occasion of my being in prison ; where I lie waiting the good will of God, to do with me as he pleaseth ; knowing that not one hair of my head can fall to the ground without the will of my Father which is in Heaven. Let the rage and malice of man be never so great, they can do no more, nor go no further, than God permits them ; but when they have done their worst, we know that all things work together for good to them that love God. Farewell.

Here is the Sum of my Examination before Justice Keelin, Justice Chester, Justice Blundale, Justice Beecher, and Justice Snagg, &c.

After I had lain in prison above seven weeks, the quarter-sessions was to be kept in Bedford, for the county thereof, unto which I was to be brought ; and when my jailer had set me before those justices, there was a bill of indictment preferred against me. The extent thereof was as followeth : *30*
That John Bunyan, of the town of Bedford, labourer, being a person of such and such conditions, he hath, (since such a time,) devilishly and perniciously abstained from coming to church to hear Divine service, and is a common upholder of several unlawful meetings and conventicles, to the great disturbance and distraction of the good subjects of this kingdom, contrary to the laws of our sovereign lord the King, &c.

The Clerk. When this was read, the clerk of the sessions said unto me, What say you to this?

Bun. I said, that as to the first part of it, I was a common frequenter of the church of God. And was also, by grace, a member with them people over whom Christ is the Head.

Keelin. But, saith Justice Keelin, (who was the judge in that court,) Do you come to church, (you know what I mean,) to the parish church, to hear Divine service?

Bun. I answered, No, I did not.

10 *Keel.* He asked me why?

Bun. I said, Because I did not find it commanded in the Word of God.

Keel. He said, We were commanded to pray.

Bun. I said, But not by the Common Prayer Book.

Keel. He said, How then?

Bun. I said, With the Spirit. As the apostle saith, *I will* : Cor. 14. 15. *pray with the Spirit, and with the understanding.*

Keel. He said, We might pray with the Spirit, and with the understanding, and with the Common Prayer Book also.

20 *Bun.* I said that the prayers in the Common Prayer Book was such as was made by other men, and not by the motions of the Holy Ghost, within our Hearts; and as I said, the apostle saith, he will pray with the Spirit, and with the understanding, not with the Spirit and the Common Prayer Book.

Another Justice. What do you count prayer? Do you think it is to say a few words over before or among a people?

30 *Bun.* I said, No, not so; for men might have many elegant, or excellent words, and yet not pray at all; but when a man prayeth, he doth, through a sense of those things which he wants, (which sense is begotten by the Spirit,) pour out his heart before God through Christ; though his words be not so many and so excellent as others are.

Justices. They said, That was true.

Bun. I said, This might be done without the Common Prayer Book.

Another. One of them said (I think it was Justice *Blundale*, or Justice *Snagg*), How should we know that you do not write out

your prayers first, and then read them afterwards to the people? This he saide in a laughing way.

Bun. I said, It is not our use, to take a pen and paper, and write a few words thereon, and then go and read it over to a company of people.

Another. But how should we know it, said he?

Bun. Sir, it is none of our custom, said I.

Keel. But, said Justice Keelin, it is lawful to use Common Prayer, and such like forms: for Christ taught his disciples to pray, as John also taught his disciples. And further, said he, 10 cannot one man teach another to pray? Faith comes by hearing; and one man may convince another of sin, and therefore prayers made by men, and read over, are good to teach, and help men to pray.

While he was speaking these words, God brought that word into my mind, in the eighth of the Romans, at the 26th verse. I say, God brought it, for I thought not on it before: but as he was speaking, it came so fresh into my mind, and was set so evidently before me, as if the Scripture had said, Take me, take me; so when he was done speaking, 20

Bun. I said, Sir, the Scripture saith, that *it is the Spirit that helpeth our infirmities; for we know not what we should pray for as we ought; but the Spirit itself maketh intercession for us, with sighs and groanings which cannot be uttered.* Mark, said I, it doth not say the Common Prayer Book teacheth us how to pray, but the Spirit. And it is *the Spirit that helpeth our infirmities*, saith the apostle; he doth not say it is the Common Prayer Book.

And as to the Lord's prayer, although it be an easy thing to say, *Our Father, &c.*, with the mouth; yet there is very few 30 that can, in the Spirit, say the first two words of that prayer; that is, that can call God their Father, as knowing what it is to be born again and as having experience that they are begotten of the Spirit of God; which if they do not, all is but babbling, &c.

Keel. Justice Keelin said, that that was a truth.

Bun. And I say further, as to your saying that one man may convince another of sin, and that faith comes by hearing,

and that one man may tell another how he should pray, &c., I say men may tell each other of their sins, but it is the Spirit that must convince them.

And though it be said that *faith comes by hearing*, yet it is the Spirit that worketh faith in the heart through hearing, or *Heb. 4. 12* else *they are not profited by hearing*.

And that though one man may tell another how he should pray; yet, as I said before, he cannot pray, nor make his condition known to God, except the Spirit help. It is
10 not the Common Prayer Book that can do this. It is the *Spirit that sheweth us our sins*, and the *Spirit that sheweth us a* *John 16. 26* *Saviour*, and the Spirit that stirreth up in our hearts desires to come to God, for such things as we stand in need of, *Matt. 11. 12* even sighing out our souls unto him for them with *groans which cannot be uttered*. With other words to the same purpose. At this they were set.

Keel. But, says Justice Keelin, what have you against the Common Prayer Book?

Bun. I said, Sir, if you will hear me, I shall lay down my
20 reasons against it.

Keel. He said, I should have liberty; but first, said he, let me give you one caution; take heed of speaking irreverently of the Common Prayer Book; for if you do so, you will bring great damage upon yourself.

Bun. So I proceeded, and said, My first reason was, because it was not commanded in the Word of God, and therefore I could not do it.

Another. One of them said, Where do you find it commanded in the Scripture, that you should go to *Elstow*, or
30 *Bedford*, and yet it is lawful to go to either of them, is it not?

Bun. I said, To go to *Elstow*, or *Bedford*, was a civil thing, and not material, though not commanded, and yet God's Word allowed me to go about my calling, and therefore if it lay there, then to go thither, &c. But to pray, was a great part of the Divine worship of God, and therefore it ought to be done according to the rule of God's Word.

Another. One of them said, He will do harm; let him speak no further.

As every man hath received the gift; that is, said he, as every one hath received a trade, so let him follow it. If any man have received a gift of tinkering, as thou hast done, let him follow his tinkering. And so other men their trades; and the divine his calling, &c.

Bun. Nay, Sir, said I, but it is most clear, that the apostle speaks here of preaching the Word; if you do but compare both the verses together, the next verse explains this gift what it is, saying, *If any man speak, let him speak as the oracles of God.*
 10 So that it is plain, that the Holy Ghost doth not so much in this place exhort to civil callings, as to the exercising of those gifts that we have received from God. I would have gone on, but he would not give me leave.

Keel. He said, We might do it in our families, but not otherways.

Bun. I said, If it was lawful to do good to some, it was lawful to do good to more. If it was a good duty to exhort our families, it is good to exhort others; but if they held it a sin to meet together to seek the face of God, and exhort one
 20 another to follow Christ, I should sin still; for so we should do.

Keel. He said he was not so well versed in Scripture as to dispute, or words to that purpose. And said, moreover, that they could not wait upon me any longer; but said to me, Then you confess the indictment, do you not? Now, and not till now, I saw I was indicted.

Bun. I said, This I confess, we have had many meetings together, both to pray to God, and to exhort one another, and that we had the sweet comforting presence of the Lord among us for our encouragement; blessed be his name there-
 30 fore. I confessed myself guilty no otherwise.

Keel. Then, said he, hear your judgment. You must be had back again to prison, and there lie for three months following; and at three months' end, if you do not submit to go to church to hear Divine service, and leave your preaching, you must be banished the realm: and if, after such a day as shall be appointed you to be gone, you shall be found in this realm, &c., or be found to come over again without special license from the king, &c., you must

stretch by the neck for it, I tell you plainly; and so he bid my jailor have me away.

Ben. I told him, as to this matter, I was at a point with him; for if I was out of prison to-day I would preach the gospel again to-morrow, by the help of God.

Another. To which one made me some answer; but my jailor pulling me away to be gone, I could not tell what he said.

Thus I departed from them; and I can truly say, I bless the Lord *Jesus Christ* for it, that my heart was sweetly refreshed in the time of my examination, and also afterwards, at my returning to the prison. So that I found *Christ's* words more than bare trifles, where he saith, He will give a mouth and wisdom, even such as all the adversaries shall not gainsay or resist. And that his peace no man can take from us.

Thus have I given you the substance of my examination. The Lord make these profitable to all that shall read or hear them. Farewell.

The Substance of some Discourse had between the Clerk of the Peace and myself, when he came to admonish me, according to the tenor of that Law by which I was in Prison.

When I had lain in prison other twelve weeks, and now not knowing what they intended to do with me, upon the third of April, comes Mr. Cobb unto me, (as he told me,) being sent by the Justices to admonish me; and demanded of me submittance to the Church of England, &c. The extent of our discourse was as followeth:—

Cobb. When he was come into the house he sent for me out of my chamber; who, when I was come unto him, he said, Neighbour *Bunyan*, how do you do?

Ben. I thank you, Sir, said I, very well, blessed be the Lord.

Cobb. Saith he, I come to tell you that it is desired you would submit yourself to the laws of the land, or else at the next sessions it will go worse with you, even to be sent away out of the nation, or else worse than that.

Bun. I said that I did desire to demean myself in the world, both as becometh a man and a Christian.

Cobb. But, saith he, you must submit to the laws of the land, and leave off those meetings which you was wont to have; for the statute law is directly against it; and I am sent to you by the Justices to tell you that they do intend to prosecute the law against you if you submit not.

Bun. I said, Sir, I conceive that that law by which I am in
10 prison at this time doth not reach or condemn either me or the meetings which I do frequent. That law was made against those that being designed to do evil in their meetings, make the exercise of religion their pretence to cover their wickedness. It doth not forbid the private meetings of those that plainly and simply make it their only end to worship the Lord, and to exhort one another to edification. My end in meeting with others is simply to do as much good as I can, by exhortation and counsel, according to that small measure of light which God hath given me, and not to disturb
20 the peace of the nation.

Cobb. Every one will say the same, saith he; you see the late insurrection at *London*, under what glorious pretences they went; and yet, indeed, they intended no less than the ruin of the kingdom and commonwealth.

Bun. That practice of theirs I abhor, said I; yet it doth not follow that, because they did so, therefore all others will do so. I look upon it as my duty to behave myself under the King's government, both as becomes a man and a Christian, and if an occasion were offered me, I should
30 willingly manifest my loyalty to my Prince, both by word and deed.

Cobb. Well, said he, I do not profess myself to be a man that can dispute; but this I say, truly, neighbour *Bunyan*, I would have you consider this matter seriously, and submit yourself; you may have your liberty to exhort your neighbour in private discourse, so be you do not call together an assembly of people; and, truly, you may do much good to the church of Christ if you would go this way; and this

you may do, and the law not abridge you of it. It is your private meetings that the law is against.

Bun. Sir, said I, if I may do good to one by my discourse, why may I not do good to two? and if to two, why not to four, and so to eight? &c.

Cobb. Ay, saith he, and to a hundred, I warrant you.

Bun. Yes, Sir, said I, I think I should not be forbid to do as much good as I can.

Cobb. But, saith he, you may but pretend to do good, and indeed, notwithstanding, do harm, by seducing the people; so you are, therefore, denied your meeting so many together, lest you should do harm.

Bun. And yet, said I, you say the law tolerates me to discourse with my neighbour; surely there is no law tolerates me to seduce any one; therefore, if I may, by the law, discourse with one, surely it is to do him good; and if I, by discoursing, may do good to one, surely, by the same law, I may do good to many.

Cobb. The law, saith he, doth expressly forbid your private meetings; therefore they are not to be tolerated.

Bun. I told him that I would not entertain so much uncharitableness of that Parliament in the 35th of Elizabeth, or of the Queen herself, as to think they did, by that law, intend the oppressing of any of God's ordinances, or the interrupting any in the way of God; but men may, in the wresting of it, turn it against the way of God. But take the law in itself, and it only fighteth against those that drive at mischief in their hearts and meetings, making religion only their cloak, colour, or pretence; for so are the words of the statute: *If any meetings, under colour or pretence of religion, &c.*

Cobb. Very good; therefore the King, seeing that pretences are usually in and among people, as to make religion their pretence only, therefore he, and the law before him, doth forbid such private meetings, and tolerates only public; you may meet in public.

Bun. Sir, said I, let me answer you in a similitude. Set

the case that, at such a wood corner, there did usually come forth thieves, to do mischief; must there therefore a law be made that every one that cometh out there shall be killed? May there not come out true men as well as thieves out from thence? Just thus it is in this case; I do think there may be many that may design the destruction of the commonwealth; but it does not follow therefore that all private meetings are unlawful; those that transgress, let them be punished. And if at any time I myself should do any
 10 act in my conversation as doth not become a man and Christian, let me bear the punishment. And as for your saying I may meet in public, if I may be suffered, I would gladly do it. Let me have but meeting enough in public, and I shall care the less to have them in private. I do not meet in private because I am afraid to have meetings in public. I bless the Lord that my heart is at that point, that if any man can lay anything to my charge, either in doctrine or practice, in this particular, that can be proved error or heresy, I am willing to disown it, even in the very
 20 market place; but if it be truth, then to stand to it to the last drop of my blood. And, Sir, said I, you ought to commend me for so doing. To err and to be a heretic are two things. I am no heretic, because I will not stand refractorily to defend any one thing that is contrary to the Word. Prove anything which I hold to be an error, and I will recant it.

Cobb. But, Goodman *Bunyan*, said he, methinks you need not stand so strictly upon this one thing, as to have meetings of such public assemblies. Cannot you submit, and, notwithstanding, do as much good as you can, in a neighbourly
 30 way, without having such meetings?

Bun. Truly, Sir, said I, I do not desire to commend myself, but to think meanly of myself; yet when I do most despise myself, taking notice of that small measure of light which God hath given me, also that the people of the Lord, (by their own saying,) are edified thereby. Besides, when I see that the Lord, through grace, hath in some measure blessed my labour, I dare not but exercise that gift which God hath

given me for the good of the people. And I said further, that I would willingly speak in public, if I might.

Cobb. He said, that I might come to the public assemblies and hear. What though you do not preach? you may hear. Do not think yourself so well enlightened, and that you have received a gift so far above others^d; but that you may hear other men preach. Or to that purpose.

Ben. I told him, I was as willing to be taught as to give instruction, and I looked upon it as my duty to do both; for, said I, a man that is a teacher, he himself may learn also ¹⁰ from another that teacheth, as the Apostle saith: *We may all prophesy, one by one, that all may learn.* That is, every man that hath received a gift from God, he may dispense it, that others may be comforted; and when he hath done, he may hear and learn, and be comforted himself of others.

Cobb. But, said he, what if you should forbear awhile, and sit still, till you see further how things will go?

Ben. Sir, said I, *Wickliffe* saith, that he which leaveth off preaching and hearing of the Word of God for fear of ex-²⁰ communication of men, he is already excommunicated of God, and shall in the day of judgment be counted a traitor to Christ.

Cobb. Ay, saith he, they that do not hear shall be so counted indeed; do you, therefore, hear.

Ben. But, Sir, said I, he saith, he that shall leave off either preaching or hearing, &c. That is, if he hath received a gift for edification, it is his sin, if he doth not lay it out in a way of exhortation and counsel, according to the proportion of his gift; as well as to spend his time altogether ³⁰ in hearing others preach.

Cobb. But, said he, how shall we know that you have received a gift?

Ben. Said I, Let any man hear and search, and prove the doctrine by the Bible.

Cobb. But will you be willing, said he, that two indifferent persons shall determine the case, and will you stand by their judgment?

Bun. I said, Are they infallible?

Cobb. He said, No.

Bun. Then, said I, it is possible my judgment may be as good as theirs. But yet I will pass by either, and in this matter be judged by the Scriptures. I am sure that is infallible, and cannot err.

Cobb. But, said he, who shall be judge between you, for you take the Scriptures one way, and they another?

Bun. I said, The Scripture should, and that by comparing
 10 one scripture with another; for that will open itself, if it be rightly compared. As, for instance, if under the different apprehensions of the word *Mediator*, you would know the truth of it, the Scriptures open it, and tells us that he that is a mediator must take up the business between two, and
a mediator is not a mediator of one, but God is one, and there
is one mediator between God and men, even the man Christ Jesus.
 So likewise the Scripture calleth Christ a *complete*, or perfect, or able *high priest*. That is opened in that he is called man, and also God. His blood also is discovered to be effectually
 20 efficacious by the same things. So the Scripture, as touching the matter of meeting together, &c., doth likewise sufficiently open itself and discover its meaning.

*Gal. iii. 20.
 1 Tim. ii. 5.*

Cobb. But are you willing, said he, to stand to the judgment of the Church?

Bun. Yes, Sir, said I, to the approbation of the church of God. The Church's judgment is best expressed in Scripture. We had much other discourse which I cannot well remember, about the laws of the nation, and submission to governments; to which I did tell him, that I did look upon myself as bound
 30 in conscience to walk according to all righteous laws, and that whether there was a King or no; and if I did anything that was contrary, I did hold it my duty to bear patiently the penalty of the law, that was provided against such offenders; with many more words to the like effect. And said, moreover, that to cut off all occasions of suspicion from any, as touching the harmlessness of my doctrine in private, I would willingly take the pains to give any one the notes of all my sermons; for I do sincerely desire to

live quietly in my country, and to submit to the present authority.

Cobb. Well, neighbour *Bunyan*, said he, but indeed I would wish you seriously to consider of these things, between this and the quarter-sessions, and to submit yourself. You may do much good if you continue still in the land; but alas, what benefit will it be to your friends, or what good can you do to them, if you should be sent away beyond the seas into *Spain*, or *Constantinople*, or some other remote part of the world? Pray be ruled.

10

Jailor. Indeed, Sir, I hope he will be ruled.

Bun. I shall desire, said I, in all godliness and honesty to behave myself in the nation, whilst I am in it. And if I must be so dealt withal, as you say, I hope God will help me to bear what they shall lay upon me. I know no evil that I have done in this matter, to be so used. I speak as in the presence of God.

Rom. xiii. 1. *Cobb.* You know, saith he, that the Scripture saith, *the powers that be are ordained of God.*

Bun. I said, Yes, and that I was to submit to the King as supreme, also to the governors, as to them that are sent by him.

Cobb. Well then, said he, the King then commands you, that you should not have any private meetings; because it is against his law, and he is ordained of God, therefore you should not have any.

Bun. I told him that *Paul* did own the powers that were in his day, as to be of God; and yet he was often in prison under them for all that. And also, though *Jesus Christ* told *Pilate*, that he had no power against him, but of God, yet he died under the same *Pilate*; and yet, said I, I hope you will not say that either *Paul*, or *Christ*, was such as did deny magistracy, and so sinned against God in slighting the ordinance. Sir, said I, the law hath provided two ways of obeying: The one to do that which I, in my conscience, do believe that I am bound to do, actively; and where I cannot obey actively, there I am willing to lie down, and to suffer what they shall do unto me. At this he sat still,

and said no more; which, when he had done, I did thank him for his civil and meek discoursing with me; and so we parted.

O that we might meet in heaven!

Farewell. J. B.

Here followeth a discourse between my Wife and the Judges, with others, touching my Deliverance at the Assizes following; the which I took from her own Mouth.

After that I had received this sentence of banishing, or
10 hanging, from them, and after the former admonition, touching the determination of Justices, if I did not recant; just when the time drew nigh, in which I should have abjured, or have done worse, (as Mr. Cobb told me,) came the time in which the King was to be crowned. Now, at the coronation of Kings, there is usually a releasement of divers prisoners, by virtue of his coronation; in which privilege also I should have had my share; but that they took me for a convicted person, and therefore, unless I sued out a pardon, (as they called it,) I could have no benefit thereby. Notwithstanding,
20 yet, forasmuch as the Coronation Proclamation did give liberty, from the day the King was crowned to that day twelvemonth, to sue them out; therefore, though they would not let me out of prison, as they let out thousands, yet they could not meddle with me, as touching the execution of their sentence; because of the liberty offered for the suing out of pardons. Whereupon I continued in prison till the next assizes, which are called *Midsummer* assizes, being then kept in *August* 1661.

Now, at that assizes, because I would not leave any possible
30 means unattempted that might be lawful, I did, by my wife, present a petition to the Judges three times, that I might be heard, and that they would impartially take my case into consideration.

The first time my wife went, she presented it to Judge *Hales*, who very mildly received it at her hand, telling her

that he would do her and me the best good he could; but he feared, he said, he could do none. The next day, again, lest they should, through the multitude of business, forget me, we did throw another petition into the coach to Judge *Tawison*; who, when he had seen it, snapt her up, and angrily told her that I was a convicted person, and could not be released, unless I would promise to preach no more, &c.

Well, after this, she yet again presented another to Judge *Hales*, as he sat on the bench, who, as it seemed, was willing to give her audience. Only Justice *Chester* being present ¹⁰ stepped up and said, that I was convicted in the court, and that I was a hot-spirited fellow, (or words to that purpose,) whereat he waved it, and did not meddle therewith. But yet, my wife being encouraged by the High Sheriff, did venture once more into their presence, (as the poor widow did to the unjust Judge,) to try what she could do with them for my liberty, before they went forth of the town. The place where she went to them was to the *Swan Chamber*, where the two Judges, and many Justices and Gentry of the country, was in company together. She then, coming ²⁰ into the chamber with a bashed face, and a trembling heart, began her errand to them in this manner:—

Woman. My Lord (directing herself to Judge *Hales*), I make bold to come once again to your Lordship, to know what may be done with my husband.

Judge Hales. To whom he said, Woman, I told thee before, I could do thee no good; because they have taken that for a conviction which thy husband spoke at the sessions; and unless there be something done to undo that, I can do thee no good. 30

Wom. My Lord, said she, he is kept unlawfully in prison; they clapped him up before there was any proclamation against the meetings; the indictment also is false. Besides, they never asked him whether he was guilty or no; neither did he confess the indictment.

One of the Justices. Then one of the Justices that stood by, whom she knew not, said, My Lord, he was lawfully convicted.

Wom. It is false, said she; for when they said to him, Do you confess the indictment? he said only this, that he had been at several meetings, both where there was preaching the Word, and prayer, and that they had God's presence among them.

Judge Twisdon. Whereat Judge *Twisdon* answered very angrily, saying, What! you think we can do what we list; your husband is a breaker of the peace, and is convicted by the law, &c. Whereupon Judge *Hales* called for the
10 Statute Book.

Wom. But, said she, my Lord, he was not lawfully convicted.

Cbester. Then Justice *Cbester* said, My Lord, he was lawfully convicted.

Wom. It is false, said she; it was but a word of discourse that they took for a conviction, as you heard before.

Cbes. But it is recorded, woman, it is recorded, said Justice *Cbester*; as if it must be of necessity true, because it was recorded. With which words he often endeavoured to stop
20 her mouth, having no other argument to convince her, but it is recorded, it is recorded.

Wom. My Lord, said she, I was a while since at *London*, to see if I could get my husband's liberty; and there I spoke with my Lord *Barkwood*, one of the House of Lords, to whom I delivered a petition, who took it of me and presented it to some of the rest of the House of Lords, for my husband's releasement; who, when they had seen it, they said that they could not release him, but had committed his releasement to the Judges, at the next assizes. This he told me; and
30 now I come to you to see if anything may be done in this business, and you give neither releasement nor relief. To which they gave her no answer, but made as if they heard her not.

Cbes. Only Justice *Cbester* was often up with this, He is convicted, and It is recorded.

Wom. If it be, it is false, said she.

Cbes. My Lord, said Justice *Cbester*, he is a pestilent fellow, there is not such a fellow in the country again.

Twis. What, will your husband leave preaching? If he will do so, then send for him.

Wom. My Lord, said she, he dares not leave preaching, as long as he can speak.

Twis. See here, what should we talk any more about such a fellow? Must he do what he lists? He is a breaker of the peace.

Wom. She told him again, that he desired to live peaceably, and to follow his calling, that his family might be maintained; and, moreover, said, My Lord, I have four small children ¹⁰ that cannot help themselves, of which one is blind, and have nothing to live upon, but the charity of good people.

Hales. Hast thou four children? said Judge *Hales*; thou art but a young woman to have four children.

Wom. My Lord, said she, I am but mother-in-law to them, having not been married to him yet full two years. Indeed, I was with child when my husband was first apprehend:d; but being young, and unaccustomed to such things, said she, I being smayed at the news, fell into labour, and so continued for eight days, and then was delivered, but my child died. ²⁰

Hales. Whereat, he looking very soberly on the matter, said, Alas, poor woman!

Twis. But Judge *Twisden* told her, that she made poverty her cloak; and said, moreover, that he understood I was maintained better by running up and down a preaching, than by following my calling.

Hales. What is his calling? said Judge *Hales*.

Answer. Then some of the company that stood by said, A Tinker, my Lord.

Wom. Yes, said she, and because he is a Tinker, and a ³⁰ poor man, therefore he is despised, and cannot have justice.

Hales. Then Judge *Hales* answered, very mildly, saying, I tell thee, woman, seeing it is so, that they have taken what thy husband spake for a conviction; thou must either apply thyself to the King, or sue out his pardon, or get a writ of error.

Cbes. But when Justice *Chester* heard him give her this counsel; and especially, as she supposed, because he spoke

of a writ of error, he chafed, and seemed to be very much offended; saying, My Lord, he will preach and do what he lists.

Wom. He preacheth nothing but the Word of God, said she.

Tavis. He preach the Word of God! said *Tawisden*; (and withal she thought he would have struck her;) he runneth up and down, and doth harm.

Wom. No, my Lord, said she, it is not so; God hath owned
10 him, and done much good by him.

Tavis. God! said he; his doctrine is the doctrine of the Devil.

Wom. My Lord, said she, when the righteous Judge shall appear, it will be known that his doctrine is not the doctrine of the Devil.

Tavis. My Lord, said he, to Judge *Hales*, do not mind her, but send her away.

Hales. Then said Judge *Hales*, I am sorry, woman, that I can do thee no good; thou must do one of those three
20 things aforesaid; namely, either to apply thyself to the King, or sue out his pardon, or get a writ of error; but a writ of error will be cheapest.

Wom. At which *Cbeester* again seemed to be in a chafe, and put off his hat, and as she thought, scratched his head for anger. But when I saw, said she, that there was no prevailing to have my husband sent for, though I often desired them that they would send for him, that he might speak for himself, telling them, that he could give them better satisfaction than I could in what they demanded of him, with several other
30 things, which now I forget; only this I remember, that though I was somewhat timorous at my first entrance into the chamber, yet before I went out, I could not but break forth into tears, not so much because they were so hard-hearted against me and my husband, but to think what a sad account such poor creatures will have to give at the coming of the Lord, when they shall there answer for all things whatsoever they have done in the body, whether it be good or whether it be bad.

428 *RELATION OF BUNYAN'S IMPRISONMENT.*

So, when I departed from them, the Book of Statute was brought, but what they said of it I know nothing at all, neither did I hear any more from them.

Some Carriages of the Adversaries of God's Truth with me at the next Assizes, which was on the 19th of the First Month, 1662.

I shall pass by what befell between these two assizes, how I had, by my Jailor, some liberty granted me, more than at the first, and how I followed my wonted course of preaching, taking all occasions that were put into my hand to visit 10 the people of God; exhorting them to be steadfast in the faith of Jesus Christ, and to take heed that they touched not the Common Prayer, &c., but to mind the Word of God, which giveth direction to Christians in every point, being able to make the man of God perfect in all things through faith in Jesus Christ, and thoroughly to furnish him unto all good works. Also, how I, having, I say, somewhat more liberty, did go to see Christians at *London*; which my enemies hearing of, were so angry, that they had almost cast my Jailor out of his place, threatening to indict him, and to do what 20 they could against him. They charged me also, that I went thither to plot and raise division, and make insurrection, which, God knows, was a slander; whereupon my liberty was more straitened than it was before: so that I must not look out of the door. Well, when the next sessions came, which was about the 10th of the eleventh month, I did expect to have been very roundly dealt withal; but they passed me by, and would not call me, so that I rested till the assizes, which was the 19th of the first month following; and when they came, because I had a desire to come before 30 the judge, I desired my jailor to put my name into the Kalender among the felons, and made friends of the Judge and High Sheriff, who promised that I should be called; so that I thought what I had done might have been effectual for the obtaining of my desire. But all was in vain; for when the assizes came, though my name was in the Kalender,

and also though both the Judge and Sheriff had promised that I should appear before them, yet the Justices and the Clerk of the peace did so work it about, that I, notwithstanding, was deferred, and might not appear; and although, I say, I do not know of all their carriages towards me, yet this I know, that the Clerk of the peace did discover himself to be one of my greatest opposers. For, first, he came to my jailor, and told him that I must not go down before the Judge, and therefore must not be put into the Kalender; 10 to whom my jailor said, that my name was in already. He bid him put me out again; my jailor told him that he could not, for he had given the Judge a Kalender with my name in it, and also the Sheriff another. At which he was very much displeased, and desired to see that Kalender that was yet in my jailor's hand; who, when he had given it him, he looked on it, and said it was a false Kalender; he also took the Kalender and blotted out my accusation, as my jailor had writ it. (Which accusation I cannot tell what it was, because it was so blotted out;) and he himself put 20 in words to this purpose: 'That *John Bunyan* was committed in prison, being lawfully convicted for upholding of unlawful meetings and conventicles,' &c. But yet, for all this, fearing that what he had done, unless he added thereto, it would not do; he first run to the Clerk of the assizes, then to the Justices, and afterwards, because he would not leave any means unattempted to hinder me, he comes again to my jailor, and tells him, that if I did go down before the Judge, and was released, he would make him pay my fees, which, he said, was due to him; and further told him, that he 30 would complain of him at the next quarter sessions for making of false Kalenders; though my jailor himself, as I afterwards learned, had put in my accusation worse than in itself it was by far. And thus was I hindered and prevented, at that time also, from appearing before the Judge, and left in prison. Farewell.

JOHN BUNYAN.

FINIS.



NOTES ON THE PILGRIM'S PROGRESS

THE FIRST PART.

The Author's Apology.

IN the poetical introduction to his allegory, Bunyan describes the origin of the work, his doubts as to its publication, and how his difficulty was increased by the varied counsel of his friends; and then proceeds to defend at considerable length his adoption of the allegorical style for the setting forth of religious truth. The pains Bunyan takes to meet and answer the objections to the character of his work evidence the distaste felt by the stricter Puritans for a form of composition so unusual in religious writing and savouring too much, it might be thought, of human ingenuity and the wisdom of this world. Bunyan evidently expected his book to be received with disfavour by his coreligionists, and can have been little prepared for the popularity it so speedily attained.

We have in this introduction—the origin of the work, spontaneous, not premeditated, vv. 1-18; when the author first began writing he did not purpose printing, vv. 19-34; when showed to his friends, some counselled its being published, some not, vv. 35-40; he determined on giving it to the world, vv. 41-60; the author defends, by sundry illustrations, the adoption of varied forms of composition to attain a good end, vv. 61-98; rebuts the charges of want of solidity, vv. 101-126; and of obscurity, vv. 127-158; he asserts his right to use metaphors, vv. 165-176; to adopt the form of dialogue, vv. 177-186; the correspondence of his style with that of Holy Scripture, vv. 187-192; and concludes by drawing out the profitableness of his book under sundry heads, vv. 193-236.

Line 2. *Thus for to write.* This reduplication of prepositions with the infinitive is now sunk into a vulgarism, but it is really a survival of an ancient form of speech found in the Bible and Shakespeare as well as in our earlier writers, e. g.

'He bigan to schake ys axe *for to* smyte anon.'

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thus considered, I found, that if they were fairly taken, they would amount to this, *That I had freely left the Lord Jesus Christ to his choice, whether he would be my Saviour or no; for the wicked words were these, Let him go if he will.* Then that Scripture gave me hope, *I will never leave thee nor forsake thee.* O Lord, said I, *but I have left thee.* Then it answered again, *But I will not leave thee.* For this I thank God also.

Heb. 13. 5

✓

217. ~~Yet~~ I was grievous afraid he should, and found it exceeding hard to trust him, seeing I had so offended him. I could have been exceeding glad that this thought had never ¹⁰ befallen, for then I thought I could, with more ease and freedom abundance, have leaned upon his Grace. I see it was with me, as it was with *Joseph's* brethren; the guilt of their own wickedness did often fill them with fears that their brother would at last despise them.

Gen. 39. 19-21.

218. But above all the Scriptures that I yet did meet with, that in the twentieth of Joshua was the greatest comfort to me, which speaks of the slayer that was to flee for refuge.

Josh. 20. 5.

✓

And if the avenger of blood pursue the slayer, then, saith Moses, they that are the Elders of the City of Refuge shall not deliver ²⁰ him into his hand, because he smote his Neighbour unwittingly, and hated him not aforetime. Oh, blessed be God for this word. I was convinced that I was the Slayer; and that the Avenger of Blood pursued me, that I felt with great terror; only now it remained that I inquire whether I have right to enter the City of Refuge. So I found that he must not, *who lay in wait to shed blood.* It was not the wilful Murderer, but he who *unwittingly* did it, he who did unawares shed blood; not of spight, or grudge, or malice, he that shed it unwittingly, even he who did not *bate his Neighbour before.* ³⁰ Wherefore,

219. I thought verily I was the man that must enter, because I had smitten my Neighbour unwittingly, and hated him not aforetime. I hated him not aforetime; no, I prayed unto him, was tender of sinning against him; yea, and against this wicked temptation I had strove for a twelvemonth before; yea, and also when it did pass through my heart, it did it in spight of my Teeth. Wherefore I thought I had right to

enter this City, and the Elders, which are the Apostles, were not to deliver me up. This, therefore, was great comfort to me, and did give me much ground of hope.

220. Yet being very critical, for my smart had made me that I knew not what ground was sure enough to bear me, I had one question that my Soul did much desire to be resolved about; and that was, Whether it be possible for any Soul that hath indeed sinned the unpardonable sin, yet after that to receive though but the least true spiritual comfort from God
 10 through Christ? The which, after I had much considered, I found the answer was, No, they could not; and that for these reasons: *relates to logic.* *logic* *(see p. 4)*

221. *First*, Because those that have sinned that sin, they are debarred a share in the Blood of Christ, and being shut out of that, they must needs be void of the least ground of hope, and so of spiritual comfort; *for to such there remains Heb. 10. 26. no more sacrifice for sin.* *Secondly*, Because they are denied a share in the Promise of Life; they shall never be forgiven, *neither in this World, neither in that which is to come.* *Thirdly*,
 20 *The Son of God excludes them also from a share in his blessed Intercession, being for ever ashamed to own them both before Mark 8. 38 his holy Father, and the blessed Angels in Heaven.*

222. When I had, with much deliberation, considered of this matter, and could not but conclude that the Lord had comforted me, and that too after this my wicked sin; then, methought, I durst venture to come nigh unto those most fearful and terrible Scriptures, with which all this while I had been so greatly affrighted, and on which, indeed, before I durst scarce cast mine Eye (yea, had much ado an hundred
 30 times to forbear wishing of them out of the Bible; for I thought they would destroy me); but now, I say, I began to take some measure of encouragement to come close to them, to read them, and consider them, and to weigh their scope and tendency.

223. The which, when I began to do, (I found their visage changed) for they looked not so grimly on me as before I thought they did. And, first, I came to the sixth of the Hebrews, yet trembling for fear it should strike me; which
See text as visage (see)

when I had considered, I found that the falling there intended was a falling quite away. That is, as I conceived, a falling from, and an absolute denial of the Gospel of remission of sins by Christ, for from them the Apostle begins his Argument. Secondly, I found that this falling away must be openly, even in the view of the world, even so as to put Christ to an open shame. Thirdly, I found that those he there intended were for ever shut up of God, both in blindness, hardness, and impenitency: It is impossible they should be removed again unto Repentance. By all these particulars, I found to God's everlasting Praise, my sin was not the sin in this place intended.

First, I confessed I was fallen, but not fallen away, that is, from the profession of Faith in Jesus unto eternal Life.

Secondly, I confessed that I had put Jesus Christ to shame by my sin, but not to open shame. I did not deny him before men, nor condemn him as a fruitless one before the World.

Thirdly, Nor did I find that God had shut me up, or denied me to come (though I found it hard work indeed to come), to him by sorrow and repentance. Blessed be God for unsearchable grace.

224. Then I considered that in the tenth of the Hebrews, and found that the wilful sin there mentioned is not every wilful sin, but that which doth throw off Christ, and then his Commandments too. Secondly, That must also be done openly, before two or three Witnesses, to answer that of the Law. Thirdly, This sin cannot be committed, but with great despite done to the Spirit of Grace; despising both the dissuasions from that sin, and the persuasions to the contrary. But the Lord knows, though this my sin was devilish, yet it did not amount to these.

225. And as touching that in the twelfth of the Hebrews, about Esau's selling his Birthright, though this was that which killed me, and stood like a spear against me; yet now I did consider First, That his was not a hasty thought against the continual labour of his Mind, but a thought consented to and put in practice likewise, and that too after some deliberation. Secondly, It was a public and open action, even before his

First
as in
that.

Heb. 10. 26

Gen. 25.
29-34

labor
of the
Mind
thought

Brother, if not before many more; this made his sin of a far more heinous nature than otherwise it would have been. *Thirdly*, He continued to slight his Birthright: *He did eat and drink, and went his way; thus Esau despised his birthright.* Yea, twenty years after, he was found to despise it still. *And* Gen. 32. 9 *Esau said, I have enough, my Brother; keep that thou hast unto thyself.*

226. Now as touching this, *That Esau sought a place of* *Repentance*; thus I thought, *First*, This was not for the Birth-
 10 *right*, but for the *Blessing*; this is clear from the Apostle, and is distinguished by *Esau* himself; *he hath taken away my Birthright* Gen. 27. 34 (that is, formerly); *and, behold, now he hath taken away my Blessing also.* *Secondly*, Now, this being thus considered, I came again to the Apostle to see what might be the mind of God, in a New-Testament style and sense, concerning *Esau's* sin; and so far as I could conceive, this was the mind of God, *That the Birthright signified Regeneration, and the Blessing the Eternal Inheritance*; for so the Apostle seems to hint, *Lest there be any profane person, as Esau, who for one morsel of meat*
 20 *sold his Birthright*; as if he should say, Lest there be any Person amongst you, that shall cast off all those blessed beginnings of God that at present are upon him, in order to a new Birth, lest they become as *Esau*, even be rejected afterwards, when they would inherit the Blessing.

227. For many there are who, in the day of Grace and Mercy, despise those things which are indeed the Birthright to Heaven, who yet, when the deciding day appears, will cry as loud as *Esau*, *Lord, Lord, open to us*; but then, as *Isaac* would not repent, no more will God the Father, but will say,
 30 *I have blessed these, yea, and they shall be blessed*; but as for you, *Depart from me, all ye workers of Iniquity.* Gen. 27. 33. Luke 13. 27-29.

228. When I had thus considered these Scriptures and found that thus to (understand) them was not against, but according to other Scriptures; this still added further to my encouragement and comfort, and also gave a great blow to that Objection, to wit, *that the Scriptures could not agree in the Salvation of my Soul.* And now remained only the hinder part of the Tempest, for the thunder was gone beyond me, only

mapped out.

why recap this logic? for reader.

(can follow)

|| ✓

finds unity + order.

E: how in his con.
 some drops did still remain, that now and then would fall upon me; but because my former frights and anguish were very sore and deep, therefore it did oft befall me still, as it befalleth those that have been scared with fire, I thought every voice was *Fire, Fire*; every little touch would hurt my tender conscience.

*trial
response
"seeing"*
 229. But one day, as I was passing in the field, and that too with some dashes on my Conscience, fearing lest yet all was not right, suddenly this (sentence) fell upon my soul, *Thy righteousness is in Heaven*; and methought withal, *I saw with the Eyes of my soul, Jesus Christ at God's Right Hand.* There, I say, was my righteousness; so that wherever I was, or whatever I was doing, God could not say of me, *He wants my Righteousness*, for that was just before him. I also saw, moreover, that it was not my good frame of Heart that made my Righteousness better, nor yet my bad frame that made my Righteousness worse; for my Righteousness was Jesus

Reb. 12. 8. Christ himself, *the same yesterday, and to-day, and for ever.*

230. Now did my Chains fall off my Legs indeed; I was loosed from my Affliction and Irons; my Temptations also fled so away; so that, from that time, those dreadful Scriptures of God left off to trouble me; now went I also home rejoicing, for the *Grace and Love of God.* So when I came home, I looked to see if I could find that sentence, *Thy Righteousness is in Heaven*, but could not find such a saying; wherefore my Heart began to sink again; only that was brought to my remembrance, *He is made unto us of God Wisdom, and Righteousness, and Sanctification, and Redemption*; by this word I saw the other sentence true.

1 Cor. 1. 30

231. For by this Scripture, *I saw that the Man Christ* 30
Jesus, as he is distinct from us, as touching his bodily presence,
so he is our Righteousness and Sanctification before God.
 Here, therefore, I lived for some time, very sweetly at peace with God through Christ. Oh methought, Christ! Christ! *there was nothing but Christ that was before my Eyes*; I was not now only for looking upon this and the other benefits of Christ apart, as of his Blood, Burial, or Resurrection, but considered him as a whole Christ; as he in whom all

these, and all other his Virtues, Relations, Offices, and Operations met together, and that, as he sat on the Right Hand of God in Heaven.

232. 'Twas glorious to me to see his Exaltation, and the Worth and Prevalency of all his Benefits, and that because now I could look from myself to him, and should reckon that all those graces of God that now were green on me, were yet but like those crack-groats and fourpence-halfpennies that rich men carry in their Purses, when their Gold is in their Trunks at home! Oh, I saw my Gold was in my Trunk at home! In Christ, my Lord and Saviour! Now Christ was all; all my Wisdom, all my Righteousness, all my Sanctification, and all my Redemption.

233. Further, the Lord did also lead me into the Mystery of Union with the Son of God, that I was joined to him, that I was flesh of his flesh, and bone of his bone, and now was that a sweet word to me in the thirtieth of the fifth of Ephesians. By this also was my Faith in him as my Righteousness the more confirmed to me; for if he and
20 I were one, then his Righteousness was mine, his Merits mine, his Victory also mine. Now could I see myself in Heaven and Earth at once; in Heaven by my Christ, by my Head, by my Righteousness and Life, though on Earth by my Body or Person.

234. Now I saw Christ Jesus was looked on of God, and should also be looked upon by us, as that common or public Person, in whom all the whole body of his Elect are always to be considered and reckoned; that we fulfilled the Law by him, died by him, rose from the dead by him, got the Victory
30 over Sin, Death, the Devil, and Hell by him; when he died, we died; and so of his Resurrection. *Thy dead men shall live,* Isa. 26. 19. *together with my dead body shall they arise,* saith he. And again, *After two days he will revive us: in the third day he will* Hos. 6. 2. *raise us up, and we shall live in his sight*; which is now fulfilled by the sitting down of the Son of Man on the Right Hand of the Majesty in the Heavens, according to that to the Ephesians, *he hath raised us up together, and made us sit* Eph. 2. 6. *together in heavenly places in Christ Jesus.*

Manner
of
Soul.
Eve + Adam

Common
or Public

235. Ah, these blessed considerations and Scriptures, with many other of a like nature, were in those days made to spangle in mine Eyes, so that I have cause to say, *Praise ye the Lord God in his Sanctuary: praise him in the Firmament of his Power. Praise him for his mighty Acts: praise him according to his excellent Greatness.*

236. Having thus, in few words, given you a taste of the sorrow and affliction that my Soul went under, by the guilt and terror that this my wicked thought did lay me under; and having given you also a touch of my deliverance therefrom, and of the sweet and blessed comfort that I met with afterwards, (which comfort dwelt about a twelvemonth with my Heart, to my unspeakable admiration;) I will now, God willing, before I proceed any further, give you in a word or two, what, as I conceive, was the cause of this temptation; and also after that, what advantage, at the last, it became unto my Soul.

237. For the causes, I conceived they were principally two: of which two also I was deeply convinced all the time this trouble lay upon me. The first was, for that I so did not, when I was delivered from the temptation that went before, *still pray to God to keep me from temptations that were to come.* For though, as I can say in truth, my Soul was much in Prayer before this trial seized me, yet then I prayed only, or at the most, principally for the removal of present troubles, and for fresh discoveries of his love in Christ: which I saw afterwards was not enough to do. I also should have prayed that the great God would keep me from the evil that was to come.

238. Of this I was made deeply sensible by the Prayer of holy David, who, when he was under present Mercy, yet prayed that God would hold him back from sin and temptation to come; *For then, saith he, shall I be upright, and I shall be innocent from the great transgression.* By this very word was I galled and condemned, quite through this long temptation.

239. That also was another word that did much condemn me for my folly, in the neglect of this Duty, *Let us therefore*

has 2 body
new. story

cf
from him
(writing)

Ps. 119. 73

Neb. 4. 26

come boldly unto the throne of Grace, that we may obtain mercy, and find Grace to help in time of need. This I had not done, and therefore was suffered thus to sin and fall, according to what is written, *Pray that you enter not into temptation.* Mat. 26. 41. And truly this very thing is to this day of such weight and awe upon me, that I dare not, when I come before the Lord, go off my knees until I entreat him for help and mercy against the temptations that are to come; and I do beseech thee, Reader, that thou learn to beware of my
 10 negligence, by the affliction that for this thing I did for days, and months, and years, with sorrow undergo.

240. Another cause of this temptation was that I had tempted God; and on this manner did I do it. Upon a time my wife was great with Child, and before her full time was come, her pangs, as of a Woman in travail, were fierce and strong upon her, even as if she would have immediately fallen in labour, and been delivered of an untimely Birth. Now, at this very time it was that I had been so strongly tempted to question the Being of God; wherefore,
 20 as my Wife lay crying by me, I said, but with all secrecy imaginable, even thinking in my heart, *Lord, if thou wilt now remove this sad affliction from my Wife, and cause that she be troubled no more therewith this night, (and now were her pangs just upon her,) then I shall know that thou canst discern the most secret thoughts of the Heart.*

241. I had no sooner said it in my heart, but her pangs were taken from her, and she was cast into a deep sleep, and so she continued till Morning. At this I greatly marvelled, not knowing what to think; but after I had been
 30 awake a good while, and heard her cry no more, I fell to sleep also. So when I waked in the Morning it came upon me again, even what I had said in my heart the last Night, and how the Lord had shewed me that he knew my secret Thoughts, which was a great astonishment unto me for several weeks after.

242. Well, about a year and a half afterwards, that wicked sinful thought, of which I have spoken before, went through my wicked heart, even this thought, *Let Christ go if he will;*

questing
 his labor
 pains.

so when I was fallen under guilt for this, the remembrance of my other thought and of the effect thereof would also come upon me with this retort, which also carried rebuke along with it, *Now you may see that God doth know the most secret thoughts of the heart.*

Isaiah 66:10

243. And with this, that of the passages that were betwixt the Lord and his servant *Gideon* fell upon my Spirit; how because that *Gideon* tempted God with his fleece, both wet and dry, when he should have believed and ventured upon his word, therefore the Lord did afterwards so try him as to send him against an innumerable company of Enemies; and that too, as to outward appearance, without any Strength or Help. Thus he served me, and that justly, for I should have believed his word, and not have put an *if* upon the all-seeingness of God.

Now for
temptation in
my temptation

244. And now to shew you something of the advantages that I also gained by this temptation; and *first*, By this I was made continually to possess in my soul a very wonderful sense both of the Being and Glory of God, and of his beloved Son. In the temptation that went before my Soul was perplexed with unbelief, blasphemy, hardness of heart, questions about the being of God, Christ, the Truth of the Word, and certainty of the World to come; I say, then I was greatly assaulted and tormented with Atheism; but now the case was otherwise, now was God and Christ continually before my Face, though not in a way of comfort, but in a way of exceeding dread and terror. The Glory of the Holiness of God did at this time break me to pieces; and the Bowels and Compassion of Christ did break me as on the Wheel; for I could not consider him but as a lost and rejected Christ, the remembrance of which was as the continual breaking of my Bones.

245. The Scriptures now also were wonderful things unto me. I saw that the truth and verity of them were the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven; *those* that the Scriptures favour, *they* must inherit bliss; but *those* that they oppose and condemn must perish evermore. Oh this word, *For the Scripture cannot be broken*, would rend the Caul of my heart; and so

would that other, *Whose sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them; but whose sins ye retain, they are retained.* Now I saw ^{John 8. 4.} the Apostles to be the Elders of the City of Refuge; those that they were to receive in were received to Life; but those that they shut out were to be slain by the Avenger of Blood.

246. Oh! one Sentence of the Scripture did more afflict and terrify my mind, I mean those Sentences that stood against me, (as sometimes I thought they every one did,) ¹⁰ more I say, than an Army of forty thousand men that might have come against me. Woe be to him against whom the Scriptures bend themselves.

247. By this temptation I was made to see more into the Nature of the Promises than ever I was before; for I lying now trembling under the mighty hand of God, continually torn and rent by the thunders of his Justice; this made me, with careful Heart and watchful Eye, with great seriousness, to turn over every leaf, and with much diligence, mixed with trembling, to consider every Sentence, ²⁰ together with its natural force and latitude.

248. By this temptation, also, I was greatly beaten off my former foolish practice, of putting by the Word of Promise when it came into my mind; for now, though I could not suck that comfort and sweetness from the Promise as I had done at other times, yet, like to a man a-sinking, I should catch at all I saw. Formerly I thought I might not meddle with the Promise unless I felt its comfort, but now it was no time thus to do, the Avenger of Blood too hardly did pursue me.

³⁰ 249. Now therefore I was glad to catch at that word, which yet I feared I had no ground or right to own; and even to leap into the bosom of that Promise, that yet I feared did shut its heart against me. Now also I should labour to take the Word as God hath laid it down, without restraining the natural force of one syllable thereof. O what did I now see in that blessed sixth of *Jobn*, *And him that John 6. 27.* comes to me, I will in no wise cast out. Now I began to consider with myself, that God had a bigger Mouth to speak

with than I had Heart to conceive with. I thought also with myself that he spake not his words in haste, or in unadvised heat, but with infinite Wisdom and Judgment, and in very truth and faithfulness.

250. I should in these days, often in my greatest Agonies, even flounce towards the Promise, (as the Horses do towards sound Ground that yet stick in the Mire,) concluding, (though as one almost bereft of his wits through fear,) on this I will rest and stay, and leave the fulfilling of it to the God of Heaven that made it. Oh! many a pull hath my heart 10 had with Satan for that blessed sixth of *Job*. I did not now, as at other times, look principally for comfort, (though, O how welcome would it have been unto me!) But now a word, a word to lean a weary Soul upon, that I might not sink for ever, it was that I hunted for.

251. Yea, often when I have been making to the Promise, I have seen as if the Lord would refuse my Soul for ever. I was often as if I had run upon the Pikes, and as if the Lord had thrust at me to keep me from him as with a flaming

Esther 4. 16. Sword. Then I should think of *Esther*, who went to petition 20
1 Kings 22. the King contrary to the Law. I thought also of *Benbadad's*
32. 39. servants, who went with ropes upon their Heads to their
Matt. 23. Enemies for mercy. The woman of *Canaan* also, that
23-28. would not be daunted, though called Dog by Christ.
Luke 11. 5-8. And the Man that went to borrow bread at midnight, were great encouragements unto me.

252. I never saw those heights and depths in Grace, and Love, and Mercy, as I saw after this temptation. Great Sins do draw out great Grace; and where Guilt is most terrible and fierce there the Mercy of God in Christ, when showed 30 to the Soul, appears most high and mighty. When *Job* had passed through his Captivity, he had twice as much as he had before. Blessed be God for Jesus Christ our Lord. Many other things I might here make observation of, but I would be brief, and therefore shall at this time omit them, and do pray God that my harms may make others fear to offend, lest they also be made to bear the Iron Yoke as I did.

Job 43. 10.

I had two or three times, at or about my deliverance from this temptation, such strange apprehensions of the Grace of God, that I could hardly bear up under it, it was so out of measure amazing, when I thought it could reach me, that I do think, if that sense of it had abode long upon me, it would have made me incapable for business.

253. Now I shall go forward to give you a relation of other of the Lord's dealings with me, of his dealings with me at sundry other seasons, and of the temptations I then
 10 did meet withal. I shall begin with what I met with when I first did join in fellowship with the people of God in *Bedford*. ✓
 After I had propounded to the church that my desire was to walk in the Order and Ordinances of Christ with them, and was also admitted by them; while I thought of that blessed Ordinance of Christ, which was his last Supper with his disciples before his Death, that Scripture, *Do this in remembrance of me*, was made a very precious word unto me; for by it the Lord did come down upon my Conscience with the discovery of his death for my sins; and as I then
 20 felt, did as if he plunged me in the virtue of the same. But, behold, I had not been long a partaker at that Ordinance, but such fierce and sad temptations did attend me at all times therein, both to blaspheme the Ordinance, and to wish some deadly thing to those that then did eat thereof; that, lest I should at any time be guilty of consenting to these wicked and fearful thoughts, I was forced to bend myself all the while to pray to God to keep me from such Blasphemies; and also to cry to God to bless the Bread and Cup to them as it went from mouth to mouth. The reason of
 30 this temptation I have thought since was, because I did not, with that reverence as became me, at first approach to partake thereof.

254. Thus I continued for three quarters of a Year, and could never have rest nor ease; but at last the Lord came in upon my Soul with that same Scripture by which my Soul was visited before; and after that I have been usually very well and comfortable in the partaking of that blessed Ordinance, and have, I trust, therein discerned the *Lord's Body* as

broken for my sins, and that his precious Blood hath been shed for my Transgressions.

255. Upon a time I was somewhat inclining to a Consumption, wherewith, about the Spring, I was suddenly and violently seized with much weakness in my outward man, insomuch that I thought I could not live. Now began I afresh to give myself up to a serious examination after my state and condition for the future, and of my evidences for that blessed World to come; for it hath, I bless the name of God, been my usual course, as always, so especially in the Day of affliction, to endeavour to keep my interest in the Life to come clear before my eye.

256. But I had no sooner began to recal to mind my former experience of the goodness of God to my Soul, but there came flocking into my mind an innumerable company of my Sins and Transgressions, amongst which these were at this time most to my affliction, namely, my Deadness, Dulness, and Coldness in holy duties; my Wanderings of heart, of my Wearisomeness in all good things, my Want of Love to God, his Ways, and People, with this at the end of all, *Are these the fruits of Christianity? are these the tokens of a blessed man?*

257. At the apprehensions of these things my sickness was doubled upon me; for now was I sick in my inward man, my Soul was clogged with guilt; now also was my former experience of God's goodness to me quite taken out of my mind, and hid as if it had never been, nor seen. Now was my soul greatly pinched between these two considerations, *Live I must not, Die I dare not.* Now I sunk and fell in my spirit, and was giving up all for lost; but as I was walking up and down in the house, as a man in a most woful state, that Word of God took hold of my heart, *Ye are justified freely by his Grace, through the Redemption that is in Christ Jesus.* But oh what a turn it made upon me!

258. Now was I as one awakened out of some troublesome sleep and dream, and listening to this Heavenly Sentence, I was as if I had heard it thus expounded to me: *Sinner, thou thinkest that because of thy Sins and Infirmities I cannot save thy*

Soul: but behold my Son is by me, and upon him I look, and not on thee, and will deal with thee according as I am pleased with him. At this I was greatly lightened in my mind, and made to understand that God could justify a sinner at any time; it was but his looking upon Christ, and imputing of his benefits to us, and the work was forthwith done.

259. And as I was thus in a muse, that Scripture also came with great power upon my Spirit, *Not by works of righteousness* Tit. 3. 5 *which we have done, but according to his Mercy he saved us, &c.* 1 Tim. 1. 16
- 10 Now was I got on high; I saw myself within the Arms of Grace and Mercy; and though I was before afraid to think of a dying hour, yet now I cried, *Let me die.* Now death was lovely and beautiful in my sight; for I saw *we shall never live indeed till we be gone to the other World.* Oh, methought this life is but a slumber in comparison of that above; at this time also I saw more in those words, Heirs of God, than ever I shall Rom. 8. 17. be able to express while I live in this world. *Heirs of God!* God himself is the portion of the Saints. This I saw and wondered at, but cannot tell you what I saw.
260. Again, as I was at another time very ill and weak, all that time also the Tempter did beset me strongly, (for I find he is much for assaulting the soul when it begins to approach towards the grave, then is his opportunity,) labouring to hide from me my former experience of God's goodness; also setting before me the terrors of Death and the Judgment of God, insomuch that at this time, through my fear of miscarrying for ever, (should I now die,) I was as one dead before Death came, and was as if I had felt myself already descending into the Pit; methought, I said, there was no
 30 way but to Hell I must. But behold, just as I was in the midst of those fears, these words of the Angels carrying *Lazarus into Abraham's bosom* darted in upon me, as who Luke 17. 22 should say, *So it shall be with thee when thou dost leave this World.* This did sweetly revive my Spirit, and help me to hope in God; which, when I had with comfort mused on a while, that word fell with great weight upon my mind, *O Death where is thy sting? O Grave, where is thy Victory?* 1 Cor. 15. 25. At this I became both well in body and mind at once, for

my sickness did presently vanish, and I walked comfortably in my Work for God again.

261. At another time, though just before I was pretty well and savoury in my Spirit, yet suddenly there fell upon me a great cloud of darkness which did so hide from me the things of God and Christ that I was as if I had never seen or known them in my life. I was also so overrun in my Soul with a senseless, heartless frame of spirit, that I could not feel my Soul to move or stir after Grace and Life by Christ. I was as if my loins were broken, or as if my hands and feet had been tied or bound with chains. At this time also I felt some weakness to seize upon my outward man, which made still the other affliction the more heavy and uncomfortable to me.

262. After I had been in this condition some three or four days, as I was sitting by the fire, I suddenly felt this word to sound in my heart, *I must go to Jesus*. At this my former Darkness and Atheism fled away and the blessed things of Heaven were set within my view. While I was on this sudden thus overtaken with surprise, *Wife*, said I, *is there ever such a scripture, I must go to Jesus?* She said she could not tell, therefore I sat musing still to see if I could remember such a place. I had not sat above two or three minutes but that came bolting in upon me, *And to an innumerable Company of Angels*, and withal, Hebrews the twelfth, about the mount *Sion*, was set before mine eyes.

Heb. 12.
22-24.

263. Then with joy I told my wife, *O now I know, I know!* But that night was a good night to me, I never had but few better. I longed for the company of some of God's People that I might have imparted unto them what God had showed me. Christ was a precious Christ to my Soul that night; I could scarce lie in my Bed for Joy, and Peace, and Triumph, through Christ. This great Glory did not continue upon me until Morning, yet that twelfth of the Author to the Hebrews, was a blessed Scripture to me for many days together after this.

264. The words are these, *You are come unto mount Sion, to the City of the living God, to the heavenly Jerusalem, and*

to an innumerable company of Angels, to the general Assembly and Church of the firstborn, which are written in Heaven, to God the Judge of all, and to the Spirits of just men made perfect, and to Jesus the Mediator of the new Testament, and to the blood of sprinkling, that speaketh better things than that of Abel. Through this blessed sentence the Lord led me over and over, first to this Word, and then to that, and showed me wonderful glory in every one of them. These words also have oft since this time been great refreshment to my Spirit.
 10 Blessed be God for having mercy on me.

A Brief Account of the Author's Call to the Work of the Ministry.

Discovery of self (G. 84)

265. And now I am speaking my Experience, I will in this place thrust in a word or two concerning my preaching the Word, and of God's dealing with me in that particular also. For after I had been about five or six years awakened, and helped myself to see both the want and worth of Jesus Christ our Lord, and also enabled to venture my soul upon him, some of the most able among the Saints with us, I say the most able for Judgment and Holiness of life, as they conceived, did perceive that God had counted me worthy to understand something of his Will in his holy and blessed Word, and had given me utterance, in some measure, to express what I saw to others for edification; therefore they desired me, and that with much earnestness, that I would be willing, at sometimes, to take in hand, in one of the Meetings, to speak a word of Exhortation unto them.

266. The which, though at the first it did much dash and abash my Spirit, yet being still by them desired and intreated, 30 I consented to their request, and did twice at two several Assemblies, (but in private,) though with much weakness and infirmity, discover my Gift amongst them. At which they not only seemed to be, but did solemnly protest, as in the sight of the great God, they were both affected and comforted, and gave thanks to the Father of Mercies for the grace bestowed on me.

End of section on conversion
Work of ministry distinct!
on hand!

267. After this, sometimes when some of them did go into the Country to teach, they would also that I should go with them; where, though as yet I did not, nor durst not, make use of my Gift in an open way, yet more privately still, as I came amongst the good People in those places, I did sometimes speak a word of Admonition unto them also; the which they, as the other, received with rejoicing at the mercy of God to me-ward, professing their Souls were edified thereby.

268. Wherefore, to be brief, at last, being still desired by the Church, after some solemn prayer to the Lord with fasting, I was more particularly called forth and appointed to a more ordinary and public Preaching the Word, not only to and amongst them that believed, but also to offer the Gospel to those who had not yet received the Faith thereof. About which time I did evidently find in my mind a secret pricking forward thereto; though I bless God, not for desire of vain Glory, for at that time I was most sorely afflicted with the fiery darts of the Devil concerning my Eternal State.

269. But yet I could not be content, unless I was found in 20 the Exercise of my Gift unto which also I was greatly animated, not only by the continual desires of the Godly, but also by that saying of Paul to the Corinthians, *I beseech you, Brethren (ye know the household of Stephanus, that it is the first fruits of Achaia, and that they have addicted themselves to the Ministry of the Saints) that ye submit yourselves unto such, and to every one that helpeth with us, and laboureth.*

1 Cor. xii. 28.
26.

270. By this text I was made to see that the Holy Ghost never intended that men who have Gifts and Abilities should bury them in the earth, but rather did command and stir up 30 such to the Exercise of their Gift, and also did commend those that were apt and ready so to do, *They have addicted themselves to the ministry of the saints.* This Scripture, in these days, did continually run in my mind, to encourage me and strengthen me in this my work for God. I have also been encouraged from several other Scriptures and Examples of the Godly, both specified in the Word, and other ancient histories.

Ac. ii. 41. 28
24. 29.
1 Pet. 4. 10.
Rom. 12. 6.
Fox, Acts
and Monu-
ments.

271. Wherefore, though of myself of all the Saints the

most unworthy, yet I, but with great fear and trembling at the sight of my own weakness, did set upon the work, and did according to my Gift, and the proportion of my Faith, preach that blessed Gospel that God had showed me in the Holy Word of Truth; which, when the Country understood, they came in to hear the Word by hundreds, and that from all parts, though upon sundry and divers accounts.

272. And I thank God he gave unto me some measure of bowels and pity for their Souls, which also did put me forward
10 to labour with great diligence and earnestness, to find out such a word as might, if God would bless it, lay hold of, and awaken the Conscience; in which also the good Lord had respect to the desire of his Servant. For I had not preached long before some began to be touched, and to be greatly afflicted in their Minds at the apprehension of the greatness of their Sin, and of their need of Jesus Christ.

273. But I at first could not believe that God should speak by me to the heart of any man, still counting myself unworthy; yet those who thus were touched would love me
20 and have a peculiar respect for me; and though I did put it from me, that they should be awakened by me, still they would confess it, and affirm it before the Saints of God; they would also bless God for me (unworthy Wretch that I am!) and count me God's Instrument that showed to them the way of Salvation. ✓

274. Wherefore, seeing them in both their words and deeds to be so constant, and also in their Hearts so earnestly pressing after the knowledge of Jesus Christ, rejoicing that ever God did send me where they were; then I began to conclude
30 it might be so, that God had owned in his Work such a foolish one as I, and then came that Word of God to my heart with much sweet refreshment, *The blessing of them that were ready Job 29. 13 to perish came upon me; yea I caused the Widow's heart to sing for joy.*

275. At this therefore I rejoiced; yea, the tears of those whom God did awaken by my Preaching would be both solace and encouragement to me; for I thought on those Sayings, *Who is he that maketh me glad but the same which is made sorry 1 Cor. 2. 2.*

1 Cor. 9. 2. *by me? and again, Though I be not an Apostle to others, yet, doubtless, I am to you: for the seal of mine Apostleship are ye in the Lord.* These things, therefore, were as another argument unto me that God had called me to, and stood by me in this Work.

276. In my preaching of the Word, I took special notice of this one thing, namely, That the Lord did lead me to begin where his Word begins with Sinners; that is, to condemn all flesh, and to open and allege that the Curse of God, by the Law, doth belong to, and lay hold on all men as they come into the World, because of Sin. Now this part of my Work I fulfilled with great sense; for the terrors of the Law, and guilt for my Transgressions, lay heavy on my Conscience. I preached what I felt, what I smartingly did feel, even that under which my poor Soul did groan and tremble to astonishment.

277. Indeed I have been as one sent to them from the dead. I went myself in Chains to preach to them in Chains; and carried that Fire in my own Conscience that I persuaded them to beware of. I can truly say, and that without dissimbling, that when I have been to preach, I have gone full of guilt and terror even to the Pulpit-door, and there it hath been taken off; I have been at liberty in my mind until I have done my work, and then immediately, even before I could get down the Pulpit-stairs, I have been as bad as I was before. Yet God carried me on, but surely with a strong hand, for neither Guilt or Hell could take me off my Work.

278. Thus I went for the space of two years, crying out against men's sins, and their fearful state because of them. After which the Lord came in upon my own soul with some staid peace and comfort through Christ; for he did give me many sweet discoveries of his blessed Grace through him. Wherefore now I altered in my preaching, (for still I preached what I saw and felt;) now therefore I did much about to hold forth Jesus Christ in all his Offices, Relations, and Benefits unto the World; and did strive also to discover, to condemn, and remove those false supports and props on which

the World doth both lean, and by them fall and perish. On these things also I staid as long as on the other.

279. After this, God led me into something of the Mystery of the Union with Christ. Wherefore that I discovered and showed to them also. And when I had travelled through these three chief points of the Word of God, about the space of five years or more, I was caught in my present practice and cast into Prison, where I have lain above as long again, to confirm the Truth by way of suffering, as I was before in
 10 testifying of it according to the Scriptures in a way of Preaching.

280. When I have been in Preaching, I thank God, my heart hath often, all the time of this and the other exercise, with great earnestness cried to God that he would make the Word effectual to the Salvation of the Soul; still being grieved lest the Enemy should take the Word away from the Conscience, and so it should become unfruitful. Wherefore I did labour so to speak the Word, as that thereby, if it were possible, the Sin and Person guilty might be particularized
 20 by it.

281. Also, when I have done the exercise, it hath gone to my heart to think the Word should now fall as Rain on stony places, still wishing from my heart, *O that they who have heard me speak this day did but see as I do what Sin, Death, Hell, and the Curse of God is; and also what the Grace, and Love, and Mercy of God is, through Christ, to men in such a case as they are, who are yet estranged from him.* And, indeed, I did often say in my heart before the Lord, *That if to be banged up presently before their Eyes would be a means to awaken them, and*
 30 *confirm them in the Truth, I gladly should be contented.*

282. For I have been in my preaching, especially when I have been engaged in the Doctrine of Life by Christ without works, as if an Angel of God had stood by at my back to encourage me. Oh, it hath been with such Power and heavenly Evidence upon my own Soul, while I have been labouring to unfold it, to demonstrate it, and to fasten it upon the Conscience of others, that I could not be contented with saying, *I believe, and am sure; methought I was more than*

sure, (if it be lawful so to express myself,) that those things which then I asserted were true.

283. When I went first to preach the Word abroad, the Doctors and Priests of the Country did open wide against me. But I was persuaded of this, not to render railing for railing, but to see how many of their carnal Professors I could convince of their miserable state by the Law, and of the want and worth of Christ; for, thought I, *This shall answer for me in time to come, when they shall be for my hire before their faces.* 10

284. I never cared to meddle with things that were controverted and in dispute amongst the Saints, especially things of the lowest Nature; yet it pleased me much to contend with great earnestness for the Word of Faith and the Remission of Sins by the Death and Sufferings of Jesus; but I say, as to other things, I should let them alone, because I saw they engendered strife, and because that they neither, in doing nor in leaving undone, did commend us to God to be his. Besides, I saw my Work before me did run in another Channel, even to carry an awakening word; to that therefore 20 did I stick and adhere.

Rom. 15. 20.
2 Cor. 10. 20.

285. I never endeavoured to, nor durst make use of other men's lines, (though I condemn not all that do,) for I verily thought, and found by experience, that what was taught me by the Word and Spirit of Christ, could be spoken, maintained, and stood to by the soundest and best established Conscience; and though I will not now speak all that I know in this matter, yet my experience hath more interest in that text of Scripture, Gal. i. 11, 12, than many amongst men are aware.

286. If any of those who were awakened by my Ministry 30 did after that fall back, (as sometimes too many did,) I can truly say (their loss) hath been (more to me than) if one of my own Children (begotten of my body) had been going to his Grave. I think, verily, I may speak it without an offence to the Lord, nothing hath gone so near me as that, unless it was the fear of the loss of the Salvation of my own Soul. I have counted as if I had goodly Buildings and Lordships in those places where my Children were born; my heart hath

been so wrapped up in the glory of this excellent Work, that I counted myself more blessed and honoured of God by this than if he had made me the Emperor of the Christian World, or the Lord of all the glory of the Earth without it. O these words, *He that converteth a sinner from the error of his way* James 5. 20. *doth save a soul from death. The fruit of the righteous is a Tree* Prov. 11. 30. *of Life; and he that winneth souls is wise. They that be wise* Dan. 12. 3. *shall shine as the brightness of the Firmament; and they that turn many to Righteousness as the Stars for ever and ever. For* 1 Thess. 2. 10 *what is our hope, or joy, or crown of rejoicing? Are not even ye in the presence of our Lord Jesus Christ at his coming? For ye are our glory and joy. These, I say, with many others of a like nature, have been great refreshments to me.*

287. I have observed, that where I have had a Work to do for God, I have had first, as it were, the going of God upon my Spirit to desire I might preach there. I have also observed that such and such Souls in particular have been strongly set upon my heart, and I stirred up to wish for their Salvation; and that these very Souls have, after this, been given in as the fruits of my Ministry. I have also observed, that a Word cast in by the by hath done more execution in a Sermon than all that was spoken besides; sometimes also when I have thought I did no good, then I did the most of all; and at other times when I thought I should catch them I have fished for nothing.

288. I have also observed, that where there hath been a Work to do upon Sinners, there the Devil hath begun to roar in the hearts, and by the mouths of his Servants. Yea, oftentimes when the wicked World hath raged most, there 30 hath been souls awakened by the Word. I could instance particulars, but I forbear.

289. My great desire in my fulfilling my Ministry was to get into the darkest places of the Country, even amongst those people that were furthest off of profession. Yet not because I could not endure the Light, for I feared not to show my Gospel to any, but because I found my spirit leaned most after awakening and converting Work, and the Word that I carried did lead itself most that way also; yea, so have

collected -
Missionary
affairs

Rom. 15. *I strived to preach the Gospel, not where Christ was named, lest I should build upon another man's Foundation.*

✓ 290. In my preaching I have really been in pain, and have, as it were, travailed to bring forth Children to God; neither could I be satisfied unless some fruits did appear in my Work. If I were fruitless it mattered not who commended me; but if I were fruitful, I cared not who did condemn. I have thought of that, He that winneth souls is wise; and again, Lo, children are an Heritage of the Lord; and the fruit of the Womb is his reward. As Arrows in the hand of a mighty man, so are the Children of the Youth. Happy is the man that hath filled his Quiver full of them; they shall not be ashamed, but they shall speak with the Enemies in the Gate.

Prov. 11. 30.
Ps. 127. 3-5

in.
labor for
my pains.

291. It pleased me nothing to see People drink in Opinions if they seemed ignorant of Jesus Christ, and the worth of their own Salvation, sound conviction for Sin, especially for Unbelief, and an heart set on Fire to be saved by Christ, with strong breathing after a truly sanctified Soul. That it was that delighted me; those were the Souls I counted blessed.

292. But in this Work, as in all other, I had my temptations attending me, and that of diverse kinds; as sometimes I should be assaulted with great discouragement therein, fearing that I should not be able to speak the Word at all to edification; nay, that I should not be able to speak sense unto the people; at which times I should have such a strange faintness and strengthlessness seize upon my body that my legs have scarce been able to carry me to the place of Exercise.

293. Sometimes, again, when I have been preaching, I have been violently assaulted with thoughts of blasphemy, and strongly tempted to speak the words with my mouth before the Congregation. I have also at some times, even when I have begun to speak the Word with much clearness, evidence, and liberty of speech, yet been before the ending of that Opportunity so blinded, and so estranged from the things I have been speaking, and have also been so straitened in my speech as to utterance before the People, that I have been as if I had not known or remembered what I have been about,

or as if my head had been in a bag all the time of the Exercise.

294. Again, when at sometimes I have been about to preach upon some smart and searching portion of the Word, I have found the Tempter suggest, *What! will you preach this? this condemns yourself; of this your own Soul is guilty. Wherefore preach not of it at all; or if you do, yet so mince it as to make way for your own escape; lest instead of awakening others, you lay that guilt upon your own Soul, as you will never get from*
 10 *under.*

295. But, I thank the Lord, I have been kept from consenting to these so horrid suggestions, and have rather, as *Sampson*, bowed myself with all my might to condemn Sin and Transgression wherever I found it; yea, though therein also I did bring guilt upon my own Conscience! *Let me die*, thought I, *with the Philistines*, rather than deal corruptly with the blessed Word of God, *Thou that teachest another, teachest thou not thyself?* It is far better that thou do judge thyself, even by preaching plainly to others, than that thou, to save thyself, 20 *imprison the Truth in Unrighteousness.* Blessed be God for his help also in this. Judges 16.
29. 30.
Rom. 2. 21.

296. I have also, while found in this blessed Work of Christ, been often tempted to pride and liftings up of Heart; and though I dare not say I have not been infected with this, yet truly the Lord, of his precious mercy, hath so carried it towards me, that, for the most part, I have had but small joy to give way to such a thing. For it hath been my every day's portion to be let into the evil of my own heart, and still made to see such a multitude of Corruptions and Infirmities therein, 30 that it hath caused hanging down of the head under all my Gifts and Attainments. I have felt this thorn in the Flesh: Cor. 12. 7. the very God of mercy to me.

297. I have had also, together with this, some notable place or other of the Word presented before me, which word hath contained in it some sharp and piercing Sentence concerning the perishing of the Soul, notwithstanding gifts and parts. As, for instance, that hath been of great use unto Cor. 13. 1, 2. me, *Though I speak with the Tongue of Men and Angels, and*

have not Charity, I am become as sounding Brass, and a tinkling Cymbal.

298. A tinkling Cymbal is an Instrument of Music, with which a skilful Player can make such melodious and heart-inflaming Musick that all who hear him play can scarcely hold from dancing; and yet behold the Cymbal hath not Life, neither comes the Musick from it, but because of the Art of him that plays therewith; so then the Instrument at last may come to nought and perish, though, in times past such Musick hath been made upon it. 10

299. Just thus I saw it was and will be with them who have Gifts, but want saving Grace. They are in the hand of Christ, as the Cymbal in the hand of David; and as David could, with the Cymbal, make that Mirth in the Service of God, as to elevate the hearts of the Worshippers, so Christ can use these gifted men as with them to affect the Souls of his People in his Church; yet when he hath done all, hang them by as lifeless, though sounding Cymbals.

300. This consideration, therefore, together with some others, were, for the most part, as a Maul on the head of 20 Pride and desire of Vain-glory. *What, thought I, shall I be proud because I am a sounding brass? Is it so much to be a Fiddle? Hath not the least creature that hath life, more of God in it than these? Besides, I knew 'twas Love should never die, but these must cease and vanish.* So I concluded, a little Grace, a little Love, a little of the true Fear of God, is better than all these Gifts. Yea, and I am fully convinced of it, that it is possible for Souls that can scarce give a man an answer but with great confusion as to method, I say it is possible for them to have a thousand times more Grace, 30 and so to be more in the love and favour of the Lord, than some who, by virtue of the Gift of Knowledge, can deliver themselves like Angels.

301. Thus, therefore, I came to perceive, that though Gifts in themselves were good to the thing for which they are designed, to wit, the Edification of others; yet empty and without power to save the soul of him that hath them, if they be *alone*. Neither are they, as so, any sign of a man's

state to be happy, being only a dispensation of God to some, of whose improvement or non-improvement, they must, when a little love more is over, give an account to him that is ready to judge the quick and the dead.

302. This showed me too, that gifts, being alone, were dangerous, not in themselves, but because of those evils that attend them that have them, to wit, Pride, Desire of Vain glory, Self-conceit, &c., all which were easily blown up at the applause and commendation of every unadvised Christian, to
 10 the endangering of a poor Creature to fall into the condemnation of the Devil.

303. I saw therefore that he that hath Gifts had need be let into a sight of the nature of them, to wit, that they come short of making of him to be in a truly saved condition, lest he rest in them, and so fall short of the grace of God.

304. He hath also cause to walk humbly with God, and be little in his own Eyes, and to remember withal, that his Gifts are not his own, but the Church's; and that by them he is made a Servant to the Church; and he must give at
 20 last an account of his Stewardship unto the Lord Jesus; and to give a good account, will be a blessed thing.

305. Let all men therefore prize a little with the fear of the Lord. Gifts indeed are desirable, but yet great Grace and small Gifts are better than great Gifts and no Grace. It doth not say, the Lord gives Gifts and Glory, but the Lord gives Grace and Glory; and blessed is such an one, to
 30 whom the Lord gives Grace, true Grace, for that is a certain forerunner of Glory.

306. But when Satan perceived that his thus tempting and
 30 assaulting of me would not answer his design, to wit, to overthrow my Ministry, and make it ineffectual, as to the ends thereof; then he tried another way, which was to stir up the minds of the ignorant and malicious, to load me with
 40 slanders and reproaches, Now therefore I may say, That what the devil could devise, and his instruments invent, was whirled up and down the Country against me, thinking, as I said, that by that means they should make my Ministry to be abandoned.

307. It began therefore to be rumoured up and down among the people, that I was a Witch, a Jesuit, a Highwayman, and the like.

308. To all which I shall only say, God knows that I am innocent. But as for mine accusers, let them provide themselves to meet me before the Tribunal of the Son of God, there to answer for all these things, with all the rest of their iniquities, unless God shall give them Repentance for them, for the which I pray with all my heart.

309. But that which was reported with the boldest confidence, was, that I had my *Misses*, my *Whores*, my *Bastards*, yea, *two Wives at once*, and the like. Now these slanders, (with the other), I glory in, because but slanders, foolish, or knavish lies, and falsehoods cast upon me by the Devil and his seed; and should I not be dealt with thus wickedly by the World, I should want one sign of a Saint, and a Child of God. *Blessed are you* (said the Lord Jesus) *when men shall revile you, and persecute you, and shall say all manner of evil against you falsely for my sake; rejoice, and be exceeding glad, for great is your reward in Heaven; for so persecuted they the 20 Prophets which were before you.*

310. These things therefore, upon mine own account, trouble me not; no, though they were twenty times more than they are. *I have a good Conscience, and whereas they 1 Pet. 3. 20. speak evil of me, as an evil doer, they shall be ashamed that falsely accuse my good Conversation in Christ.*

311. So then, what shall I say to those that have thus bespattered me? Shall I threaten them? Shall I chide them? Shall I flatter them? Shall I entreat them to hold their tongues? No, not I. Were it not for that these things 30 make them ripe for damnation that are the Authors and Abettors, I would say unto them, *Report it*, because it will increase my Glory.

312. Therefore I bind these lies and slanders to me as an ornament; it belongs to my Christian Profession to be villified, slandered, reproached and reviled; and since all this is nothing else, as my God and my Conscience do bear me witness, *I rejoice in reproaches for Christ's sake.*

313. I also calling all those fools, or knaves, that have thus made it anything of their business, to affirm any of the things afore-named of me, namely, that I have been naught with other Women, or the like. When they have used to the utmost of their endeavours, and made the fullest inquiry that they can, to prove against me truly, that there is any Woman in Heaven, or Earth, or Hell, that can say, I have at any time, in any place, by day or night, so much as attempted to be naught with them. And speak I thus, to
 10 beg mine Enemies into a good esteem of me? No, not I:
 I will in this beg belief of no man. Believe or disbelieve me
 in this, all is a case to me.

314. My foes have missed their mark in this their shooting at me. I am not the man. I wish that they themselves be guiltless. If all the Fornicators and Adulterers in England were hanged by the neck till they be dead, *John Bunyan*, the object of their Envy, would be still alive and well. I know not whether there be such a thing as a Woman breathing under the Copes of the whole Heaven, but by their Apparel,
 20 their Children, or by common Fame, except my Wife.

315. And in this I admire the Wisdom of God, that he made me shy of Women from my first Conversion until now. Those know and can also bear me witness, with whom I have been most intimately concerned, that it is a rare thing to see me carry it pleasant towards a Woman. The common salutation of a Woman I abhor: 'tis odious to me in whomsoever I see it. Their company alone, I cannot away with. I seldom so much as touch a Woman's Hand, for I think these things are not so becoming me. When I have seen
 30 good men salute those Women that they have visited or that have visited them, I have at times made my objection against it; and when they have answered, that it was but a piece of Civility, I have told them, it is not a Comely sight. Some indeed have urged the *Holy Kiss*; but then I have asked why they made baulks? Why they did salute the most handsome, and let the ill-favoured go? Thus, how laudable soever such things have been in the Eyes of others, they have been unseemly in my sight.

316. And now for a wind up in this matter, I calling not only Men, but Angels, to prove me guilty of having carnally to do with any Woman save my Wife; nor am I afraid to do it a second time, knowing that I cannot offend the Lord in such a case, to call God for a Record upon my Soul, that in these things I am innocent. Not that I have been thus kept, because of any goodness in me more than any other; but God has been merciful to me, and has kept me; to whom I pray that he will keep me still, not only from this, but from every evil way and work, and preserve me to his heavenly kingdom. *Amen.*

317. Now as Satan laboured by reproaches and slanders, to make me vile among my Countrymen, that if possible, my Preaching might be made of none effect, so there was added hereto a long and tedious Imprisonment, that thereby I might be frightened from my Service for Christ, and the World terrified and made afraid to hear me Preach, of which I shall in the next place give you a brief account.

A Brief Account of the Author's Imprisonment.

318. Having made profession of the Glorious Gospel of 20 Christ a long time, and preached the same about five years, I was apprehended at a Meeting of good People in the Country, (among whom, had they let me alone, I should have preached that day, but they took me away from amongst them,) and had me before a Justice; who, after I had offered security for my appearing at the next Sessions, yet committed me, because my Sureties would not consent to be bound that I should preach no more to the People.

319. At the Sessions after I was indicted for an Upholder and Maintainer of Unlawful Assemblies and Conventicles, and 30 for not conforming to the National Worship of the Church of England; and after some conference there with the Justices, they taking my plain dealing with them for a Confession, as they termed it, of the Indictment, did sentence me to perpetual Banishment, because I refused to conform. So being again delivered up to the Gaoler's hands, I was had home to Prison

again, and there have lain now complete twelve years, waiting to see what God would suffer these men to do with me. ✓✓

320. In which condition I have continued with much content, through Grace, but have met with many turnings and goings upon my Heart, both from the Lord, Satan, and my own Corruptions; by all which, (glory be to Jesus Christ,) I have also received among many things, much Conviction, Instruction, and Understanding, of which at large I shall not
 10 here discourse; only give you in a hint or two, a word that may stir up the Godly to bless God, and to pray for me; and also to take encouragement, should the case be their own, *not to fear what man can do unto them.*

321. I never had in all my life so great an inlet into the Word of God as now. Them Scriptures that I saw nothing in before, are made in this place and state to shine upon me. Jesus Christ also was never more real and apparent than now. Here I have seen him and felt him indeed. O that word, *We have not preached unto you cunningly devised* : Pet. 2. 26.
 20 *fables*; and that *God raised Christ from the dead, and gave him* : Pet. 2. 27.
Glory, that your Faith and Hope might be in God, were blessed words unto me in this my imprisoned Condition. ✓

322. These three or four scriptures also have been great refreshment in this condition to me. John xiv. 1—4. xvi. 33. Col. iii. 3, 4. Heb. xii. 22—24. So that sometimes when I have been in the savour of them, I have been able to laugh at destruction, and to *fear neither the horse nor his rider.* I Job 39. 12.
 have had sweet sights of the Forgiveness of my Sins in this place, and of my being with Jesus in another World. O, *the* Heb. 12.
 30 *mount Sion, the heavenly Jerusalem, the innumerable company of Angels, and God the Judge of all, and the Spirits of Just men made perfect, and Jesus, have been sweet unto me in this place.* I have seen *that* here, that I am persuaded I shall never, while in this world, be able to express. I have seen a truth in that Scripture, *Whom having not seen, ye love; in* : Pet. 2. 8.
whom, though now ye see him not, yet believing, ye rejoice with joy unspeakable and full of Glory.

323. I never knew what it was for God to stand by me

at all turns, and at every offer of Satan to afflict me, &c., as I have found him since I came in hither. For look, how fears have presented themselves so have supports and encouragements; yea, when I have started even as it were at nothing else but my shadow, yet God, as being very tender of me, hath not suffered me to be molested, but would with one Scripture and another strengthen me against all; insomuch that I have often said, *Were it lawful, I could pray for greater trouble, for the greater comfort's sake.*

Heb. 7. 12
1 Cor. 1. 5.

324. Before I came to Prison, I saw what was a-coming, 10 and had especially two Considerations warm upon my heart. The first was how to be able to endure, should my imprisonment be long and tedious; the second was how to be able to encounter death, should that be here my portion. For the first of these, that Scripture was great information to me, namely, to pray to God *to be strengthened with all might, according to his glorious power, unto all patience and long-suffering with joyfulness.* I could seldom go to prayer before I was imprisoned, but not for so little as a year together, this Sentence or sweet petition would, as it were, thrust itself 20 into my mind, and persuade me, that if ever I would go through long-suffering, I must have all patience, especially if I would endure it joyfully.

Col. 1. 11.

325. As to the second Consideration, that saying was of great use to me, *But we had the sentence of death in ourselves, that we should not trust in ourselves, but in God which raiseth the dead.* By this Scripture I was made to see, that if ever I would suffer rightly, I must first pass a sentence of death upon everything that can properly be called a thing of this life, even to reckon myself, my Wife, my Children, my 30 Health, my Enjoyments, and all, as dead to me, and myself as dead to them. He that loveth father or mother, son or daughter, more than me, is not worthy of me.

Matt. 23. 32

326. The second was, to live upon God that is invisible. As Paul said in another place, the way not to faint, is to look not at the things which are seen, but at the things which are not seen: for the things which are seen are temporal; but the things which are not seen are eternal. And thus I reasoned with

1 Cor. 4. 18

myself. If I provide only for a Prison, then the Whip comes at unawares; and so does also the Pillory. Again, if I provide only for these, then I am not fit for Banishment; further, if I conclude that Banishment is the worst, then if Death come I am surprised. So that I see the best way to go through sufferings is to trust in God through Christ, as touching the World to come; and as touching this World, to count *the* Job 17. 24
Grave my House, to make my Bed in Darkness, and to say to Corruption, Thou art my Father, and to the Worm, Thou art my Mother and Sister. That is, to familiarize these things to me.

327. But notwithstanding these helps, I found myself a man, and compassed with Infirmities. The parting with my Wife and poor Children hath often been to me in this place as the pulling the Flesh from my Bones; and that not only because I am somewhat too fond of these great Mercies, but also because I should have often brought to my mind the many hardships, miseries and wants that my poor Family was like to meet with, should I be taken from them, *especially my*
 30 *poor blind Child, who lay nearer my heart than all I had besides.* O the thoughts of the hardship I thought my Blind-one might go under, would break my Heart to pieces.

328. *Poor Child, thought I, what sorrow art thou like to have for thy portion in this world! Thou must be beaten, must beg, suffer hunger, cold, nakedness, and a thousand calamities, though I cannot now endure the Wind should blow upon thee.* But yet recalling myself, thought I, *I must venture you all with God, though it goeth to the quick to leave you.* O, I saw in this condition I was as a man who was pulling down his House upon the
 30 *Head of his Wife and Children; yet, thought I, I must do it, I must do it.* And now I thought on those *two Milch-kine that* 1 Sam. 6. 10-12.
were to carry the Ark of God into another Country, and to leave their Calves behind them.

329. But that which helped me in this temptation was divers Considerations, of which three in special here I will name. The first was the consideration of those two Scriptures, *Leave thy fatherless children, I will preserve them alive,* Jer. 49. 21: 15. 12.
and let thy widows trust in me. And again, *The Lord said,*

Verily it shall be well with thy Remnant; verily I will cause the Enemy to entreat thee well in the time of evil, &c.

330. I had also this Consideration, that if I should now venture all for God, I engaged God to take care of my Concernments; but if I forsook him and his ways, for fear of any trouble that should come to me or mine, then I should not only falsify my Profession, but should count also that my Concernments were not so sure, if left at God's feet while I stood to and for his Name, as they would be, if they were under my own tuition, though with the denial of the way of God. This was a smarting consideration, and was as Spurs unto my Flesh. That Scripture also greatly helped it to fasten the more upon me, where Christ prays against *Judas*, that God would disappoint him in all his selfish thoughts, which moved him to sell his Master. Pray read it soberly.

Ps. 109. 6-20.

331. I had also another Consideration, and that was, the dread of the Torments of Hell, which I was sure they must partake of, that for fear of the Cross do shrink from their Profession of Christ, his Words, and Laws, before the Sons of men. I also thought of the Glory that he had prepared for those that, in Faith, and Love, and Patience, stood to his Ways before them. These things, I say, have helped me, when the thoughts of the misery that both myself and mine, might, for the sake of my Profession, be exposed to, hath lain pinching on my Mind.

332. When I have indeed conceited that I might be banished for my Profession, then I have thought of that Scrip-

ture, *They were stoned, they were sawn asunder, were tempted, were slain with the sword; they wandered about in Sheep-skins and Goat-skins; being destitute, afflicted, tormented, of whom the World was not worthy, for all they thought they were too bad to dwell and abide amongst them.* I have also thought of

Heb. 11. 37.

that saying, *The Holy Ghost witnesseth in every city, that Bonds and Afflictions abide me.* I have verily thought that my soul and it have sometimes reasoned about the sore and sad estate of a banished and exiled condition, how they are exposed to Hunger, to Cold, to Perils, to Nakedness, to Enemies, and

Acts 20. 23.

a thousand Calamities; and at last, it may be, to die in a Ditch, like a poor forlorn and desolate Sheep. But I thank God, hitherto I have not been moved by these most *delicate* reasonings, but have rather, by them, more approved my heart to God.

333. I will tell you a pretty business. I was once above all the rest in a very sad and low Condition for many Weeks; at which time also I being but a young Prisoner and not acquainted with the Laws, had this lay much upon my Spirit,
10 That my Imprisonment might end at the Gallows for aught that I could tell. Now, therefore, Satan laid hard at me to beat me out of heart, by suggesting thus unto me, *But how if when you come indeed to die, you should be in this Condition; that is, as not to savour the things of God, nor to have any evidence upon your Soul for a better state hereafter?* (For indeed at that time all the things of God were hid from my Soul.)

334. Wherefore, when I at first began to think of this, it was a great trouble to me; for I thought with myself, that in the Condition I now was in, I was not fit to die,
20 neither indeed did think I could, if I should be called to it. Besides, I thought with myself, *if I should make a scrabbling shift to clamber up the Ladder, yet I should either with quaking, or other symptoms of faintings, give occasion to the Enemy to reproach the Way of God and his People, for their timorousness.* This therefore lay with great trouble upon me, for methought I was ashamed to die with a pale Face, and tottering Knees, for such a cause as this.

335. Wherefore, I prayed to God that he would comfort me, and give me strength to do and suffer what he should
30 call me to. Yet no comfort appeared, but all continued hid. I was also at this time so really possessed with the thought of Death, that oft I was as if I was on the Ladder with a Rope about my Neck; only this was some encouragement to me, I thought I might now have an opportunity to speak my last words to a Multitude, which I thought would come to see me die; and, thought I, if it must be so, if God will but convert one Soul by my very last words, I shall not count my Life thrown away, nor lost.

336. But yet all the things of God were kept out of my sight, and still the Tempter followed me with, *But whither must you go when you die? What will become of you? Where will you be found in another world? What evidence have you for Heaven and Glory, and an Inheritance among them that are Sanctified?* Thus was I tossed for many Weeks, and knew not what to do. At last this Consideration fell with weight upon me, *That it was for the Word and way of God, that I was in this Condition, wherefore I was engaged not to flinch a hair's breadth from it.* 10

337. I thought also, that God might choose, whether he would give me comfort now or at the hour of Death; but I might not therefore choose whether I would hold my Profession or no. I was bound, but he was free: yea, 'twas my duty to stand to his Word, whether he would ever look upon me or no, or save me at the last. *Wherefore, thought I, the point being thus, I am for going on, and venturing my eternal State with Christ, whether I have comfort here or no. If God doth not come in, thought I, I will leap off the Ladder even blindfold into Eternity, sink or swim, come Heaven, come Hell. Lord Jesus, if thou wilt catch me, do; if not, I will venture for thy Name.* 20

338. I was no sooner fixed upon this Resolution, but that word dropped upon me, *Doth Job serve God for nought?* As if the Accuser had said, *Lord, Job is no upright Man, he serves thee for by-respects: hast thou not made a Hedge about him, &c. but put forth thine Hand now, and touch all that he hath, and he will curse thee to thy Face.* How now, thought I, *is this the sign of an upright Soul, to desire to serve God, when all is taken from him? Is he a godly Man, that will serve God for nothing rather than give out? Blessed be God, then, I hope I have an upright Heart, for I am resolved, (God giving me strength,) never to deny my Profession, though I have nothing at all for my Pains; and as I was thus considering, that Scripture was set before* 30

Ps. 44. 12-16. me.

339. Now was my Heart full of Comfort, for I hoped it was sincere. I would not have been without this Trial for much. I am comforted every time I think of it, and I hope

I shall bless God for ever for the teaching I have had by it. Many more of the dealings of God towards me I might relate, but these, *out of the spoils won in Battle have I dedicated* 1 Chron. 26. 27. *to maintain the house of God.*

The Conclusion.

1. Of all the Temptations that ever I met with in my life, to question the Being of God and Truth of his Gospel is the worst, and the worst to be borne. When this Temptation comes it takes away my Girdle from me and removeth the
10 Foundation from under me. O, I have often thought of that word, *Have your Loins girt about with Truth*; and of that, *When the Foundations are destroyed, what can the Righteous do?*

2. Sometimes, when after sin committed I have looked for sore Chastisement from the Hand of God, the very next that I have had from him hath been the discovery of his Grace. Sometimes, when I have been comforted, I have called myself a Fool for my so sinking under trouble. And then again when I have been cast down I thought I was not wise, to
20 give such way to comfort. With such strength and weight have both these been upon me.

3. I have wondered much at this one thing, that though God doth visit my Soul with never so blessed a discovery of himself, yet I have found again, that such hours have attended me afterwards, that I have been in my Spirit so filled with darkness, that I could not so much as once conceive what that God and that Comfort was with which I have been refreshed.

4. I have sometimes seen more in a line of the Bible
30 than I could well tell how to stand under; and yet at another time the whole Bible hath been to me as dry as a stick; or rather, my Heart hath been so dead and dry unto it that I could not conceive the least dram of Refreshment, though I have look it all over.

5. Of all tears, they are the best that are made by the Blood of Christ; and of all Joy, that is the sweetest that

is mixed with mourning over Christ. Oh! it is a goodly thing to be on our knees, with Christ in our Arms, before God. I hope I know something of these things.

6. I find to this day seven Abominations in my Heart: 1. Inclinations to Unbelief. 2. Suddenly to forget the Love and Mercy that Christ manifesteth. 3. A leaning to the Works of the Law. 4. Wanderings and coldness in Prayer. 5. To forget to watch for that I pray for. 6. Apt to murmur because I have no more, and yet ready to abuse what I have. 7. I can do none of those things which God commands me, 10 but my Corruptions will thrust in themselves. *When I would do good, evil is present with me.*

7. These things I continually see and feel, and am afflicted and oppressed with; yet the Wisdom of God doth order them for my good. 1. They make me abhor myself. 2. They keep me from trusting my Heart. 3. They convince me of the Insufficiency of all inherent Righteousness. 4. They show me the necessity of fleeing to Jesus. 5. They press me to pray unto God. 6. They show me the need I have to watch and be sober. 7. And provoke me to look 20 to God, through Christ, to help me, and carry me through this world. Amen.

A RELATION
OF THE
IMPRISONMENT OF MR. JOHN BUNYAN,

MINISTER OF THE GOSPEL AT BEDFORD, IN NOVEMBER, 1660.

**HIS EXAMINATION BEFORE THE JUSTICES;
HIS CONFERENCE WITH THE CLERK OF THE PEACE; WHAT
PASSED BETWEEN THE JUDGES AND
HIS WIFE WHEN SHE PRESENTED A PETITION FOR
HIS DELIVERANCE; ETC.**

Written by himself, and never before Published.

'Blessed are ye which are persecuted for righteousness' sake: for yours is the kingdom of heaven. Blessed are ye when men shall revile you, and persecute you; and shall say all manner of evil against you falsely, for my name's sake. Rejoice, and be exceeding glad: for great is your reward in heaven: for so persecuted they the prophets which were before you.'—Mat. v. 10—12.

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MDCCLXV.**



BEDFORD BRIDGE AND THE TOWN GAOL.

From an old drawing.

The Relation of my Imprisonment in the month of November 1660. When, by the good hand of my God, I had for five or six years together, without any great interruption, freely preached the blessed Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ; and had also, through his blessed Grace, some encouragement by his blessing thereupon; the Devil, that old enemy of man's salvation, took his opportunity to inflame the hearts of his vassals against me, insomuch that at the last I was laid out for by the warrant of a justice, and was taken and committed to prison. The relation thereof is as followeth:

Upon the 12th of this instant November 1660, I was desired by some of the friends in the country to come to teach at Samsell, by Harlington, in Bedfordshire. To whom I made a promise, if the Lord permitted, to be with them on the time aforesaid. The justice hearing thereof, (whose name is Mr. Francis Wingate,) forthwith issued out his warrant to take me, and bring me before him, and in the meantime to keep a very strong watch about the house where the meeting should be kept, as if we that was to
 20 meet together in that place did intend to do some fearful business, to the destruction of the country; when, alas, the constable, when he came in, found us only with our Bibles in our hands, ready to speak and hear the Word of God; for we was just about to begin our exercise. Nay, we had begun in prayer for the blessing of God upon our opportunity, intending to have preached the Word of the Lord unto them there present. But the constable coming in prevented us. So that I was taken and forced to depart the room.

But had I been minded to have played the coward I could have escaped and kept out of his hands. For when I was come to my friend's house there was whispering that that day I should be taken, for there was a warrant out to take me; which when my friend heard, he being somewhat timorous, questioned whether we had best have our meeting or not; and whether it might not be better for me to depart, lest they should take me and have me before the Justice, and after that send me to prison, (for he knew better than I what spirit they were of, living by them;) to whom I said, 10
No, by no means, I will not stir, neither will I leave the meeting dismissed for this. Come, be of good cheer, let us not be daunted; our cause is good, we need not be ashamed of it; to preach God's Word it is so good a work, that we shall be well rewarded, if we suffer for that, or to this purpose; but as for my friend, I think he was more afraid of me, than of himself. After this I walked into the close, where, I somewhat seriously considering the matter, this came into my mind, That I had showed myself hearty and courageous in my preaching, and had, blessed be Grace, made it my business to encourage 20 others; therefore, thought I, if I should now run, and make an escape, it will be of a very ill savour in the country. For what will my weak and newly converted brethren think of it but that I was not so strong in deed as I was in word? Also I feared that if I should run, now there was a warrant out for me, I might by so doing make them afraid to stand, when great words only should be spoken to them. Besides, I thought, that seeing God of his mercy should choose me to go upon the forlorn hope in this country; that is, to be the first, that should be opposed, for the gospel; if I should 30 fly, it might be a discouragement to the whole body that might follow after. And further, I thought the world thereby would take occasion at my cowardliness to have blasphemed the gospel, and to have had some ground to suspect worse of me and my profession than I deserved. These things with others considered by me, I came in again to the house with a full resolution to keep the meeting, and not to go away, though I could have been gone about an hour before

the officer apprehended me; but I would not; for I was resolved to see the utmost of what they could say or do unto me. For blessed be the Lord, I knew of no evil that I had said or done. And so, as aforesaid, I began the meeting; but being prevented by the constable's coming in with his warrant to take me, I could not proceed. But before I went away, I spake some few words of counsel and encouragement to the people, declaring to them that they saw we was prevented of our opportunity to speak
 10 and hear the Word of God, and was like to suffer for the same: desiring them that they should not be discouraged, for it was a mercy to suffer upon so good account. For we might have been apprehended as thieves or murderers, or for other wickedness; but blessed be God it was not so, but we suffer as Christians for well doing: and we had better be the persecuted than the persecutors, &c. But the constable and the justice's man waiting on us would not be at quiet till they had me away, and that we departed the house. But because the justice was not at home that
 20 day, there was a friend of mine engaged for me to bring me to the constable on the morrow morning. Otherwise the constable must have charged a watch with me, or have secured me some other ways, my crime was so great. So on the next morning we went to the constable, and so to the justice. He asked the constable what we did, where we was met together, and what we had with us? I trow, he meant whether we had armour or not; but when the constable told him, that there was only met a few of us together to preach and hear the Word, and no sign of
 30 anything else, he could not well tell what to say: yet because he had sent for me, he did adventure to put out a few proposals to me, which was to this effect, namely, What I did there? and why I did not content myself with following my calling? for it was against the law, that such as I should be admitted to do as I did.

John Bunyan. To which I answered, that the intent of my coming thither, and to other places, was to instruct, and counsel people to forsake their sins, and close in with Christ.

lest they did miserably perish; and that I could do both these without confusion, (to wit,) follow my calling, and preach the Word also.

At which words, he was in a chafe, as it appeared; for he said that he would break the neck of our meetings.

Bun. I said, it may be so. Then he wished me to get sureties to be bound for me, or else he would send me to the jail.

My sureties being ready, I called them in, and when the bond for my appearance was made, he told them, that they was bound to keep me from preaching; and that if I did so preach, their bonds would be forfeited. To which I answered, that then I should break them; for I should not leave speaking the Word of God; even to counsel, comfort, exhort, and teach the people among whom I came; and I thought this to be a work that had no hurt in it: but was rather worthy of commendation than blame.

Wingate. Whereat he told me, that if they would not be so bound, my mittimus must be made, and I sent to the jail, there to lie to the quarter-sessions.

Now while my mittimus was a making, the justice was so withdrawn; and in comes an old enemy to the truth, Dr. Lindale, who, when he was come in, fell to taunting at me with many reviling terms.

Bun. To whom I answered, that I did not come thither to talk with him, but with the justice. Whereat he supposed that I had nothing to say for myself, and triumphed as if he had got the victory; charging and condemning me for meddling with that for which I could show no warrant; and asked me, if I had taken the oaths? and if I had not, 'twas pity but that I should be sent to prison, &c. 30

I told him, that if I was minded I could answer to any sober question that he should put to me. He then urged me again, how I could prove it lawful for me to preach, with a great deal of confidence of the victory.

But at last, because he should see that I could answer him if I listed, I cited to him that verse in Peter, which saith,

1 Pet. 4. 10. As every man hath received the gift, even so let him minister the same, &c.

Lind. Aye, saith he, to whom is that spoken?

Bun. To whom? said I, why, to every man that hath received a gift from God. Mark, saith the apostle, *As every man that hath received a gift from God, &c.* And again, *You may all prophesy one by one.* Whereat the man was a little stopt, and went a softlier pace: but not being willing to lose the day, he began again, and said:

Lind. Indeed I do remember that I have read of one Alexander a Coppersmith, who did much oppose and disturb the apostles;—(aiming, 'tis like, at me, because I was a Tinker.)

Bun. To which I answered, that I also had read of very many priests and pharisees that had their hands in the blood of our Lord Jesus Christ.

Lind. Aye, saith he, and you are one of those scribes and pharisees: for you, with a pretence, make long prayers to devour widows' houses.

Bun. I answered, that if he had got no more by preaching and praying than I had done, he would not be so rich as he now was. But that Scripture coming into my mind, *Answer not a fool according to his folly*, I was as sparing of my speech as I could, without prejudice to truth.

Now by this time my mittimus was made, and I committed to the constable to be sent to the jail in Bedford, &c.

But as I was going, two of my brethren met with me by the way, and desired the constable to stay, supposing that they should prevail with the justice, through the favour of a pretended friend, to let me go at liberty. So we did stay, while they went to the justice; and after much discourse with him, it came to this; that if I would come to him again, and say some certain words to him, I should be released. Which when they told me, I said if the words was such that might be said with a good conscience, I should, or, else, I should not. So through their importunity I went back again, but not believing that I should be delivered: for I feared their spirit was too full of opposition to the truth to let me go, unless I should in something or other dishonour my God, and wound my conscience. Wherefore, as I went,

I lift up my heart to God for light and strength to be kept that I might not do anything that might either dishonour him or wrong my own soul, or be a grief or discouragement to any that was inclining after the Lord Jesus Christ.

Well, when I came to the justice again there was Mr. Foster of Bedford, who coming out of another room, and seeing me by the light of the candle, (for it was dark night when I went thither,) he said unto me, Who is there? *John Bunyan?* with such seeming affection, as if he would have leaped in my neck and kissed me, which made me ¹⁰ somewhat wonder, that such a man as he, with whom I had so little acquaintance, and, besides, that had ever been a close opposer of the ways of God, should carry himself so full of love to me. But, afterwards, when I saw what he did, it caused me to remember those sayings, *Their tongues are smoother than oil, but their words are drawn swords.* And ¹¹ again, *Beware of men, &c.* When I had answered him, that blessed be God I was well, he said, *What is the occasion of your being here?* or to that purpose. To whom I answered, that I was at a meeting of people a little way off, intending to speak ¹² a word of exhortation to them; but the justice hearing thereof, (said I,) was pleased to send his warrant to fetch me before him, &c.

Foster. So, (said he,) I understand; but well, if you will promise to call the people no more together, you shall have your liberty to go home; for my brother is very loth to send you to prison, if you will be but ruled.

Bun. Sir, (said I,) pray what do you mean by calling the people together? My business is not anything among them when they are come together but to exhort them to look ¹³ after the salvation of their souls, that they may be saved, &c.

Fost. Saith he, We must not enter into explication or dispute now; but if you will say you will call the people no more together, you may have your liberty; if not, you must be sent away to prison.

Bun. Sir, said I, I shall not force or compel any man to hear me; but yet, if I come into any place where there is a people met together, I should, according to the best of my

skill and wisdom, exhort and counsel them to seek out after the Lord Jesus Christ, for the salvation of their souls.

Fost. He said, that was none of my work ; I must follow my calling ; and if I would but leave off preaching, and follow my calling, I should have the justice's favour, and be acquitted presently.

Bun. To whom I said, that I could follow my calling and that too, namely, preaching the Word ; and I did look upon it as my duty to do them both, as I had an opportunity.

10 *Fost.* He said, to have any such meetings was against the law ; and, therefore, he would have me leave off, and say I would call the people no more together.

Bun. To whom I said, that I durst not make any further promise ; for my conscience would not suffer me to do it. And again, I did look upon it as my duty to do as much good as I could, not only in my trade, but also in communicating to all people, wheresoever I came, the best knowledge I had in the Word.

Fost. He told me that I was the nearest the Papists of any ;
20 and that he would convince me of immediately.

Bun. I asked him wherein ?

Fost. He said, in that we understood the Scriptures literally.

Bun. I told him that those that were to be understood literally, we understood them so ; but for those that was to be understood otherwise, we endeavoured so to understand them.

Fost. He said, which of the Scriptures do you understand literally ?

30 *Bun.* I said this, *He that believeth shall be saved.* This was Mark xvi. 16 to be understood just as it is spoken ; that whosoever believeth in Christ shall, according to the plain and simple words of the text, be saved.

Fost. He said that I was ignorant, and did not understand the Scriptures ; for how, (said he,) can you understand them when you know not the original Greek ? &c.

Bun. To whom I said, that if that was his opinion, that none could understand the Scriptures but those that had the

original Greek, &c., then but a very few of the poorest sort should be saved; (this is harsh;) yet the Scripture saith, *That God hides his things from the wise and prudent, that is, from the learned of the world, and reveals them to babes and sucklings.*

Fost. He said there was none that heard me but a company of foolish people.

Bun. I told him that there was the wise as well as the foolish that do hear me; and again, those that are most commonly counted foolish by the world are the wisest before 10 God; also, that God had rejected the wise, and mighty, and noble, and chosen the foolish and the base.

Fost. He told me that I made people neglect their calling; and that God had commanded people to work six days, and serve him on the seventh.

Bun. I told him that it was the duty of people, (both rich and poor,) to look out for their souls on them days as well as for their bodies; and that God would have his people ex-
 Heb 3:13 *hort one another daily, while it is called to-day.*

Fost. He said again that there was none but a company of so poor, simple, ignorant people that came to hear me.

Bun. I told him that the foolish and ignorant had most need of teaching and information; and, therefore, it would be profitable for me to go on in that work.

Fost. Well, said he, to conclude, but will you promise that you will not call the people together any more? and then you may be released and go home.

Bun. I told him that I durst say no more than I had said; for I durst not leave off that work which God had called 30 me to.

So he withdrew from me, and then came several of the justice's servants to me, and told me that I stood so much upon a nicety. Their master, they said, was willing to let me go; and if I would but say I would call the people no more together, I might have my liberty, &c.

Bun. I told them there were more ways than one in which a man might be said to call the people together. As, for instance, if a man get upon the market place, and there

read a book, or the like, though he do not say to the people, Sirs, come hither and hear; yet if they come to him because he reads, he, by his very reading, may be said to call them together; because they would not have been there to hear if he had not been there to read. And seeing this might be termed a calling the people together, I durst not say I would not call them together; for then, by the same argument, my preaching might be said to call them together.

Wing. and Fast. Then came the justice and Mr. Foster to me again; (we had a little more discourse about preaching, but because the method of it is out of my mind, I pass it;) and when they saw that I was at a point, and would not be moved nor persuaded,

Mr. Foster told the justice that then he must send me away to prison. And that he would do well, also, if he would present all those that were the cause of my coming among them to meetings. Thus we parted.

And, verily, as I was going forth of the doors, I had much ado to forbear saying to them that I carried the peace of so God along with me; but I held my peace, and, blessed be the Lord, went away to prison, with God's comfort in my poor soul.

After I had lain in the jail five or six days, the brethren sought means, again, to get me out by bondsmen; (for so run my mittimus, that I should lie there till I could find sureties.) They went to a justice at Elstow, one Mr. Crumpton, to desire him to take bond for my appearing at the quarter-sessions. At the first he told them he would; but afterwards he made a demur at the business, and desired first to see my 30 mittimus, which run to this purpose: That I went about to several conventicles in this county, to the great disparagement of the government of the church of England, &c. When he had seen it, he said that there might be something more against me than was expressed in my mittimus; and that he was but a young man, and, therefore, he durst not do it. This my jailer told me; whereat I was not at all daunted, but rather glad, and saw evidently that the Lord had heard me; for before I went down to the justice, I begged of God that if

E: had in his code.

some drops did still remain, that now and then would fall upon me; but because my former frights and anguish were very sore and deep, therefore it did oft befall me still, as it befalleth those that have been scared with fire, I thought every voice was *Fire, Fire*; every little touch would hurt my tender conscience.

trial:
response is
"feeling"

229. But one day, as I was passing in the field, and that too with some dashes on my Conscience, fearing lest yet all was not right, suddenly this sentence fell upon my soul, Thy righteousness is in Heaven; and methought withal, I saw with the Eyes of my soul, Jesus Christ at God's Right Hand. There, I say, was my righteousness; so that wherever I was, or whatever I was adoring, God could not say of me, *He wants my Righteousness*, for that was just before him. I also saw, moreover, that it was not my good frame of Heart that made my Righteousness better, nor yet my bad frame that made my Righteousness worse; for my Righteousness was Jesus

Reb. 13. 2. Christ himself, *the same yesterday, and to-day, and for ever*.

230. Now did my Chains fall off my Legs indeed; I was loosed from my Affliction and Irons; my Temptations also fled so away; so that, from that time, those dreadful Scriptures of God left off to trouble me; now went I also home rejoicing, for the Grace and Love of God. So when I came home, I looked to see if I could find that sentence, Thy Righteousness is in Heaven, but could not find such a saying; wherefore my Heart began to sink again; only that was brought to my remembrance, *He is made unto us of God Wisdom, and Righteousness, and Sanctification, and Redemption*; by this word I saw the other sentence true.

1 Cor. 1. 30

231. For by this Scripture, I saw that the Man Christ ³⁰ Jesus, as he is distinct from us, as touching his bodily presence, so he is our Righteousness and Sanctification before God. Here, therefore, I lived for some time, very sweetly at peace with God through Christ. Oh methought, Christ! Christ! there was nothing but Christ that was before my Eyes; I was not now only for looking upon this and the other benefits of Christ apart, as of his Blood, Burial, or Resurrection, but considered him as a whole Christ; as he in whom all

these, and all other his Virtues, Relations, Offices, and Operations met together, and that, as he sat on the Right Hand of God in Heaven.

232. 'Twas glorious to me to see his Exaltation, and the Worth and Prevalency of all his Benefits, and that because now I could look from myself to him, and should reckon that all those graces of God that now were green on me, were yet but like those crack-groats and fourpence-halfpennies that rich men carry in their Purses, when their Gold is in their Trunks at home! Oh, I saw my Gold was in my Trunk at home! In Christ, my Lord and Saviour! Now Christ was all; all my Wisdom, all my Righteousness, all my Sanctification, and all my Redemption.

233. Further, the Lord did also lead me into the Mystery of Union with the Son of God; that I was joined to him, that I was flesh of his flesh, and bone of his bone, and now was that a sweet word to me in the thirtieth of the fifth of Ephesians. By this also was my Faith in him as my Righteousness the more confirmed to me; for if he and
20 I were one, then his Righteousness was mine, his Merits mine, his Victory also mine. Now could I see myself in Heaven and Earth at once; in Heaven by my Christ, by my Head, by my Righteousness and Life, though on Earth by my Body or Person.

234. Now I saw Christ Jesus was looked on of God, and should also be looked upon by us, as that common or public Person, in whom all the whole body of his Elect are always to be considered and reckoned; that we fulfilled the Law by him, died by him, rose from the dead by him, got the Victory
30 over Sin, Death, the Devil, and Hell by him; when he died, we died; and so of his Resurrection. *Thy dead men shall live, Isa. 26. 19. together with my dead body shall they arise, saith he. And again, After two days he will revive us: in the third day he will raise us up, and we shall live in his sight; which is now fulfilled by the sitting down of the Son of Man on the Right Hand of the Majesty in the Heavens, according to that to the Ephesians, he hath raised us up together, and made us sit together in heavenly places in Christ Jesus.* *Eph. 2. 6.*

Manner
Body +
Soul.
Eve + Adam

Common
or Public

235. Ah, these blessed considerations and Scriptures, with many other of a like nature, were in those days made to spangle in mine Eyes, so that I have cause to say, *Praise ye the Lord God in his Sanctuary: praise him in the Firmament of his Power. Praise him for his mighty Acts: praise him according to his excellent Greatness.*

236. Having thus, in few words, given you a taste of the sorrow and affliction that my Soul went under, by the guilt and terror that this my wicked thought did lay me under; and having given you also a touch of my deliverance therefrom, and of the sweet and blessed comfort that I met with afterwards, (which comfort dwelt about a twelvemonth with my Heart, to my unspeakable admiration;) I will now, God willing, before I proceed any further, give you in a word or two, what, as I conceive, was the cause of this temptation; and also after that, what advantage, at the last, it became unto my Soul.

237. For the causes, I conceived they were principally two: of which two also I was deeply convinced all the time this trouble lay upon me. The first was, for that I so did not, when I was delivered from the temptation that went before, *still pray to God to keep me from temptations that were to come.* For though, as I can say in truth, my Soul was much in Prayer before this trial seized me, yet then I prayed only, or at the most, principally for the removal of present troubles, and for fresh discoveries of his love in Christ: which I saw afterwards was not enough to do. I also should have prayed that the great God would keep me from the evil that was to come.

238. Of this I was made deeply sensible by the Prayer of holy David, who, when he was under present Mercy, yet prayed that God would hold him back from sin and temptation to come; *For then, saith he, shall I be upright, and I shall be innocent from the great transgression.* By this very word was I galled and condemned, quite through this long temptation.

239. That also was another word that did much condemn me for my folly, in the neglect of this Duty, *Let us therefore*

has already
new study
cf
Franklin
(writing)

come boldly unto the throne of Grace, that we may obtain mercy, and find Grace to help in time of need. This I had not done, and therefore was suffered thus to sin and fall, according to what is written, *Pray that you enter not into temptation.* Matt. 26. 41. And truly this very thing is to this day of such weight and awe upon me, that I dare not, when I come before the Lord, go off my knees until I entreat him for help and mercy against the temptations that are to come; and I do beseech thee, Reader, that thou learn to beware of my
 10 negligence, by the affliction that for this thing I did for days, and months, and years, with sorrow undergo.

240. Another cause of this temptation was that I had tempted God; and on this manner did I do it. Upon a time my wife was great with Child, and before her full time was come, her pangs, as of a Woman in travail, were fierce and strong upon her, even as if she would have immediately fallen in labour, and been delivered of an untimely Birth. Now, at this very time it was that I had been so strongly tempted to question the Being of God; wherefore,
 20 as my Wife lay crying by me, I said, but with all secrecy imaginable, even thinking in my heart, *Lord, if thou wilt now remove this sad affliction from my Wife, and cause that she be troubled no more therewith this night, (and now were her pangs just upon her,) then I shall know that thou canst discern the most secret thoughts of the Heart.*

241. I had no sooner said it in my heart, but her pangs were taken from her, and she was cast into a deep sleep, and so she continued till Morning. At this I greatly marvelled, not knowing what to think; but after I had been
 30 awake a good while, and heard her cry no more, I fell to sleep also. So when I waked in the Morning it came upon me again, even what I had said in my heart the last Night, and how the Lord had shewed me that he knew my secret Thoughts, which was a great astonishment unto me for several weeks after.

242. Well, about a year and a half afterwards, that wicked sinful thought, of which I have spoken before, went through my wicked heart, even this thought, *Let Christ go if he will;*

questing
 a labor
 pangs.

so when I was fallen under guilt for this, the remembrance of my other thought and of the effect thereof would also come upon me with this retort, which also carried rebuke along with it, *Now you may see that God doth know the most secret thoughts of the heart.*

Judges 6
25-26

243. And with this, that of the passages that were betwixt the Lord and his servant *Gideon* fell upon my Spirit; how because that *Gideon* tempted God with his fleece, both wet and dry, when he should have believed and ventured upon his word, therefore the Lord did afterwards so try him as to send him against an innumerable company of Enemies; and that too, as to outward appearance, without any Strength or Help. Thus he served me, and that justly, for I should have believed his word, and not have put an *if* upon the all-seeingness of God.

Gideon for
tempted in
his word

244. And now to shew you something of the advantages that I also gained by this temptation; and *first*, By this I was made continually to possess in my soul a very wonderful sense both of the Being and Glory of God, and of his beloved Son. In the temptation that went before my Soul was perplexed with unbelief, blasphemy, hardness of heart, questions about the being of God, Christ, the Truth of the Word, and certainty of the World to come; I say, then I was greatly assaulted and tormented with Atheism; but now the case was otherwise, now was God and Christ continually before my Face, though not in a way of comfort, but in a way of exceeding dread and terror. The Glory of the Holiness of God did at this time break me to pieces; and the Bowels and Compassion of Christ did break me as on the Wheel; for I could not consider him but as a lost and rejected Christ, the remembrance of which was as the continual breaking of my Bones.

245. The Scriptures now also were wonderful things unto me. I saw that the truth and verity of them were the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven; *those* that the Scriptures favour, *they must inherit bliss*; but *those* that they oppose and condemn *must perish evermore*. Oh this word, *For the Scripture cannot be broken*, would rend the *Caul of my heart*; and so

would that other, *Whose sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them; but whose sins ye retain, they are retained.* Now I saw ^{John 8. 4} the Apostles to be the Elders of the City of Refuge; those that they were to receive in were received to Life; but those that they shut out were to be slain by the Avenger of Blood.

246. Oh! one Sentence of the Scripture did more afflict and terrify my mind, I mean those Sentences that stood against me, (as sometimes I thought they every one did,) 10 more I say, than an Army of forty thousand men that might have come against me. Woe be to him against whom the Scriptures bend themselves.

247. By this temptation I was made to see more into the Nature of the Promises than ever I was before; for I lying now trembling under the mighty hand of God, continually for and rent by the thunderings of his justice; this made me, with careful Heart and watchful Eye, with great seriousness, to turn over every leaf, and with much diligence, mixed with trembling, to consider every Sentence, 20 together with its natural force and latitude.

248. By this temptation, also, I was greatly beaten off my former foolish practice, of putting by the Word of Promise when it came into my mind; for now, though I could not suck that comfort and sweetness from the Promise as I had done at other times, yet, like to a man a-sinking, I should catch at all I saw. Formerly I thought I might not meddle with the Promise unless I felt its comfort, but now it was no time thus to do, the Avenger of Blood too hardly did pursue me.

30 249. Now therefore I was glad to catch at that word, which yet I feared I had no ground or right to own; and even to leap into the bosom of that Promise, that yet I feared did shut its heart against me. Now also I should labour to take the Word as God hath laid it down, without restraining the natural force of one syllable thereof. O what did I now see in that blessed sixth of *John*, *And him that* ^{John 6. 27} *comes to me, I will in no wise cast out.* Now I began to consider with myself, that God had a bigger Mouth to speak

with than I had Heart to conceive with. I thought also with myself that he spake not his words in haste, or in unadvised heat, but with infinite Wisdom and Judgment, and in very truth and faithfulness.

250. I should in these days, often in my greatest Agonies, even flounce towards the Promise, (as the Horses do towards sound Ground that yet stick in the Mire,) concluding, (though as one almost bereft of his wits through fear,) on this I will rest and stay, and leave the fulfilling of it to the God of Heaven that made it. Oh! many a pull hath my heart had with Satan for that blessed sixth of *Job*. I did not now, as at other times, look principally for comfort, (though, O how welcome would it have been unto me!) But now a word, a word to lean a weary Soul upon, that I might not sink for ever, it was that I hunted for.

251. Yea, often when I have been making to the Promise, I have seen as if the Lord would refuse my Soul for ever. I was often as if I had run upon the Pikes, and as if the Lord had thrust at me to keep me from him as with a flaming Sword. Then I should think of *Esther*, who went to petition the King contrary to the Law. I thought also of *Benbadad's* servants, who went with ropes upon their Heads to their Enemies for mercy. The woman of *Canaan* also, that would not be daunted, though called Dog by Christ. And the Man that went to borrow bread at midnight, were great encouragements unto me.

252. I never saw those heights and depths in Grace, and Love, and Mercy, as I saw after this temptation. Great Sins do draw out great Grace; and where Guilt is most terrible and fierce there the Mercy of God in Christ, when showed to the Soul, appears most high and mighty. When *Job* had passed through his Captivity, he had twice as much as he had before. Blessed be God for Jesus Christ our Lord. Many other things I might here make observation of, but I would be brief, and therefore shall at this time omit them, and do pray God that my harms may make others fear to offend, lest they also be made to bear the Iron Yoke as I did.

Esther 4. 16.

1 Kings 18.
31. 32.

Matt. 15.
21-22.

Luke 11. 5-8.

Job 43. 20.

I had two or three times, at or about my deliverance from this temptation, such strange apprehensions of the Grace of God, that I could hardly bear up under it, it was so out of measure amazing, when I thought it could reach me, that I do think, if that sense of it had abode long upon me, it would have made me incapable for business.

253. Now I shall go forward to give you a relation of other of the Lord's dealings with me, of his dealings with me at sundry other seasons, and of the temptations I then did meet withal. I shall begin with what I met with when I first did join in fellowship with the people of God in Bedford. After I had propounded to the church that my desire was to walk in the Order and Ordinances of Christ with them, and was also admitted by them; while I thought of that blessed Ordinance of Christ, which was his last Supper with his disciples before his Death, that Scripture, *Do this in remembrance of me*, was made a very precious word unto me; for by it the Lord did come down upon my Conscience with the discovery of his death for my sins; and as I then felt, did as if he plunged me in the virtue of the same. But, behold, I had not been long a partaker at that Ordinance, but such fierce and sad temptations did attend me at all times therein, both to blaspheme the Ordinance, and to wish some deadly thing to those that then did eat thereof; that, lest I should at any time be guilty of consenting to these wicked and fearful thoughts, I was forced to bend myself all the while to pray to God to keep me from such Blasphemies; and also to cry to God to bless the Bread and Cup to them as it went from mouth to mouth. The reason of this temptation I have thought since was, because I did not, with that reverence as became me, at first approach to partake thereof.

254. Thus I continued for three quarters of a Year, and could never have rest nor ease; but at last the Lord came in upon my Soul with that same Scripture by which my Soul was visited before; and after that I have been usually very well and comfortable in the partaking of that blessed Ordinance, and have, I trust, therein discerned the *Lord's Body* as

broken for my sins, and that his precious Blood hath been shed for my Transgressions.

255. Upon a time I was somewhat inclining to a Consumption, wherewith, about the Spring, I was suddenly and violently seized with much weakness in my outward man, insomuch that I thought I could not live. Now began I afresh to give myself up to a serious examination after my state and condition for the future, and of my evidences for that blessed World to come; for it hath, I bless the name of God, been my usual course, as always, so especially in the Day of affliction, to endeavour to keep my interest in the Life to come clear before my eye.

256. But I had no sooner began to recal to mind my former experience of the goodness of God to my Soul, but there came flocking into my mind an innumerable company of my Sins and Transgressions, amongst which these were at this time most to my affliction, namely, my Deadness, Dulness, and Coldness in holy duties; my Wanderings of heart, of my Wearisomeness in all good things, my Want of Love to God, his Ways, and People, with this at the end of all, *Are these the fruits of Christianity? are these the tokens of a blessed man?*

257. At the apprehensions of these things my sickness was doubled upon me; for now was I sick in my inward man, my Soul was clogged with guilt; now also was my former experience of God's goodness to me quite taken out of my mind, and hid as if it had never been, nor seen. Now was my soul greatly pinched between these two considerations, *Live I must not, Die, I dare not.* Now I sunk and fell in my spirit, and was giving up all for lost; but as I was walking up and down in the house, as a man in a most woful state, that Word of God took hold of my heart, *You are justified freely by his Grace, through the Redemption that is in Christ Jesus.* But oh what a turn it made upon me!

Rom. 3. 24.

258. Now was I as one awakened out of some troublesome sleep and dream, and listening to this Heavenly Sentence, I was as if I had heard it thus expounded to me: *Sinner, thou thinkest that because of thy Sins and Infirmities I cannot save thy*

Soul: but behold my Son is by me, and upon him I look, and not on thee, and will deal with thee according as I am pleased with him. At this I was greatly lightened in my mind, and made to understand that God could justify a sinner at any time; it was but his looking upon Christ, and imputing of his benefits to us, and the work was forthwith done.

259. And as I was thus in a muse, that Scripture also came with great power upon my Spirit, *Not by works of righteousness* TR. 3. 5. *which we have done, but according to his Mercy be saved us, &c.* 2 Tim. 1. 9.
- 10 Now was I got on high; I saw myself within the Arms of Grace and Mercy; and though I was before afraid to think of a dying hour, yet now I cried, *Let me die.* Now death was lovely and beautiful in my sight; for I saw *we shall never live indeed till we be gone to the other World.* Oh, methought this life is but a slumber in comparison of that above; at this time also I saw more in those words, *Heirs of God,* than ever I shall Rom. 8. 17. be able to express while I live in this world. *Heirs of God!* God himself is the portion of the Saints. This I saw and wondered at, but cannot tell you what I saw.
- 30 260. Again, as I was at another time very ill and weak, all that time also the Tempter did beset me strongly, (for I find he is much for assaulting the soul when it begins to approach towards the grave, then is his opportunity,) labouring to hide from me my former experience of God's goodness; also setting before me the terrors of Death and the Judgment of God, insomuch that at this time, through my fear of miscarrying for ever, (should I now die,) I was as one dead before Death came, and was as if I had felt myself already descending into the Pit; methought, I said, there was no
- 30 way but to Hell I must. But behold, just as I was in the midst of those fears, these words of the Angels carrying *Lazarus* into *Abraham's* bosom darted in upon me, as who Luke 17. 22. should say, *So it shall be with thee when thou dost leave this World.* This did sweetly revive my Spirit, and help me to hope in God; which, when I had with comfort mused on a while, that word fell with great weight upon my mind, *O Death where is thy sting? O Grave, where is thy Victory?* 1 Cor. 15. 55. At this I became both well in body and mind at once, for

my sickness did presently vanish, and I walked comfortably in my Work for God again.

261. At another time, though just before I was pretty well and savoury in my Spirit, yet suddenly there fell upon me a great cloud of darkness which did so hide from me the things of God and Christ that I was as if I had never seen or known them in my life. I was also so overrun in my Soul with a senseless, heartless frame of spirit, that I could not feel my Soul to move or stir after Grace and Life by Christ. I was as if my loins were broken, or as if my hands and¹⁰ feet had been tied or bound with chains. At this time also I felt some weakness to seize upon my outward man, which made still the other affliction the more heavy and uncomfortable to me.

262. After I had been in this condition some three or four days, as I was sitting by the fire, I suddenly felt this word to sound in my heart, *I must go to Jesus*. At this my former Darkness and Atheism fled away and the blessed things of Heaven were set within my view. While I was on this sudden thus overtaken with surprise, *Wife*, said I, *is there*²⁰ *ever such a scripture, I must go to Jesus?* She said she could not tell, therefore I sat musing still to see if I could remember such a place. I had not sat above two or three minutes but that came bolting in upon me, *And to an innumerable Company of Angels*, and withal, Hebrews the twelfth, about the mount *Sion*, was set before mine eyes.

Heb. 12. >
22-24.

263. Then with joy I told my wife, *O now I know, I know!* But that night was a good night to me, I never had but few better. I longed for the company of some of God's People that I might have imparted unto them what God³⁰ had showed me. Christ was a precious Christ to my Soul that night; I could scarce lie in my Bed for Joy, and Peace, and Triumph, through Christ. This great Glory did not continue upon me until Morning, yet that twelfth of the Author to the Hebrews, was a blessed Scripture to me for many days together after this.

264. The words are these, *You are come unto mount Sion, to the City of the living God, to the heavenly Jerusalem, and*

to an innumerable company of Angels, to the general Assembly and Church of the firstborn, which are written in Heaven, to God the Judge of all, and to the Spirits of just men made perfect, and to Jesus the Mediator of the new Testament, and to the blood of sprinkling, that speaketh better things than that of Abel. Through this blessed sentence the Lord led me over and over, first to this Word, and then to that, and showed me wonderful glory in every one of them. These words also have oft since this time been great refreshment to my Spirit.
 10 Blessed be God for having mercy on me.

A Brief Account of the Author's Call to the Work of the Ministry.

265. And now I am speaking my Experience, I will in this place thrust in a word or two concerning my preaching the Word, and of God's dealing with me in that particular also. For after I had been about five or six years awakened, and helped myself to see both the want and worth of Jesus Christ our Lord, and also enabled to venture my soul upon him, some of the most able among the Saints with us, I
 20 say the most able for Judgment and Holiness of life, as they conceived, did perceive that God had counted me worthy to understand something of his Will in his holy and blessed Word, and had given me utterance, in some measure, to express what I saw to others for edification; therefore they desired me, and that with much earnestness, that I would be willing, at sometimes, to take in hand, in one of the Meetings, to speak a word of Exhortation unto them.

266. The which, though at the first it did much dash and abash my Spirit, yet being still by them desired and intreated,
 30 I consented to their request, and did twice at two several Assemblies, (but in private,) though with much weakness and infirmity, discover my Gift amongst them. At which they not only seemed to be, but did solemnly protest, as in the sight of the great God, they were both affected and comforted, and gave thanks to the Father of Mercies for the grace bestowed on me.

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267. After this, sometimes when some of them did go into the Country to teach, they would also that I should go with them; where, though as yet I did not, nor durst not, make use of my Gift in an open way, yet more privately still, as I came amongst the good People in those places, I did sometimes speak a word of Admonition unto them also; the which they, as the other, received with rejoicing at the mercy of God to me-ward, professing their Souls were edified thereby.

268. Wherefore, to be brief, at last, being still desired by the Church, after some solemn prayer to the Lord with fasting, I was more particularly called forth and appointed to a more ordinary and public Preaching the Word, not only to and amongst them that believed, but also to offer the Gospel to those who had not yet received the Faith thereof. About which time I did evidently find in my mind a secret pricking forward thereto; though I bless God, not for desire or vain Glory, for at that time I was most sorely afflicted with the fiery darts of the Devil concerning my Eternal State.

269. But yet I could not be content, unless I was found in the Exercise of my Gift, unto which also I was greatly animated, not only by the continual desires of the Godly, but also by that saying of Paul to the Corinthians, *I beseech you, Brethren (ye know the household of Stephanus, that it is the first fruits of Achaia, and that they have addicted themselves to the Ministry of the Saints) that ye submit yourselves unto such, and to every one that helpeth with us, and laboureth.*

1 Cor. xii. 13.
26.

270. By this text I was made to see that the Holy Ghost never intended that men who have Gifts and Abilities should bury them in the earth, but rather did command and stir up such to the Exercise of their Gift, and also did commend those that were apt and ready so to do, *They have addicted themselves to the ministry of the saints.* This Scripture, in these days, did continually run in my mind, to encourage me and strengthen me in this my work for God. I have also been encouraged from several other Scriptures and Examples of the Godly, both specified in the Word, and other ancient histories.

Ac. ii. 41. 28
24. 25.
1 Pet. 4. 10.
Rom. xii. 6.
Psa. Arts
and Ministries.

271. Wherefore, though of myself of all the Saints the

most unworthy, yet I, but with great fear and trembling at the sight of my own weakness, did set upon the work, and did according to my Gift, and the proportion of my Faith, preach that blessed Gospel that God had showed me in the Holy Word of Truth; which, when the Country understood, they came in to hear the Word by hundreds, and that from all parts, though upon sundry and divers accounts.

272. And I thank God he gave unto me some measure of bowels and pity for their Souls, which also did put me forward
 10 to labour with great diligence and earnestness, to find out such a word as might, if God would bless it, lay hold of, and awaken the Conscience; in which also the good Lord had respect to the desire of his Servant. For I had not preached long before some began to be touched, and to be greatly afflicted in their Minds at the apprehension of the greatness of their Sin, and of their need of Jesus Christ.

273. But I at first could not believe that God should speak by me to the heart of any man, still counting myself unworthy; yet those who thus were touched would love me
 20 and have a peculiar respect for me; and though I did put it from me, that they should be awakened by me, still they would confess it, and affirm it before the Saints of God; they would also bless God for me (unworthy Wretch that I am!) and count me God's Instrument that showed to them the way of Salvation. ✓

274. Wherefore, seeing them in both their words and deeds to be so constant, and also in their Hearts so earnestly pressing after the knowledge of Jesus Christ, rejoicing that ever God did send me where they were; then I began to conclude
 30 it might be so, that God had owned in his Work such a foolish one as I, and then came that Word of God to my heart with much sweet refreshment, *The blessing of them that were ready* Job 29. 25
to perish came upon me; yea I caused the Widow's heart to sing for joy.

275. At this therefore I rejoiced; yea, the tears of those whom God did awaken by my Preaching would be both solace and encouragement to me; for I thought on those Sayings,
Who is he that maketh me glad but the same which is made sorry 1 Cor. 2. 2.

1 Cor. 9. 2. *by me? and again, Though I be not an Apostle to others, yet, doubtless, I am to you: for the seal of mine Apostleship are ye in the Lord.* These things, therefore, were as another argument unto me that God had called me to, and stood by me in this Work.

276. In my preaching of the Word, I took special notice of this one thing, namely, That the Lord did lead me to begin where his Word begins with Sinners; that is, to condemn all flesh, and to open and allege that the Curse of God, by the Law, doth belong to, and lay hold on all men as they come into the World, because of Sin. Now this part of my Work I fulfilled with great sense; for the terrors of the Law, and guilt for my Transgressions, lay heavy on my Conscience. I preached what I felt, what I smartingly did feel, even that under which my poor Soul did groan and tremble to astonishment.

277. Indeed I have been as one sent to them from the dead. I went myself in Chains to preach to them in Chains; and carried that Fire in my own Conscience that I persuaded them to beware of. I can truly say, and that without dissimbling, that when I have been to preach, I have gone full of guilt and terror even to the Pulpit-door, and there it hath been taken off; I have been at liberty in my mind until I have done my work, and then immediately, even before I could get down the Pulpit-stairs, I have been as bad as I was before. Yet God carried me on, but surely with a strong hand, for neither Guilt or Hell could take me off my Work.

278. Thus I went for the space of two years, crying out against men's sins, and their fearful state because of them. After which the Lord came in upon my own soul with some staid peace and comfort through Christ; for he did give me many sweet discoveries of his blessed Grace through him. Wherefore now I altered in my preaching, (for still I preached what I saw and felt;) now therefore I did much about to hold forth Jesus Christ in all his Offices, Relations, and Benefits unto the World; and did strive also to discover, to condemn, and remove those false supports and props on which

the World doth both lean, and by them fall and perish. On these things also I staid as long as on the other.

279. After this, God led me into something of the Mystery of the Union with Christ. Wherefore that I discovered and showed to them also. And when I had travelled through these three chief points of the Word of God, about the space of five years or more, I was caught in my present practice and cast into Prison, where I have lain above as long again, to confirm the Truth by way of suffering, as I was before in
 10 testifying of it according to the Scriptures in a way of Preaching.

280. When I have been in Preaching, I thank God, my heart hath often, all the time of this and the other exercise, with great earnestness cried to God that he would make the Word effectual to the Salvation of the Soul; still being grieved lest the Enemy should take the Word away from the Conscience, and so it should become unfruitful. Wherefore I did labour so to speak the Word, as that thereby, if it were possible, the Sin and Person guilty might be particularized
 20 by it.

281. Also, when I have done the exercise, it hath gone to my heart to think the Word should now fall as Rain on stony places, still wishing from my heart, *O that they who have heard me speak this day did but see as I do what Sin, Death, Hell, and the Curse of God is; and also what the Grace, and Love, and Mercy of God is, through Christ, to men in such a case as they are, who are yet estranged from him.* And, indeed, I did often say in my heart before the Lord, *That if to be banged up presently before their Eyes would be a means to awaken them, and*
 30 *confirm them in the Truth, I gladly should be contented.*

282. For I have been in my preaching, especially when I have been engaged in the Doctrine of Life by Christ without works, as if an Angel of God had stood by at my back to encourage me. Oh, it hath been with such Power and heavenly Evidence upon my own Soul, while I have been labouring to unfold it, to demonstrate it, and to fasten it upon the Conscience of others, that I could not be contented with saying, *I believe, and am sure; methought I was more than*

sure, (if it be lawful so to express myself,) that those things which then I asserted were true.

283. When I went first to preach the Word abroad, the Doctors and Priests of the Country did open wide against me. But I was persuaded of this, not to render railing for railing, but to see how many of their carnal Professors I could convince of their miserable state by the Law, and of the want and worth of Christ; for, thought I, *This shall answer for me in time to come, when they shall be for my hire before their faces.* 10

284. I never cared to meddle with things that were controverted and in dispute amongst the Saints, especially things of the lowest Nature; yet it pleased me much to contend with great earnestness for the Word of Faith and the Remission of Sins by the Death and Sufferings of Jesus; but I say, as to other things, I should let them alone, because I saw they engendered strife, and because that they neither, in doing nor in leaving undone, did commend us to God to be his. Besides, I saw my Work before me did run in another Channel, even to carry an awakening word; to that therefore 20 did I stick and adhere.

Rom. 15. 20.
2 Cor. 10. 15.

285. I never endeavoured to, nor durst make use of other men's lines, (though I condemn not all that do,) for I verily thought, and found by experience, that what was taught me by the Word and Spirit of Christ, could be spoken, maintained, and stood to by the soundest and best established Conscience; and though I will not now speak all that I know in this matter, yet my experience hath more interest in that text of Scripture, Gal. i. 11, 12, than many amongst men are aware.

286. If any of those who were awakened by my Ministry 30 did after that fall back, (as sometimes too many did,) I can truly say (their loss) hath been (more to me than if one of my own Children (begotten of my body) had been going to its Grave. I think, verily, I may speak it without an offence to the Lord, nothing hath gone so near me as that, unless it was the fear of the loss of the Salvation of my own Soul. I have counted as if I had goodly Buildings and Lordships in those places where my Children were born; my heart hath

been so wrapped up in the glory of this excellent Work, that I counted myself more blessed and honoured of God by this than if he had made me the Emperor of the Christian World, or the Lord of all the glory of the Earth without it. O these words, *He that converteth a sinner from the error of his way* James 5. 20. *doth save a soul from death. The fruit of the righteous is a Tree* Prov. 11. 30. *of Life; and he that winneth souls is wise. They that be wise* Dan. 12. 3. *shall shine as the brightness of the Firmament; and they that turn many to Righteousness as the Stars for ever and ever. For* 1 Thess. 2. 10 *what is our hope, or joy, or crown of rejoicing? Are not even ye in the presence of our Lord Jesus Christ at his coming? For ye are our glory and joy. These, I say, with many others of a like nature, have been great refreshments to me.*

287. I have observed, that where I have had a Work to do for God, I have had first, as it were, the going of God upon my Spirit to desire I might preach there. I have also observed that such and such Souls in particular have been strongly set upon my heart, and I stirred up to wish for their Salvation; and that these very Souls have, after this, been given in as the fruits of my Ministry. I have also observed, that a Word cast in by the by hath done more execution in a Sermon than all that was spoken besides; sometimes also when I have thought I did no good, then I did the most of all; and at other times when I thought I should catch them I have fished for nothing.

288. I have also observed, that where there hath been a Work to do upon Sinners, there the Devil hath begun to roar in the hearts, and by the mouths of his Servants. Yea, oftentimes when the wicked World hath raged most, there hath been souls awakened by the Word. I could instance particulars, but I forbear.

289. My great desire in my fulfilling my Ministry was to get into the darkest places of the Country, even amongst those people that were furthest off of profession. Yet not because I could not endure the Light, for I feared not to show my Gospel to any, but because I found my spirit leaned most after awakening and converting Work, and the Word that I carried did lead itself most that way also; yea, so have

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Rom. 15. *I strived to preach the Gospel, not where Christ was named, lest I should build upon another man's Foundation.*

✓ 290. In my preaching I have really been in pain, and have, as it were, travailed to bring forth Children to God; neither could I be satisfied unless some fruits uld appear in my Work. If I were fruitless it mattered not who commended me; but if I were fruitful, I cared not who did condemn. I have thought of that, He that winneth souls is wise; and again, Lo, children are an Heritage of the Lord; and the fruit of the Womb is his reward. As Arrows in the hand of a mighty man, so are 10 Children of the Youth. Happy is the man that bath filled his Quiver full of them; they shall not be ashamed, but they shall speak with the Enemies in the Gate.

Prov. 12. 20.
Ps. 124. 3-5

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291. It pleased me nothing to see People drink in Opinions if they seemed ignorant of Jesus Christ, and the worth of their own Salvation, sound conviction for Sin, especially for Unbelief, and an heart set on Fire to be saved by Christ, with strong breathing after a truly sanctified Soul. That it was that delighted me; those were the Souls I counted blessed.

292. But in this Work, as in all other, I had my temptations attending me, and that of diverse kinds; as sometimes I should be assaulted with great discouragement therein, fearing that I should not be able to speak the Word at all to edification; nay, that I should not be able to speak sense unto the people; at which times I should have such a strange faintness and strengthlessness seize upon my body that my legs have scarce been able to carry me to the place of Exercise.

293. Sometimes, again, when I have been preaching, I have been violently assaulted with thoughts of blasphemy, and 30 strongly tempted to speak the words with my mouth before the Congregation. I have also at some times, even when I have begun to speak the Word with much clearness, evidence, and liberty of speech, yet been before the ending of that Opportunity so blinded, and so estranged from the things I have been speaking, and have also been so straitened in my speech as to utterance before the People, that I have been as if I had not known or remembered what I have been about,

or as if my head had been in a bag all the time of the Exercise.

294. Again, when at sometimes I have been about to preach upon some smart and searching portion of the Word, I have found the Tempter suggest, *What! will you preach this? this condemns yourself; of this your own Soul is guilty. Wherefore preach not of it at all; or if you do, yet so mince it as to make way for your own escape; lest instead of awakening others, you lay that guilt upon your own Soul, as you will never get from*
10 *under.*

295. But, I thank the Lord, I have been kept from consenting to these so horrid suggestions, and have rather, as *Sampson*, bowed myself with all my might to condemn Sin and Transgression wherever I found it; yea, though therein also I did bring guilt upon my own Conscience! *Let me die*, thought I, ^{Judges 16. 29. 30.} *with the Philistines*, rather than deal corruptly with the blessed Word of God, *Thou that teachest another, teachest thou not thyself?* ^{Rom. 2. 21.} It is far better that thou do judge thyself, even by preaching plainly to others, than that thou, to save thyself,
20 *imprison the Truth in Unrighteousness.* Blessed be God for his help also in this.

296. I have also, while found in this blessed Work of Christ, been often tempted to pride and liftings up of Heart; and though I dare not say I have not been infected with this, yet truly the Lord, of his precious mercy, hath so carried it towards me, that, for the most part, I have had but small joy to give way to such a thing. For it hath been my every day's portion to be let into the evil of my own heart, and still made to see such a multitude of Corruptions and Infirmities therein,
30 *that it hath caused hanging down of the head under all my Gifts and Attainments.* I have felt this thorn in the Flesh: ^{1 Cor. 12. 7.} the very God of mercy to me.

297. I have had also, together with this, some notable place or other of the Word presented before me, which word hath contained in it some sharp and piercing Sentence concerning the perishing of the Soul, notwithstanding gifts and parts. As, for instance, that hath been of great use unto ^{1 Cor. 13. 2. 3.} me, *Though I speak with the Tongue of Men and Angels, and*

have not Charity, I am become as sounding Brass, and a tinkling Cymbal.

298. A tinkling Cymbal is an Instrument of Music, with which a skilful Player can make such melodious and heart-inflaming Musick that all who hear him play can scarcely hold from dancing; and yet behold the Cymbal hath not Life, neither comes the Musick from it, but because of the Art of him that plays therewith; so then the Instrument at last may come to nought and perish, though, in times past such Musick hath been made upon it.

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299. Just thus I saw it was and will be with them who have Gifts, but want saving Grace. They are in the hand of Christ, as the Cymbal in the hand of David; and as David could, with the Cymbal, make that Mirth in the Service of God, as to elevate the hearts of the Worshipers, so Christ can use these gifted men as with them to affect the Souls of his People in his Church; yet when he hath done all, hang them by as lifeless, though sounding Cymbals.

300. This consideration, therefore, together with some others, were, for the most part, as a Maul on the head of so Pride and desire of Vain-glory. *What, thought I, shall I be proud because I am a sounding brass? Is it so much to be a Fiddle? Hath not the least creature that hath life, more of God in it than these?* Besides, I knew 'twas Love should never die, but these must cease and vanish. So I concluded, a little Grace, a little Love, a little of the true Fear of God, is better than all these Gifts. Yea, and I am fully convinced of it, that it is possible for Souls that can scarce give a man an answer but with great confusion as to method, I say it is possible for them to have a thousand times more Grace, 30 and so to be more in the love and favour of the Lord, than some who, by virtue of the Gift of Knowledge, can deliver themselves like Angels.

301. Thus, therefore, I came to perceive, that though Gifts in themselves were good to the thing for which they are designed, to wit, the Edification of others; yet empty and without power to save the soul of him that hath them, if they be *alone*. Neither are they, as so, any sign of a man's

state to be happy, being only a dispensation of God to some, of whose improvement or non-improvement, they must, when a little love more is over, give an account to him that is ready to judge the quick and the dead.

302. This showed me too, that gifts, being alone, were dangerous, not in themselves, but because of those evils that attend them that have them, to wit, Pride, Desire of Vain glory, Self-conceit, &c., all which were easily blown up at the applause and commendation of every unadvised Christian, to the endangering of a poor Creature to fall into the condemnation of the Devil.

303. I saw therefore that he that hath Gifts had need be let into a sight of the nature of them, to wit, that they come short of making of him to be in a truly saved condition, lest he rest in them, and so fall short of the grace of God.

304. He hath also cause to walk humbly with God, and be little in his own Eyes, and to remember withal, that his Gifts are not his own, but the Church's; and that by them he is made a Servant to the Church; and he must give at last an account of his Stewardship unto the Lord Jesus; and to give a good account, will be a blessed thing.

305. Let all men therefore prize a little with the fear of the Lord. Gifts indeed are desirable, but yet great Grace and small Gifts are better than great Gifts and no Grace. It doth not say, the Lord gives Gifts and Glory, but the Lord gives Grace and Glory; and blessed is such an one, to whom the Lord gives Grace, true Grace, for that is a certain forerunner of Glory.

306. But when Satan perceived that his thus tempting and assaulting of me would not answer his design, to wit, to overthrow my Ministry, and make it ineffectual, as to the ends thereof; then he tried another way, which was to stir up the minds of the ignorant and malicious, to load me with slanders and reproaches, Now therefore I may say, That what the devil could devise, and his instruments invent, was whirled up and down the Country against me, thinking, as I said, that by that means they should make my Ministry to be abandoned.

307. It began therefore to be rumoured up and down among the people, that I was a Witch, a Jesuit, a Highwayman, and the like.

308. To all which I shall only say, God knows that I am innocent. But as for mine accusers, let them provide themselves to meet me before the Tribunal of the Son of God, there to answer for all these things, with all the rest of their iniquities, unless God shall give them Repentance for them, for the which I pray with all my heart.

309. But that which was reported with the boldest confidence, was, that I had my *Misses*, my *Whores*, my *Bastards*, yea, *two Wives at once*, and the like. Now these slanders, (with the other), I glory in, because but slanders, foolish, or knavish lies, and falsehoods cast upon me by the Devil and his seed; and should I not be dealt with thus wickedly by the World, I should want one sign of a Saint, and a Child of God. *Blessed are you* (said the Lord Jesus) *when men shall revile you, and persecute you, and shall say all manner of evil against you falsely for my sake; rejoice, and be exceeding glad, for great is your reward in Heaven; for so persecuted they the 20 Prophets which were before you.*

310. These things therefore, upon mine own account, trouble me not; no, though they were twenty times more than they are. *I have a good Conscience, and whereas they 1 Pet. 3. 16 speak evil of me, as an evil doer, they shall be ashamed that falsely accuse my good Conversation in Christ.*

311. So then, what shall I say to those that have thus bespattered me? Shall I threaten them? Shall I chide them? Shall I flatter them? Shall I entreat them to hold their tongues? No, not I. Were it not for that these things 30 make them ripe for damnation that are the Authors and Abettors, I would say unto them, *Report it*, because it will increase my Glory.

312. Therefore I bind these lies and slanders to me as an ornament; it belongs to my Christian Profession to be vilified, slandered, reproached and reviled; and since all this is nothing else, as my God and my Conscience do bear me witness, *I rejoice in reproaches for Christ's sake.*

313. I also calling all those fools, or knaves, that have thus made it anything of their business, to affirm any of the things afore-named of me, namely, that I have been naught with other Women, or the like. When they have used to the utmost of their endeavours, and made the fullest inquiry that they can, to prove against me truly, that there is any Woman in Heaven, or Earth, or Hell, that can say, I have at any time, in any place, by day or night, so much as attempted to be naught with them. And speak I thus, to beg mine Enemies into a good esteem of me? No, not I: I will in this beg belief of no man. Believe or disbelieve me in this, all is a case to me.

314. My foes have missed their mark in this their shooting at me. I am not the man. I wish that they themselves be guiltless. If all the Fornicators and Adulterers in England were hanged by the neck till they be dead, *John Bunyan*, the object of their Envy, would be still alive and well. I know not whether there be such a thing as a Woman breathing under the Copes of the whole Heaven, but by their Apparel, or their Children, or by common Fame, except my Wife.

315. And in this I admire the Wisdom of God, that he made me shy of Women from my first Conversion until now. Those know and can also bear me witness, with whom I have been most intimately concerned, that it is a rare thing to see me carry it pleasant towards a Woman. The common salutation of a Woman I abhor: 'tis odious to me in whomsoever I see it. Their company alone, I cannot away with. I seldom so much as touch a Woman's Hand, for I think these things are not so becoming me. When I have seen good men salute those Women that they have visited or that have visited them, I have at times made my objection against it; and when they have answered, that it was but a piece of Civility, I have told them, it is not a Comely sight. Some indeed have urged the *Holy Kiss*; but then I have asked why they made baulks? Why they did salute the most handsome, and let the ill-favoured go? Thus, how laudable soever such things have been in the Eyes of others, they have been unseemly in my sight.

316. And now for a wind up in this matter, I calling not only Men, but Angels, to prove me guilty of having carnally to do with any Woman save my Wife; nor am I afraid to do it a second time, knowing that I cannot offend the Lord in such a case, to call God for a Record upon my Soul, that in these things I am innocent. Not that I have been thus kept, because of any goodness in me more than any other; but God has been merciful to me, and has kept me; to whom I pray that he will keep me still, not only from this, but from every evil way and work, and preserve me to his heavenly kingdom. *Amen.*

317. Now as Satan laboured by reproaches and slanders, to make me vile among my Countrymen, that if possible, my Preaching might be made of none effect, so there was added hereto a long and tedious Imprisonment, that thereby I might be frighted from my Service for Christ, and the World terrified and made afraid to hear me Preach, of which I shall in the next place give you a brief account.

A Brief Account of the Author's Imprisonment.

318. Having made profession of the Glorious Gospel of so Christ a long time, and preached the same about five years, I was apprehended at a Meeting of good People in the Country, (among whom, had they let me alone, I should have preached that day, but they took me away from amongst them,) and had me before a Justice; who, after I had offered security for my appearing at the next Sessions, yet committed me, because my Sureties would not consent to be bound that I should preach no more to the People.

319. At the Sessions after I was indicted for an Upholder and Maintainer of Unlawful Assemblies and Conventicles, and ³⁰ for not conforming to the National Worship of the Church of England; and after some conference there with the Justices, they taking my plain dealing with them for a Confession, as they termed it, of the Indictment, did sentence me to perpetual Banishment, because I refused to conform. So being again delivered up to the Gaoler's hands, I was had home to Prison

again, and there have lain now complete twelve years, waiting to see what God would suffer these men to do with me. ✓✓

320. In which condition I have continued with much content, through Grace, but have met with many turnings and goings upon my Heart, both from the Lord, Satan, and my own Corruptions; by all which, (glory be to Jesus Christ,) I have also received among many things, much Conviction, Instruction, and Understanding, of which at large I shall not
 10 here discourse; only give you in a hint or two, a word that may stir up the Godly to bless God, and to pray for me; and also to take encouragement, should the case be their own, not
 to fear what man can do unto them.

321. I never had in all my life so great an inlet into the Word of God as now. Them Scriptures that I saw nothing in before, are made in this place and state to shine upon me. Jesus Christ also was never more real and apparent than now. Here I have seen him and felt him indeed. O that word, *We have not preached unto you cunningly devised* Pet. 2. 16.
 20 *fables*; and that *God raised Christ from the dead, and gave him* Pet. 2. 21.
Glory, that your Faith and Hope might be in God, were blessed words unto me in this my imprisoned Condition. ✓

322. These three or four scriptures also have been great refreshment in this condition to me. John xiv. 1—4. xvi. 33. Col. iii. 3, 4. Heb. xii. 22—24. So that sometimes when I have been in the savour of them, I have been able to laugh at destruction, and to fear neither the horse nor his rider. I Job 39. 23.
 have had sweet sights of the Forgiveness of my Sins in this place, and of my being with Jesus in another World. O, the Heb. 12.
 30 *mount Sion, the heavenly Jerusalem, the innumerable company of Angels, and God the Judge of all, and the Spirits of Just men made perfect, and Jesus, have been sweet unto me in this place.* I have seen that here, that I am persuaded I shall never, while in this world, be able to express. I have seen a truth in that Scripture, *Whom having not seen, ye love; in* Pet. 2. 8.
whom, though now ye see him not, yet believing, ye rejoice with joy unspeakable and full of Glory.

323. I never knew what it was for God to stand by me

at all turns, and at every offer of Satan to afflict me, &c., as I have found him since I came in hither. For look, how fears have presented themselves so have supports and encouragements; yea, when I have started even as it were at nothing else but my shadow, yet God, as being very tender of me, hath not suffered me to be molested, but would with one Scripture and another strengthen me against all; insomuch that I have often said, *Were it lawful, I could pray for greater trouble, for the greater comfort's sake.*

Eccles. 7. 12
2 Cor. 1. 5

324. Before I came to Prison, I saw what was a-coming, 10 and had especially two Considerations warm upon my heart. The first was how to be able to endure, should my imprisonment be long and tedious; the second was how to be able to encounter death, should that be here my portion. For the first of these, that Scripture was great information to me, namely, to pray to God *to be strengthened with all might, according to his glorious power, unto all patience and long-suffering with joyfulness.* I could seldom go to prayer before I was imprisoned, but not for so little as a year together, this Sentence or sweet petition would, as it were, thrust itself 20 into my mind, and persuade me, that if ever I would go through long-suffering, I must have all patience, especially if I would endure it joyfully.

Col. 1. 11

325. As to the second Consideration, that saying was of great use to me, *But we had the sentence of death in ourselves, that we should not trust in ourselves, but in God which raiseth the dead.* By this Scripture I was made to see, that if ever I would suffer rightly, I must first pass a sentence of death upon everything that can properly be called a thing of this life, even to reckon myself, my Wife, my Children, my 30 Health, my Enjoyments, and all, as dead to me, and myself as dead to them. He that loveth father or mother, son or daughter, more than me, is not worthy of me.

2 Cor. 1. 9

Matt. 22. 37

326. The second was, to live upon God that is invisible. As Paul said in another place, the way not to faint, is to look not at the things which are seen, but at the things which are not seen: for the things which are seen are temporal; but the things which are not seen are eternal. And thus I reasoned with

2 Cor. 4. 18

myself. If I provide only for a Prison, then the Whip comes at unawares; and so does also the Pillory. Again, if I provide only for these, then I am not fit for Banishment; further, if I conclude that Banishment is the worst, then if Death come I am surprised. So that I see the best way to go through sufferings is to trust in God through Christ, as touching the World to come; and as touching this World, to count *the* Job 17. 24.
Grave my House, to make my Bed in Darkness, and to say to Corruption, Thou art my Father, and to the Worm, Thou art my Mother and Sister. That is, to familiarize these things to me.

327. But notwithstanding these helps, I found myself a man, and compassed with Infirmities. The parting with my Wife and poor Children hath often been to me in this place as the pulling the Flesh from my Bones; and that not only because I am somewhat too fond of these great Mercies, but also because I should have often brought to my mind the many hardships, miseries and wants that my poor Family was like to meet with, should I be taken from them, *especially my*
 30 *poor blind Child*, who lay nearer my heart than all I had besides. O the thoughts of the hardship I thought my Blind-one might go under, would break my Heart to pieces.

328. *Poor Child*, thought I, *what sorrow art thou like to have for thy portion in this world! Thou must be beaten, must beg, suffer hunger, cold, nakedness, and a thousand calamities, though I cannot now endure the Wind should blow upon thee.* But yet recalling myself, thought I, *I must venture you all with God, though it goeth to the quick to leave you.* O, I saw in this condition I was as a man who was pulling down his House upon the
 30 *Head of his Wife and Children; yet, thought I, I must do it, I must do it.* And now I thought on those *two Milch-kine that were to carry the Ark of God into another Country, and to leave* 1 Sam. 6. 10-12.
their Calves behind them.

329. But that which helped me in this temptation was divers Considerations, of which three in special here I will name. The first was the consideration of those two Scriptures, *Leave thy fatherless children, I will preserve them alive,* Jer. 49. 22: 15, 16.
and let thy widows trust in me. And again, *The Lord said,*

Verily it shall be well with thy Remnant; verily I will cause the Enemy to entreat thee well in the time of evil, &c.

330. I had also this Consideration, that if I should now venture all for God, I engaged God to take care of my Concernments; but if I forsook him and his ways, for fear of any trouble that should come to me or mine, then I should not only falsify my Profession, but should count also that my Concernments were not so sure, if left at God's feet while I stood to and for his Name, as they would be, if they were under my own tuition, though with the denial of 10 the way of God. This was a smarting consideration, and was as Spurs unto my Flesh. That Scripture also greatly helped it to fasten the more upon me, where Christ prays against *Judas*, that God would disappoint him in all his selfish thoughts, which moved him to sell his Master. Pray read it soberly.

331. I had also another Consideration, and that was, the dread of the Torments of Hell, which I was sure they must partake of, that for fear of the Cross do shrink from their Profession of Christ, his Words, and Laws, before the Sons of 20 men. I also thought of the Glory that he had prepared for those that, in Faith, and Love, and Patience, stood to his Ways before them. These things, I say, have helped me, when the thoughts of the misery that both myself and mine, might, for the sake of my Profession, be exposed to, hath lain pinching on my Mind.

332. When I have indeed conceited that I might be banished for my Profession, then I have thought of that Scripture, *They were stoned, they were sawn asunder, were tempted, were slain with the sword; they wandered about in Sheep-skins 30 and Goat-skins; being destitute, afflicted, tormented, of whom the World was not worthy, for all they thought they were too bad to dwell and abide amongst them.* I have also thought of that saying, *The Holy Ghost witnesseth in every city, that Bonds and Afflictions abide me.* I have verily thought that my soul and it have sometimes reasoned about the sore and sad estate of a banished and exiled condition, how they are exposed to Hunger, to Cold, to Perils, to Nakedness, to Enemies, and

a thousand Calamities; and at last, it may be, to die in a Ditch, like a poor forlorn and desolate Sheep. But I thank God, hitherto I have not been moved by these most *delicate* reasonings, but have rather, by them, more approved my heart to God.

333. I will tell you a pretty business. I was once above all the rest in a very sad and low Condition for many Weeks; at which time also I being but a young Prisoner and not acquainted with the Laws, had this lay much upon my Spirit,
 10 That my Imprisonment might end at the Gallows for aught that I could tell. Now, therefore, Satan laid hard at me to beat me out of heart, by suggesting thus unto me, *But how if when you come indeed to die, you should be in this Condition; that is, as not to savour the things of God, nor to have any evidence upon your Soul for a better state hereafter?* (For indeed at that time all the things of God were hid from my Soul.)

334. Wherefore, when I at first began to think of this, it was a great trouble to me; for I thought with myself, that in the Condition I now was in, I was not fit to die,
 20 neither indeed did think I could, if I should be called to it. Besides, I thought with myself, *if I should make a scrabbling shift to clamber up the Ladder, yet I should either with quaking, or other symptoms of faintings, give occasion to the Enemy to reproach the Way of God and his People, for their timorousness.* This therefore lay with great trouble upon me, for methought I was ashamed to die with a pale Face, and tottering Knees, for such a cause as this.

335. Wherefore, I prayed to God that he would comfort me, and give me strength to do and suffer what he should
 30 call me to. Yet no comfort appeared, but all continued hid. I was also at this time so really possessed with the thought of Death, that oft I was as if I was on the Ladder with a Rope about my Neck; only this was some encouragement to me, I thought I might now have an opportunity to speak my last words to a Multitude, which I thought would come to see me die; and, thought I, if it must be so, if God will but convert one Soul by my very last words, I shall not count my Life thrown away, nor lost.

336. But yet all the things of God were kept out of my sight, and still the Tempter followed me with, *But whether must you go when you die? What will become of you? Where will you be found in another world? What evidence have you for Heaven and Glory, and an Inheritance among them that are Sanctified?* Thus was I tossed for many Weeks, and knew not what to do. At last this Consideration fell with weight upon me, *That it was for the Word and way of God, that I was in this Condition, wherefore I was engaged not to finish a hair's breadth from it.* 10

337. I thought also, that God might choose, whether he would give me comfort now or at the hour of Death; but I might not therefore choose whether I would hold my Profession or no. I was bound, but he was free: yea, 'twas my duty to stand to his Word, whether he would ever look upon me or no, or save me at the last. *Wherefore, thought I, the point being thus, I am for going on, and venturing my eternal State with Christ, whether I have comfort here or no. If God doth not come in, thought I, I will leap off the Ladder even blindfold into Eternity, sink or swim, come Heaven, come 20 Hell. Lord Jesus, if thou wilt catch me, do; if not, I will venture for thy Name.*

338. I was no sooner fixed upon this Resolution, but that word dropped upon me, *Doth Job serve God for nought?* As if the Accuser had said, *Lord, Job is no upright Man, he serves thee for thy-respects: hast thou not made a Hedge about him, &c. but put forth thine Hand now, and touch all that he hath, and he will curse thee to thy Face.* How now, thought I, is this the sign of an upright Soul, to desire to serve God, when all is taken from him? Is he a godly Man, that will serve God for nothing 30 rather than give out? Blessed be God, then, I hope I have an upright Heart, for I am resolved, (God giving me strength,) never to deny my Profession, though I have nothing at all for my Pains; and as I was thus considering, that Scripture was set before

Ps. 44. 12-14. Me.

339. Now was my Heart full of Comfort, for I hoped it was sincere. I would not have been without this Trial for much. I am comforted every time I think of it, and I hope

I shall bless God for ever for the teaching I have had by it. Many more of the dealings of God towards me I might relate, but these, *out of the spoils won in Battle have I dedicated* Chron. vi. 27. *to maintain the house of God.*

The Conclusion.

1. Of all the Temptations that ever I met with in my life, to question the Being of God and Truth of his Gospel is the worst, and the worst to be borne. When this Temptation comes it takes away my Girdle from me and removeth the
10 Foundation from under me. O, I have often thought of that word, *Have your Loins girt about with Truth*; and of that, *When the Foundations are destroyed, what can the Righteous do?*

2. Sometimes, when after sin committed I have looked for sore Chastisement from the Hand of God, the very next that I have had from him hath been the discovery of his Grace. Sometimes, when I have been comforted, I have called myself a Fool for my so sinking under trouble. And then again when I have been cast down I thought I was not wise, to
20 give such way to comfort. With such strength and weight have both these been upon me.

3. I have wondered much at this one thing, that though God doth visit my Soul with never so blessed a discovery of himself, yet I have found again, that such hours have attended me afterwards, that I have been in my Spirit so filled with darkness, that I could not so much as once conceive what that God and that Comfort was with which I have been refreshed.

4. I have sometimes seen more in a line of the Bible
30 than I could well tell how to stand under; and yet at another time the whole Bible hath been to me as dry as a stick; or rather, my Heart hath been so dead and dry unto it that I could not conceive the least dram of Refreshment, though I have look it all over. ✓

5. Of all tears, they are the best that are made by the Blood of Christ; and of all Joy, that is the sweetest that

is mixed with mourning over Christ. Oh! it is a goodly thing to be on our knees, with Christ in our Arms, before God. I hope I know something of these things.

6. I find to this day seven Abominations in my Heart:
 1. Inclinations to Unbelief. 2. Suddenly to forget the Love and Mercy that Christ manifesteth. 3. A leaning to the Works of the Law. 4. Wanderings and coldness in Prayer. 5. To forget to watch for that I pray for. 6. Apt to murmur because I have no more, and yet ready to abuse what I have. 7. I can do none of those things which God commands me, ¹⁰ but my Corruptions will thrust in themselves. *When I would do good, evil is present with me.*

7. These things I continually see and feel, and am afflicted and oppressed with; yet the Wisdom of God doth order them for my good. 1. They make me abhor myself. 2. They keep me from trusting my Heart. 3. They convince me of the Insufficiency of all inherent Righteousness. 4. They show me the necessity of fleeing to Jesus. 5. They press me to pray unto God. 6. They show me the need I have to watch and be sober. 7. And provoke me to look ²⁰ to God, through Christ, to help me, and carry me through this world. Amen.

A RELATION
OF THE
IMPRISONMENT OF MR. JOHN BUNYAN,

MINISTER OF THE GOSPEL AT BEDFORD, IN NOVEMBER, 1660.

**HIS EXAMINATION BEFORE THE JUSTICES;
HIS CONFERENCE WITH THE CLERK OF THE PEACE; WHAT
PASSED BETWEEN THE JUDGES AND
HIS WIFE WHEN SHE PRESENTED A PETITION FOR
HIS DELIVERANCE; ETC.**

Written by himself, and never before Published.

'Blessed are ye which are persecuted for righteousness' sake: for yours is the kingdom of heaven. Blessed are ye when men shall revile you, and persecute you; and shall say all manner of evil against you falsely, for my name's sake. Rejoice, and be exceeding glad: for great is your reward in heaven: for so persecuted they the prophets which were before you.'—Mat. v. 10—12.

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MDCLXV.



BEDFORD BRIDGE AND THE TOWN GAOL.

From an old drawing.

The Relation of my Imprisonment in the month of November 1660. When, by the good hand of my God, I had for five or six years together, without any great interruption, freely preached the blessed Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ; and had also, through his blessed Grace, some encouragement by his blessing thereupon; the Devil, that old enemy of man's salvation, took his opportunity to inflame the hearts of his vassals against me, insomuch that at the last I was laid out for by the warrant of a justice, and was taken and committed to prison. The relation thereof is as followeth:

Upon the 12th of this instant November 1660, I was desired by some of the friends in the country to come to teach at Samsell, by Harlington, in Bedfordshire. To whom I made a promise, if the Lord permitted, to be with them on the time aforesaid. The justice hearing thereof, (whose name is Mr. Francis Wingate,) forthwith issued out his warrant to take me, and bring me before him, and in the meantime to keep a very strong watch about the house where the meeting should be kept, as if we that was to
 20 meet together in that place did intend to do some fearful business, to the destruction of the country; when, alas, the constable, when he came in, found us only with our Bibles in our hands, ready to speak and hear the Word of God; for we was just about to begin our exercise. Nay, we had begun in prayer for the blessing of God upon our opportunity, intending to have preached the Word of the Lord unto them there present. But the constable coming in prevented us. So that I was taken and forced to depart the room.

But had I been minded to have played the coward I could have escaped and kept out of his hands. For when I was come to my friend's house there was whispering that that day I should be taken, for there was a warrant out to take me; which when my friend heard, he being somewhat timorous, questioned whether we had best have our meeting or not; and whether it might not be better for me to depart, lest they should take me and have me before the Justice, and after that send me to prison, (for he knew better than I what spirit they were of, living by them;) to whom I said, 10
No, by no means, I will not stir, neither will I have the meeting dismissed for this. Come, be of good cheer, let us not be daunted; our cause is good, we need not be ashamed of it; to preach God's Word it is so good a work, that we shall be well rewarded, if we suffer for that, or to this purpose; but as for my friend, I think he was more afraid of me, than of himself. After this I walked into the close, where, I somewhat seriously considering the matter, this came into my mind, That I had showed myself hearty and courageous in my preaching, and had, blessed be Grace, made it my business to encourage 20 others; therefore, thought I, if I should now run, and make an escape, it will be of a very ill savour in the country. For what will my weak and newly converted brethren think of it but that I was not so strong in deed as I was in word? Also I feared that if I should run, now there was a warrant out for me, I might by so doing make them afraid to stand, when great words only should be spoken to them. Besides, I thought, that seeing God of his mercy should choose me to go upon the forlorn hope in this country; that is, to be the first, that should be opposed, for the gospel; if I should 30 fly, it might be a discouragement to the whole body that might follow after. And further, I thought the world thereby would take occasion at my cowardliness to have blasphemed the gospel, and to have had some ground to suspect worse of me and my profession than I deserved. These things with others considered by me, I came in again to the house with a full resolution to keep the meeting, and not to go away, though I could have been gone about an hour before

the officer apprehended me; but I would not; for I was resolved to see the utmost of what they could say or do unto me. For blessed be the Lord, I knew of no evil that I had said or done. And so, as aforesaid, I began the meeting; but being prevented by the constable's coming in with his warrant to take me, I could not proceed. But before I went away, I spake some few words of counsel and encouragement to the people, declaring to them that they saw we was prevented of our opportunity to speak
 10 and hear the Word of God, and was like to suffer for the same: desiring them that they should not be discouraged, for it was a mercy to suffer upon so good account. For we might have been apprehended as thieves or murderers, or for other wickedness; but blessed be God it was not so, but we suffer as Christians for well doing: and we had better be the persecuted than the persecutors, &c. But the constable and the justice's man waiting on us would not be at quiet till they had me away, and that we departed the house. But because the justice was not at home that
 20 day, there was a friend of mine engaged for me to bring me to the constable on the morrow morning. Otherwise the constable must have charged a watch with me, or have secured me some other ways, my crime was so great. So on the next morning we went to the constable, and so to the justice. He asked the constable what we did, where we was met together, and what we had with us? I trow, he meant whether we had armour or not; but when the constable told him, that there was only met a few of us together to preach and hear the Word, and no sign of
 30 anything else, he could not well tell what to say: yet because he had sent for me, he did adventure to put out a few proposals to me, which was to this effect, namely, What I did there? and why I did not content myself with following my calling? for it was against the law, that such as I should be admitted to do as I did.

John Bunyan. To which I answered, that the intent of my coming thither, and to other places, was to instruct, and counsel people to forsake their sins, and close in with Christ.

lest they did miserably perish; and that I could do both these without confusion, (to wit,) follow my calling, and preach the Word also.

At which words, he was in a chafe, as it appeared; for he said that he would break the neck of our meetings.

Bun. I said, it may be so. Then he wished me to get sureties to be bound for me, or else he would send me to the jail.

My sureties being ready, I called them in, and when the bond for my appearance was made, he told them, that they was bound to keep me from preaching; and that if I did so preach, their bonds would be forfeited. To which I answered, that then I should break them; for I should not leave speaking the Word of God; even to counsel, comfort, exhort, and teach the people among whom I came; and I thought this to be a work that had no hurt in it: but was rather worthy of commendation than blame.

Wingate. Whereat he told me, that if they would not be so bound, my mittimus must be made, and I sent to the jail, there to lie to the quarter-sessions.

Now while my mittimus was a making, the justice was so withdrawn; and in comes an old enemy to the truth, Dr. Lindale, who, when he was come in, fell to taunting at me with many reviling terms.

Bun. To whom I answered, that I did not come thither to talk with him, but with the justice. Whereat he supposed that I had nothing to say for myself, and triumphed as if he had got the victory; charging and condemning me for meddling with that for which I could show no warrant; and asked me, if I had taken the oaths? and if I had not, 'twas pity but that I should be sent to prison, &c. 30

I told him, that if I was minded I could answer to any sober question that he should put to me. He then urged me again, how I could prove it lawful for me to preach, with a great deal of confidence of the victory.

But at last, because he should see that I could answer him if I listed, I cited to him that verse in Peter, which saith,
As every man hath received the gift, even so let him minister the same, &c.

Lind. Aye, saith he, to whom is that spoken?

Bun. To whom? said I, why, to every man that hath received a gift from God. Mark, saith the apostle, *As every man that hath received a gift from God, &c.* And again, *You may all prophecy one by one.* Whereat the man was a little stopt, and went a softlier pace: but not being willing to lose the day, he began again, and said:

Lind. Indeed I do remember that I have read of one Alexander a Coppersmith, who did much oppose and disturb the apostles;—(aiming, 'tis like, at me, because I was a Tinker.)

Bun. To which I answered, that I also had read of very many priests and pharisees that had their hands in the blood of our Lord Jesus Christ.

Lind. Aye, saith he, and you are one of those scribes and pharisees: for you, with a pretence, make long prayers to devour widows' houses.

Bun. I answered, that if he had got no more by preaching and praying than I had done, he would not be so rich as he now was. But that Scripture coming into my mind, *Answer not a fool according to his folly*, I was as sparing of my speech as I could, without prejudice to truth.

Now by this time my mittimus was made, and I committed to the constable to be sent to the jail in Bedford, &c.

But as I was going, two of my brethren met with me by the way, and desired the constable to stay, supposing that they should prevail with the justice, through the favour of a pretended friend, to let me go at liberty. So we did stay, while they went to the justice; and after much discourse with him, it came to this; that if I would come to him again, and say some certain words to him, I should be released. Which when they told me, I said if the words was such that might be said with a good conscience, I should, or, else, I should not. So through their importunity I went back again, but not believing that I should be delivered: for I feared their spirit was too full of opposition to the truth to let me go, unless I should in something or other dishonour my God, and wound my conscience. Wherefore, as I went,

I lift up my heart to God for light and strength to be kept that I might not do anything that might either dishonour him or wrong my own soul, or be a grief or discouragement to any that was inclining after the Lord Jesus Christ.

Well, when I came to the justice again there was Mr. Foster of Bedford, who coming out of another room, and seeing me by the light of the candle, (for it was dark night when I went thither,) he said unto me, Who is there? *John Bunyan?* with such seeming affection, as if he would have leaped in my neck and kissed me, which made me ¹⁰ somewhat wonder, that such a man as he, with whom I had so little acquaintance, and, besides, that had ever been a close opposer of the ways of God, should carry himself so full of love to me. But, afterwards, when I saw what he did, it caused me to remember those sayings, *Their tongues are smother than oil, but their words are drawn swords.* And ¹⁵ again, *Beware of men, &c.* When I had answered him, that blessed be God I was well, he said, *What is the occasion of your being here?* or to that purpose. To whom I answered, that I was at a meeting of people a little way off, intending to speak ²⁰ a word of exhortation to them; but the justice hearing thereof, (said I,) was pleased to send his warrant to fetch me before him, &c.

Foster. So, (said he,) I understand; but well, if you will promise to call the people no more together, you shall have your liberty to go home; for my brother is very loth to send you to prison, if you will be but ruled.

Bun. Sir, (said I,) pray what do you mean by calling the people together? My business is not anything among them when they are come together but to exhort them to look ³⁰ after the salvation of their souls, that they may be saved, &c.

Foster. Saith he, We must not enter into explication or dispute now; but if you will say you will call the people no more together, you may have your liberty; if not, you must be sent away to prison.

Bun. Sir, said I, I shall not force or compel any man to hear me; but yet, if I come into any place where there is a people met together, I should, according to the best of my

skill and wisdom, exhort and counsel them to seek out after the Lord Jesus Christ, for the salvation of their souls.

Fast. He said, that was none of my work; I must follow my calling; and if I would but leave off preaching, and follow my calling, I should have the justice's favour, and be acquitted presently.

Bun. To whom I said, that I could follow my calling and that too, namely, preaching the Word; and I did look upon it as my duty to do them both, as I had an opportunity.

10 *Fast.* He said, to have any such meetings was against the law; and, therefore, he would have me leave off, and say I would call the people no more together.

Bun. To whom I said, that I durst not make any further promise; for my conscience would not suffer me to do it. And again, I did look upon it as my duty to do as much good as I could, not only in my trade, but also in communicating to all people, wheresoever I came, the best knowledge I had in the Word.

Fast. He told me that I was the nearest the Papists of any; 20 and that he would convince me of immediately.

Bun. I asked him wherein?

Fast. He said, in that we understood the Scriptures literally.

Bun. I told him that those that were to be understood literally, we understood them so; but for those that was to be understood otherwise, we endeavoured so to understand them.

Fast. He said, which of the Scriptures do you understand literally?

30 *Bun.* I said this, *He that believeth shall be saved.* This was Mark 16. 16. to be understood just as it is spoken; that whosoever believeth in Christ shall, according to the plain and simple words of the text, be saved.

Fast. He said that I was ignorant, and did not understand the Scriptures; for how, (said he,) can you understand them when you know not the original Greek? &c.

Bun. To whom I said, that if that was his opinion, that none could understand the Scriptures but those that had the

original Greek, &c., then but a very few of the poorest sort should be saved; (this is harsh;) yet the Scripture saith, *That God hides his things from the wise and prudent, that is, from the learned of the world, and reveals them to babes and sucklings.*

Fast. He said there was none that heard me but a company of foolish people.

Bun. I told him that there was the wise as well as the foolish that do hear me; and again, those that are most commonly counted foolish by the world are the wisest before 10
God; also, that God had rejected the wise, and mighty, and noble, and chosen the foolish and the base.

Fast. He told me that I made people neglect their calling; and that God had commanded people to work six days, and serve him on the seventh.

Bun. I told him that it was the duty of people, (both rich and poor,) to look out for their souls on them days as well as for their bodies; and that God would have his people *ex-*
Heb. 3. 13 *hort one another daily, while it is called to-day.*

Fast. He said again that there was none but a company of 20
poor, simple, ignorant people that came to hear me.

Bun. I told him that the foolish and ignorant had most need of teaching and information; and, therefore, it would be profitable for me to go on in that work.

Fast. Well, said he, to conclude, but will you promise that you will not call the people together any more? and then you may be released and go home.

Bun. I told him that I durst say no more than I had said; for I durst not leave off that work which God had called 30
me to.

So he withdrew from me, and then came several of the justice's servants to me, and told me that I stood so much upon a nicety. Their master, they said, was willing to let me go; and if I would but say I would call the people no more together, I might have my liberty, &c.

Bun. I told them there were more ways than one in which a man might be said to call the people together. As, for instance, if a man get upon the market place, and there

read a book, or the like, though he do not say to the people, Sirs, come hither and hear; yet if they come to him because he reads, he, by his very reading, may be said to call them together; because they would not have been there to hear if he had not been there to read. And seeing this might be termed a calling the people together, I durst not say I would not call them together; for then, by the same argument, my preaching might be said to call them together.

Wing. and Foster. Then came the justice and Mr. Foster to me again; (we had a little more discourse about preaching, but because the method of it is out of my mind, I pass it;) and when they saw that I was at a point, and would not be moved nor persuaded,

Mr. Foster told the justice that then he must send me away to prison. And that he would do well, also, if he would present all those that were the cause of my coming among them to meetings. Thus we parted.

And, verily, as I was going forth of the doors, I had much ado to forbear saying to them that I carried the peace of so God along with me; but I held my peace, and, blessed be the Lord, went away to prison, with God's comfort in my poor soul.

After I had lain in the jail five or six days, the brethren sought means, again, to get me out by bondsmen; (for so run my mittimus, that I should lie there till I could find sureties.) They went to a justice at Elstow, one Mr. Crumpton, to desire him to take bond for my appearing at the quarter-sessions. At the first he told them he would; but afterwards he made a demur at the business, and desired first to see my mittimus, which run to this purpose: That I went about several conventicles in this county, to the great disparagement of the government of the church of England, &c. When he had seen it, he said that there might be something more against me than was expressed in my mittimus; and that he was but a young man, and, therefore, he durst not do it. This my jailer told me; whereat I was not at all daunted, but rather glad, and saw evidently that the Lord had heard me; for before I went down to the justice, I begged of God that if

I might do more good by being at liberty than in prison that then I might be set at liberty ; but if not, his will be done. For I was not altogether without hopes but that my imprisonment might be an awakening to the Saints in the country, therefore I could not tell well which to choose ; only I, in that manner, did commit the thing to God. And verily, at my return, I did meet my God sweetly in the prison again, comforting of me and satisfying of me that it was his will and mind that I should be there.

When I came back again to prison, as I was musing at the slender answer of the Justice, this word dropped in upon my heart with some life, *For he knew that for envy they had delivered him.*

Thus have I, in short, declared the manner and occasion of my being in prison ; where I lie waiting the good will of God, to do with me as he pleaseth ; knowing that not one hair of my head can fall to the ground without the will of my Father which is in Heaven. Let the rage and malice of man be never so great, they can do no more, nor go no further, than God permits them ; but when they have done so their worst, we know that all things work together for good to them that love God. Farewell.

Here is the Sum of my Examination before Justice Keelin, Justice Chester, Justice Blundale, Justice Beecher, and Justice Snagg, &c.

After I had lain in prison above seven weeks, the quarter-sessions was to be kept in Bedford, for the county thereof, unto which I was to be brought ; and when my jailer had set me before those justices, there was a bill of indictment preferred against me. The extent thereof was as followeth : 30
That John Bunyan, of the town of Bedford, labourer, being a person of such and such conditions, he hath, (since such a time,) devilishly and perniciously abstained from coming to church to hear Divine service, and is a common upholder of several unlawful meetings and conventicles, to the great disturbance and distraction of the good subjects of this kingdom, contrary to the laws of our sovereign lord the King, &c.

The Clerk. When this was read, the clerk of the sessions said unto me, What say you to this?

Bun. I said, that as to the first part of it, I was a common frequenter of the church of God. And was also, by grace, a member with them people over whom Christ is the Head.

Keelin. But, saith Justice Keelin, (who was the judge in that court,) Do you come to church, (you know what I mean,) to the parish church, to hear Divine service?

Bun. I answered, No, I did not.

10 *Keel.* He asked me why?

Bun. I said, Because I did not find it commanded in the Word of God.

Keel. He said, We were commanded to pray.

Bun. I said, But not by the Common Prayer Book.

Keel. He said, How then?

Bun. I said, With the Spirit. As the apostle saith, *I will* : Cor. 14. 15. *pray with the Spirit, and with the understanding.*

Keel. He said, We might pray with the Spirit, and with the understanding, and with the Common Prayer Book also.

20 *Bun.* I said that the prayers in the Common Prayer Book was such as was made by other men, and not by the motions of the Holy Ghost, within our Hearts; and as I said, the apostle saith, he will pray with the Spirit, and with the understanding, not with the Spirit and the Common Prayer Book.

Another Justice. What do you count prayer? Do you think it is to say a few words over before or among a people?

Bun. I said, No, not so; for men might have many elegant, or excellent words, and yet not pray at all; but when a man 30 prayeth, he doth, through a sense of those things which he wants, (which sense is begotten by the Spirit,) pour out his heart before God through Christ; though his words be not so many and so excellent as others are.

Justices. They said, That was true.

Bun. I said, This might be done without the Common Prayer Book.

Another. One of them said (I think it was Justice *Blundale*, or Justice *Snagg*), How should we know that you do not write out

your prayers first, and then read them afterwards to the people? This he spake in a laughing way.

Bun. I said, It is not our use, to take a pen and paper, and write a few words thereon, and then go and read it over to a company of people.

Another. But how should we know it, said he?

Bun. Sir, it is none of our custom, said I.

Keel. But, said Justice Keelin, it is lawful to use Common Prayer, and such like forms: for Christ taught his disciples to pray, as John also taught his disciples. And further, said he, 10 cannot one man teach another to pray? Faith comes by hearing; and one man may convince another of sin, and therefore prayers made by men, and read over, are good to teach, and help men to pray.

While he was speaking these words, God brought that word into my mind, in the eighth of the Romans, at the 26th verse. I say, God brought it, for I thought not on it before: but as he was speaking, it came so fresh into my mind, and was set so evidently before me, as if the Scripture had said, Take me, take me; so when he was done speaking, 20

Rom. 8. 26.

Bun. I said, Sir, the Scripture saith, that *it is the Spirit that helpeth our infirmities; for we know not what we should pray for as we ought; but the Spirit itself maketh intercession for us, with sighs and groanings which cannot be uttered.* Mark, said I, it doth not say the Common Prayer Book teacheth us how to pray, but the Spirit. And it is *the Spirit that helpeth our infirmities*, saith the apostle; he doth not say it is the Common Prayer Book.

And as to the Lord's prayer, although it be an easy thing to say, *Our Father*, &c., with the mouth; yet there is very few 30 that can, in the Spirit, say the first two words of that prayer; that is, that can call God their Father, as knowing what it is to be born again and as having experience that they are begotten of the Spirit of God; which if they do not, all is but babbling, &c.

Keel. Justice Keelin said, that that was a truth.

Bun. And I say further, as to your saying that one man may convince another of sin, and that faith comes by hearing,

and that one man may tell another how he should pray, &c., I say men may tell each other of their sins, but it is the Spirit that must convince them.

And though it be said that *faith comes by hearing*, yet it is the Spirit that worketh faith in the heart through hearing, or *Heb. 4. 2.* else they are not profited by hearing.

And that though one man may tell another how he should pray; yet, as I said before, he cannot pray, nor make his condition known to God, except the Spirit help. It is not the Common Prayer Book that can do this. It is the Spirit that sheweth us our sins, and the Spirit that sheweth us a *John 16. 26.* Saviour, and the Spirit that stirreth up in our hearts desires to come to God, for such things as we stand in need of, *Matt. 12. 22.* even sighing out our souls unto him for them with *groans which cannot be uttered.* With other words to the same purpose. At this they were set.

Keel. But, says Justice Keelin, what have you against the Common Prayer Book?

Bun. I said, Sir, if you will hear me, I shall lay down my reasons against it.

Keel. He said, I should have liberty; but first, said he, let me give you one caution; take heed of speaking irreverently of the Common Prayer Book; for if you do so, you will bring great damage upon yourself.

Bun. So I proceeded, and said, My first reason was, because it was not commanded in the Word of God, and therefore I could not do it.

Another. One of them said, Where do you find it commanded in the Scripture, that you should go to *Elstow*, or *30 Bedford*, and yet it is lawful to go to either of them, is it not?

Bun. I said, To go to *Elstow*, or *Bedford*, was a civil thing, and not material, though not commanded, and yet God's Word allowed me to go about my calling, and therefore if it lay there, then to go thither, &c. But to pray, was a great part of the Divine worship of God, and therefore it ought to be done according to the rule of God's Word.

Another. One of them said, He will do harm; let him speak no further.

Keel. Justice Keelin said, No, no, never fear him, we are better established than so; he can do no harm; we know the Common Prayer Book hath been ever since the Apostles' time, and is lawful for it to be used in the church.

Bun. I said, Show me a place in the epistles where the Common Prayer Book is written, or one text of Scripture that commands me to read it, and I will use it. But yet, notwithstanding, said I, they that have a mind to use it, they have their liberty; that is, I would not keep them from it; but for our parts, we can pray to God without it. Blessed be 10 his name.

Another. With that, one of them said, Who is your God? Beelzebub? Moreover, they often said that I was possessed with the spirit of delusion, and of the Devil. All which sayings I passed over; the Lord forgive them! And further, I said, Blessed be the Lord for it, we are encouraged to meet together, and to pray, and exhort one another; for we have had the comfortable presence of God among us. For ever blessed be his holy name!

Keel. Justice Keelin called this pedler's French, saying, that 20 I must leave off my canting. The Lord open his eyes!

Bun. I said, that we ought to *exhort one another daily, while it is called to-day.*

Keel. Justice Keelin said, that I ought not to preach; and asked me where I had my authority? with other such like words.

Bun. I said, that I would prove that it was lawful for me, and such as I am, to preach the Word of God.

Keel. He said unto me, By what Scripture?

I said, By that in the first epistle of Peter, the fourth 30 chapter, the tenth verse, and Acts the eighteenth, with other Scriptures, which he would not suffer me to mention. But said, Hold; not so many, which is the first?

Bun. I said, this: *As every man hath received the gift, even so minister the same one to another, as good stewards of the manifold grace of God. If any man speak, let him speak as the oracles of God, &c.*

Keel. He said, Let me a little open that Scripture to you:

As every man hath received the gift; that is, said he, as every one hath received a trade, so let him follow it. If any man have received a gift of tinkering, as thou hast done, let him follow his tinkering. And so other men their trades; and the divine his calling, &c.

Bun. Nay, Sir, said I, but it is most clear, that the apostle speaks here of preaching the Word; if you do but compare both the verses together, the next verse explains this gift what it is, saying, *If any man speak, let him speak as the oracles of God.*
 10 So that it is plain, that the Holy Ghost doth not so much in this place exhort to civil callings, as to the exercising of those gifts that we have received from God. I would have gone on, but he would not give me leave.

Keel. He said, We might do it in our families, but not otherways.

Bun. I said, If it was lawful to do good to some, it was lawful to do good to more. If it was a good duty to exhort our families, it is good to exhort others; but if they held it a sin to meet together to seek the face of God, and exhort one
 20 another to follow Christ, I should sin still; for so we should do.

Keel. He said he was not so well versed in Scripture as to dispute, or words to that purpose. And said, moreover, that they could not wait upon me any longer; but said to me, Then you confess the indictment, do you not? Now, and not till now, I saw I was indicted.

Bun. I said, This I confess, we have had many meetings together, both to pray to God, and to exhort one another, and that we had the sweet comforting presence of the Lord among us for our encouragement; blessed be his name there-
 30 fore. I confessed myself guilty no otherwise.

Keel. Then, said he, hear your judgment. You must be had back again to prison, and there lie for three months following; and at three months' end, if you do not submit to go to church to hear Divine service, and leave your preaching, you must be banished the realm: and if, after such a day as shall be appointed you to be gone, you shall be found in this realm, &c., or be found to come over again without special license from the king, &c., you must

stretch by the neck for it, I tell you plainly; and so he bid my jailor have me away.

Bun. I told him, as to this matter, I was at a point with him; for if I was out of prison to-day I would preach the gospel again to-morrow, by the help of God.

Another. To which one made me some answer; but my jailor pulling me away to be gone, I could not tell what he said.

Thus I departed from them; and I can truly say, I bless the Lord *Jesus Christ* for it, that my heart was sweetly refreshed in the time of my examination, and also afterwards, at my returning to the prison. So that I found *Christ's* words more than bare trifles, where he saith, He will give a mouth and wisdom, even such as all the adversaries shall not gainsay or resist. And that his peace no man can take from us.

Thus have I given you the substance of my examination. The Lord make these profitable to all that shall read or hear them. Farewell.

The Substance of some Discourse had between the Clerk of the Peace and myself, when he came to admonish me, according to the tenor of that Law by which I was in Prison.

When I had lain in prison other twelve weeks, and now not knowing what they intended to do with me, upon the third of April, comes Mr. Cobb unto me, (as he told me,) being sent by the Justices to admonish me; and demanded of me submittance to the Church of England, &c. The extent of our discourse was as followeth:—

Cobb. When he was come into the house he sent for me out of my chamber; who, when I was come unto him, he said, Neighbour *Bunyan*, how do you do?

Bun. I thank you, Sir, said I, very well, blessed be the Lord.

Cobb. Saith he, I come to tell you that it is desired you would submit yourself to the laws of the land, or else at the next sessions it will go worse with you, even to be sent away out of the nation, or else worse than that.

Bun. I said that I did desire to demean myself in the world, both as becometh a man and a Christian.

Cobb. But, saith he, you must submit to the laws of the land, and leave off those meetings which you was wont to have; for the statute law is directly against it; and I am sent to you by the Justices to tell you that they do intend to prosecute the law against you if you submit not.

Bun. I said, Sir, I conceive that that law by which I am in
10 prison at this time doth not reach or condemn either me or the meetings which I do frequent. That law was made against those that being designed to do evil in their meetings, make the exercise of religion their pretence to cover their wickedness. It doth not forbid the private meetings of those that plainly and simply make it their only end to worship the Lord, and to exhort one another to edification. My
end in meeting with others is simply to do as much good as I can, by exhortation and counsel, according to that small measure of light which God hath given me, and not to disturb
20 the peace of the nation.

Cobb. Every one will say the same, saith he; you see the late insurrection at *London*, under what glorious pretences they went; and yet, indeed, they intended no less than the ruin of the kingdom and commonwealth.

Bun. That practice of theirs I abhor, said I; yet it doth not follow that, because they did so, therefore all others will do so. I look upon it as my duty to behave myself under the King's government, both as becomes a man and a Christian, and if an occasion were offered me, I should
30 willingly manifest my loyalty to my Prince, both by word and deed.

Cobb. Well, said he, I do not profess myself to be a man that can dispute; but this I say, truly, neighbour *Bunyan*, I would have you consider this matter seriously, and submit yourself; you may have your liberty to exhort your neighbour in private discourse, so be you do not call together an assembly of people; and, truly, you may do much good to the church of Christ if you would go this way; and this

you may do, and the law not abridge you of it. It is your private meetings that the law is against.

Bun. Sir, said I, if I may do good to one by my discourse, why may I not do good to two? and if to two, why not to four, and so to eight? &c.

Cobb. Ay, saith he, and to a hundred, I warrant you.

Bun. Yes, Sir, said I, I think I should not be forbid to do as much good as I can.

Cobb. But, saith he, you may but pretend to do good, and indeed, notwithstanding, do harm, by seducing the people; so you are, therefore, denied your meeting so many together, lest you should do harm.

Bun. And yet, said I, you say the law tolerates me to discourse with my neighbour; surely there is no law tolerates me to seduce any one; therefore, if I may, by the law, discourse with one, surely it is to do him good; and if I, by discoursing, may do good to one, surely, by the same law, I may do good to many.

Cobb. The law, saith he, doth expressly forbid your private meetings; therefore they are not to be tolerated. 20

Bun. I told him that I would not entertain so much uncharitableness of that Parliament in the 35th of Elizabeth, or of the Queen herself, as to think they did, by that law, intend the oppressing of any of God's ordinances, or the interrupting any in the way of God; but men may, in the wresting of it, turn it against the way of God. But take the law in itself, and it only fighteth against those that drive at mischief in their hearts and meetings, making religion only their cloak, colour, or pretence; for so are the words 30 of the statute: *If any meetings, under colour or pretence of religion, &c.*

Cobb. Very good; therefore the King, seeing that pretences are usually in and among people, as to make religion their pretence only, therefore he, and the law before him, doth forbid such private meetings, and tolerates only public; you may meet in public.

Bun. Sir, said I, let me answer you in a similitude. Set

the case that, at such a wood corner, there did usually come forth thieves, to do mischief; must there therefore a law be made that every one that cometh out there shall be killed? May there not come out true men as well as thieves out from thence? Just thus it is in this case; I do think there may be many that may design the destruction of the commonwealth; but it does not follow therefore that all private meetings are unlawful; those that transgress, let them be punished. And if at any time I myself should do any
 10 act in my conversation as doth not become a man and Christian, let me bear the punishment. And as for your saying I may meet in public, if I may be suffered, I would gladly do it. Let me have but meeting enough in public, and I shall care the less to have them in private. I do not meet in private because I am afraid to have meetings in public. I bless the Lord that my heart is at that point, that if any man can lay anything to my charge, either in doctrine or practice, in this particular, that can be proved error or heresy, I am willing to disown it, even in the very
 20 market place; but if it be truth, then to stand to it to the last drop of my blood. And, Sir, said I, you ought to commend me for so doing. To err and to be a heretic are two things. I am no heretic, because I will not stand refractorily to defend any one thing that is contrary to the Word. Prove anything which I hold to be an error, and I will recant it.

Cobb. But, goodman *Bunyan*, said he, methinks you need not stand so strictly upon this one thing, as to have meetings of such public assemblies. Cannot you submit, and, not-
 30 withstanding, do as much good as you can, in a neighbourly way, without having such meetings?

Bun. Truly, Sir, said I, I do not desire to commend myself, but to think meanly of myself; yet when I do most despise myself, taking notice of that small measure of light which God hath given me, also that the people of the Lord, (by their own saying,) are edified thereby. Besides, when I see that the Lord, through grace, hath in some measure blessed my labour, I dare not but exercise that gift which God hath

given me for the good of the people. And I said further, that I would willingly speak in public, if I might.

Cobb. He said, that I might come to the public assemblies and hear. What though you do not preach? you may hear. Do not think yourself so well enlightened, and that you have received a gift so far above others,^a but that you may hear other men preach. Or to that purpose.

Bun. I told him, I was as willing to be taught as to give instruction, and I looked upon it as my duty to do both; for, said I, a man that is a teacher, he himself may learn also ¹⁰
^a Cor. xiv. 31. from another that teacheth, as the Apostle saith: *We may all prophecy, one by one, that all may learn.* That is, every man that hath received a gift from God, he may dispense it, that others may be comforted; and when he hath done, he may hear and learn, and be comforted himself of others.

Cobb. But, said he, what if you should forbear awhile, and sit still, till you see further how things will go?

Bun. Sir, said I, *Wickliffe* saith, that he which leaveth off preaching and hearing of the Word of God for fear of ex-²⁰ communication of men, he is already excommunicated of God, and shall in the day of judgment be counted a traitor to Christ.

Cobb. Ay, saith he, they that do not hear shall be so counted indeed; do you, therefore, hear.

Bun. But, Sir, said I, he saith, he that shall leave off either preaching or hearing, &c. That is, if he hath received a gift for edification, it is his sin, if he doth not lay it out in a way of exhortation and counsel, according to the proportion of his gift; as well as to spend his time altogether ³⁰ in hearing others preach.

Cobb. But, said he, how shall we know that you have received a gift?

Bun. Said I, Let any man hear and search, and prove the doctrine by the Bible.

Cobb. But will you be willing, said he, that two indifferent persons shall determine the case, and will you stand by their judgment?

Bun. I said, Are they infallible?

Cobb. He said, No.

Bun. Then, said I, it is possible my judgment may be as good as theirs. But yet I will pass by either, and in this matter be judged by the Scriptures. I am sure that is infallible, and cannot err.

Cobb. But, said he, who shall be judge between you, for you take the Scriptures one way, and they another?

Bun. I said, The Scripture should, and that by comparing
 10 one scripture with another; for that will open itself, if it be rightly compared. As, for instance, if under the different apprehensions of the word *Mediator*, you would know the truth of it, the Scriptures open it, and tells us that he that is a mediator must take up the business between two, and
a mediator is not a mediator of one, but God is one, and there Gal. iii. 20.
1 Tim. ii. 5
is one mediator between God and men, even the man Christ Jesus. So likewise the Scripture calleth Christ a *complete*, or perfect, or able *bigb priest*. That is opened in that he is called man, and also God. His blood also is discovered to be effectually
 20 efficacious by the same things. So the Scripture, as touching the matter of meeting together, &c., doth likewise sufficiently open itself and discover its meaning.

Cobb. But are you willing, said he, to stand to the judgment of the Church?

Bun. Yes, Sir, said I, to the approbation of the church of God. The Church's judgment is best expressed in Scripture. We had much other discourse which I cannot well remember, about the laws of the nation, and submission to governments; to which I did tell him, that I did look upon myself as bound
 30 in conscience to walk according to all righteous laws, and that whether there was a King or no; and if I did anything that was contrary, I did hold it my duty to bear patiently the penalty of the law, that was provided against such offenders; with many more words to the like effect. And said, moreover, that to cut off all occasions of suspicion from any, as touching the harmlessness of my doctrine in private, I would willingly take the pains to give any one the notes of all my sermons; for I do sincerely desire to

live quietly in my country, and to submit to the present authority.

Cobb. Well, neighbour *Bunyan*, said he, but indeed I would wish you seriously to consider of these things, between this and the quarter-sessions, and to submit yourself. You may do much good if you continue still in the land; but alas, what benefit will it be to your friends, or what good can you do to them, if you should be sent away beyond the seas into *Spain*, or *Constantinople*, or some other remote part of the world? Pray be ruled. 10

Jailor. Indeed, Sir, I hope he will be ruled.

Bun. I shall desire, said I, in all godliness and honesty to behave myself in the nation, whilst I am in it. And if I must be so dealt withal, as you say, I hope God will help me to bear what they shall lay upon me. I know no evil that I have done in this matter, to be so used. I speak as in the presence of God.

Rom. xiii. 1. *Cobb.* You know, saith he, that the Scripture saith, *the powers that be are ordained of God.*

Bun. I said, Yes, and that I was to submit to the King so as supreme, also to the governors, as to them that are sent by him.

Cobb. Well then, said he, the King then commands you, that you should not have any private meetings; because it is against his law, and he is ordained of God, therefore you should not have any.

Bun. I told him that *Paul* did own the powers that were in his day, as to be of God; and yet he was often in prison under them for all that. And also, though *Jesus Christ* told *Pilate*, that he had no power against him, but of God, yet so he died under the same *Pilate*; and yet, said I, I hope you will not say that either *Paul*, or *Christ*, was such as did deny magistracy, and so sinned against God in slighting the ordinance. Sir, said I, the law hath provided two ways of obeying: The one to do that which I, in my conscience, do believe that I am bound to do, actively; and where I cannot obey actively, there I am willing to lie down, and to suffer what they shall do unto me. At this he sat still,

and said no more; which, when he had done, I did thank him for his civil and meek discoursing with me; and so we parted.

O that we might meet in heaven!

Farewell. J. B.

Here followeth a discourse between my Wife and the Judges, with others, touching my Deliverance at the Assizes following; the which I took from her own Mouth.

After that I had received this sentence of banishing, or
10 hanging, from them, and after the former admonition, touching the determination of Justices, if I did not recant; just when the time drew nigh, in which I should have abjured, or have done worse, (as Mr. Cobb told me,) came the time in which the King was to be crowned. Now, at the coronation of Kings, there is usually a releasement of divers prisoners, by virtue of his coronation; in which privilege also I should have had my share; but that they took me for a convicted person, and therefore, unless I sued out a pardon, (as they called it,) I could have no benefit thereby. Notwithstanding,
20 yet, forasmuch as the Coronation Proclamation did give liberty, from the day the King was crowned to that day twelvemonth, to sue them out; therefore, though they would not let me out of prison, as they let out thousands, yet they could not meddle with me, as touching the execution of their sentence; because of the liberty offered for the suing out of pardons. Whereupon I continued in prison till the next assizes, which are called *Midsummer* assizes, being then kept in *August* 1661.

Now, at that assizes, because I would not leave any possible
30 means unattempted that might be lawful, I did, by my wife, present a petition to the Judges three times, that I might be heard, and that they would impartially take my case into consideration.

The first time my wife went, she presented it to Judge *Hales*, who very mildly received it at her hand, telling her

that he would do her and me the best good he could; but he feared, he said, he could do none. The next day, again, lest they should, through the multitude of business, forget me, we did throw another petition into the coach to Judge *Tawidow*; who, when he had seen it, snapt her up, and angrily told her that I was a convicted person, and could not be released, unless I would promise to preach no more, &c.

Well, after this, she yet again presented another to Judge *Hales*, as he sat on the bench, who, as it seemed, was willing to give her audience. Only Justice *Chester* being present ¹⁰ stepped up and said, that I was convicted in the court, and that I was a hot-spirited fellow, (or words to that purpose,) whereat he waved it, and did not meddle therewith. But yet, my wife being encouraged by the High Sheriff, did venture once more into their presence, (as the poor widow did to the unjust Judge,) to try what she could do with them for my liberty, before they went forth of the town. The place where she went to them was to the *Swan Chamber*, where the two Judges, and many Justices and Gentry of the country, was in company together. She then, coming ²⁰ into the chamber with a bashed face, and a trembling heart, began her errand to them in this manner:—

Label xviii.
p. 4.

Woman. My Lord (directing herself to Judge *Hales*), I make bold to come once again to your Lordship, to know what may be done with my husband.

Judge Hales. To whom he said, Woman, I told thee before, I could do thee no good; because they have taken that for a conviction which thy husband spoke at the sessions; and unless there be something done to undo that, I can do thee no good. 30

Wom. My Lord, said she, he is kept unlawfully in prison; they clapped him up before there was any proclamation against the meetings; the indictment also is false. Besides, they never asked him whether he was guilty or no; neither did he confess the indictment.

One of the Justices. Then one of the Justices that stood by, whom she knew not, said, My Lord, he was lawfully convicted.

Wom. It is false, said she; for when they said to him, Do you confess the indictment? he said only this, that he had been at several meetings, both where there was preaching the Word, and prayer, and that they had God's presence among them.

Judge Twisdon. Whereat Judge *Twisdon* answered very angrily, saying, What! you think we can do what we list; your husband is a breaker of the peace, and is convicted by the law, &c. Whereupon Judge *Hales* called for the
10 Statute Book.

Wom. But, said she, my Lord, he was not lawfully convicted.

Chester. Then Justice *Chester* said, My Lord, he was lawfully convicted.

Wom. It is false, said she; it was but a word of discourse that they took for a conviction, as you heard before.

Cbes. But it is recorded, woman, it is recorded, said Justice *Chester*; as if it must be of necessity true, because it was recorded. With which words he often endeavoured to stop
20 her mouth, having no other argument to convince her, but it is recorded, it is recorded.

Wom. My Lord, said she, I was a while since at *London*, to see if I could get my husband's liberty; and there I spoke with my Lord *Barkwood*, one of the House of Lords, to whom I delivered a petition, who took it of me and presented it to some of the rest of the House of Lords, for my husband's releasement; who, when they had seen it, they said that they could not release him, but had committed his releasement to the Judges, at the next assizes. This he told me; and
30 now I come to you to see if anything may be done in this business, and you give neither releasement nor relief. To which they gave her no answer, but made as if they heard her not.

Cbes. Only Justice *Chester* was often up with this, He is convicted, and It is recorded.

Wom. If it be, it is false, said she.

Cbes. My Lord, said Justice *Chester*, he is a pestilent fellow, there is not such a fellow in the country again.

Twis. What, will your husband leave preaching? If he will do so, then send for him.

Wom. My Lord, said she, he dares not leave preaching, as long as he can speak.

Twis. See here, what should we talk any more about such a fellow? Must he do what he lists? He is a breaker of the peace.

Wom. She told him again, that he desired to live peaceably, and to follow his calling, that his family might be maintained; and, moreover, said, My Lord, I have four small children 10 that cannot help themselves, of which one is blind, and have nothing to live upon, but the charity of good people.

Hales. Hast thou four children? said Judge *Hales*; thou art but a young woman to have four children.

Wom. My Lord, said she, I am but mother-in-law to them, having not been married to him yet full two years. Indeed, I was with child when my husband was first apprehended; but being young, and unaccustomed to such things, said she, I being smayed at the news, fell into labour, and so continued for eight days, and then was delivered, but my child died. 20

Hales. Whereat, he looking very soberly on the matter, said, Alas, poor woman!

Twis. But Judge *Twisden* told her, that she made poverty her cloak; and said, moreover, that he understood I was maintained better by running up and down a preaching, than by following my calling.

Hales. What is his calling? said Judge *Hales*.

Answer. Then some of the company that stood by said, A Tinker, my Lord.

Wom. Yes, said she, and because he is a Tinker, and a 30 poor man, therefore he is despised, and cannot have justice.

Hales. Then Judge *Hales* answered, very mildly, saying, I tell thee, woman, seeing it is so, that they have taken what thy husband spake for a conviction; thou must either apply thyself to the King, or sue out his pardon, or get a writ of error.

Cbes. But when Justice *Chester* heard him give her this counsel; and especially, as she supposed, because he spoke

of a writ of error, he chafed, and seemed to be very much offended; saying, My Lord, he will preach and do what he lists.

Wom. He preacheth nothing but the Word of God, said she.

Twis. He preach the Word of God! said *Twisden*; (and withal she thought he would have struck her;) he runneth up and down, and doth harm.

Wom. No, my Lord, said she, it is not so; God hath owned
10 him, and done much good by him.

Twis. God! said he; his doctrine is the doctrine of the Devil.

Wom. My Lord, said she, when the righteous Judge shall appear, it will be known that his doctrine is not the doctrine of the Devil.

Twis. My Lord, said he, to Judge *Hales*, do not mind her, but send her away.

Hales. Then said Judge *Hales*, I am sorry, woman, that I can do thee no good; thou must do one of those three
20 things aforesaid; namely, either to apply thyself to the King, or sue out his pardon, or get a writ of error; but a writ of error will be cheapest.

Wom. At which *Chester* again seemed to be in a chafe, and put off his hat, and as she thought, scratched his head for anger. But when I saw, said she, that there was no prevailing to have my husband sent for, though I often desired them that they would send for him, that he might speak for himself, telling them, that he could give them better satisfaction than I could in what they demanded of him, with several other
30 things, which now I forget; only this I remember, that though I was somewhat timorous at my first entrance into the chamber, yet before I went out, I could not but break forth into tears, not so much because they were so hard-hearted against me and my husband, but to think what a sad account such poor creatures will have to give at the coming of the Lord, when they shall there answer for all things whatsoever they have done in the body, whether it be good or whether it be bad.

So, when I departed from them, the Book of Statute was brought, but what they said of it I know nothing at all, neither did I hear any more from them.

Some Carriages of the Adversaries of God's Truth with me at the next Assizes, which was on the 19th of the First Month, 1662.

I shall pass by what befell between these two assizes, how I had, by my Jailor, some liberty granted me, more than at the first, and how I followed my wonted course of preaching, taking all occasions that were put into my hand to visit 10 the people of God; exhorting them to be steadfast in the faith of Jesus Christ, and to take heed that they touched not the Common Prayer, &c., but to mind the Word of God, which giveth direction to Christians in every point, being able to make the man of God perfect in all things through faith in Jesus Christ, and thoroughly to furnish him unto all good works. Also, how I, having, I say, somewhat more liberty, did go to see Christians at *London*; which my enemies hearing of, were so angry, that they had almost cast my Jailor out of his place, threatening to indict him, and to do what 20 they could against him. They charged me also, that I went thither to plot and raise division, and make insurrection, which, God knows, was a slander; whereupon my liberty was more straitened than it was before: so that I must not look out of the door. Well, when the next sessions came, which was about the 10th of the eleventh month, I did expect to have been very roundly dealt withal; but they passed me by, and would not call me, so that I rested till the assizes, which was the 19th of the first month following; and when they came, because I had a desire to come before 30 the judge, I desired my jailor to put my name into the Kalender among the felons, and made friends of the Judge and High Sheriff, who promised that I should be called; so that I thought what I had done might have been effectual for the obtaining of my desire. But all was in vain; for when the assizes came, though my name was in the Kalender,

and also though both the Judge and Sheriff had promised that I should appear before them, yet the Justices and the Clerk of the peace did so work it about, that I, notwithstanding, was deferred, and might not appear; and although, I say, I do not know of all their carriages towards me, yet this I know, that the Clerk of the peace did discover himself to be one of my greatest opposers. For, first, he came to my jailor, and told him that I must not go down before the Judge, and therefore must not be put into the Kalender; 10 to whom my jailor said, that my name was in already. He bid him put me out again; my jailor told him that he could not, for he had given the Judge a Kalender with my name in it, and also the Sheriff another. At which he was very much displeased, and desired to see that Kalender that was yet in my jailor's hand; who, when he had given it him, he looked on it, and said it was a false Kalender; he also took the Kalender and blotted out my accusation, as my jailor had writ it. (Which accusation I cannot tell what it was, because it was so blotted out;) and he himself put 20 in words to this purpose: 'That *John Bunyan* was committed in prison, being lawfully convicted for upholding of unlawful meetings and conventicles,' &c. But yet, for all this, fearing that what he had done, unless he added thereto, it would not do; he first run to the Clerk of the assizes, then to the Justices, and afterwards, because he would not leave any means unattempted to hinder me, he comes again to my jailor, and tells him, that if I did go down before the Judge, and was released, he would make him pay my fees, which, he said, was due to him; and further told him, that he 30 would complain of him at the next quarter sessions for making of false Kalenders; though my jailor himself, as I afterwards learned, had put in my accusation worse than in itself it was by far. And thus was I hindered and prevented, at that time also, from appearing before the Judge, and left in prison. Farewell.

JOHN BUNYAN.

FINIS.

NOTES ON THE PILGRIM'S PROGRESS

THE FIRST PART.

The Author's Apology.

IN the poetical introduction to his allegory, Bunyan describes the origin of the work, his doubts as to its publication, and how his difficulty was increased by the varied counsel of his friends; and then proceeds to defend at considerable length his adoption of the allegorical style for the setting forth of religious truth. The pains Bunyan takes to meet and answer the objections to the character of his work evidence the distaste felt by the stricter Puritans for a form of composition so unusual in religious writing and savouring too much, it might be thought, of human ingenuity and the wisdom of this world. Bunyan evidently expected his book to be received with disfavour by his coreligionists, and can have been little prepared for the popularity it so speedily attained.

We have in this introduction—the origin of the work, spontaneous, not premeditated, vv. 1–18; when the author first began writing he did not purpose printing, vv. 19–34; when showed to his friends, some counselled its being published, some not, vv. 35–40; he determined on giving it to the world, vv. 41–60; the author defends, by sundry illustrations, the adoption of varied forms of composition to attain a good end, vv. 61–98; rebuts the charges of want of solidity, vv. 101–126; and of obscurity, vv. 127–158; he asserts his right to use metaphors, vv. 165–176; to adopt the form of dialogue, vv. 177–186; the correspondence of his style with that of Holy Scripture, vv. 187–192; and concludes by drawing out the profitableness of his book under sundry heads, vv. 193–236.

Line 2. *Thus for to write.* This reduplication of prepositions with the infinitive is now sunk into a vulgarism, but it is really a survival of an ancient form of speech found in the Bible and Shakespeare as well as in our earlier writers, e. g.

'He bigan to schake ys axe *for to* smyte anon.'

Robert of Gloucester, p. 28.

In the Authorized Version of the Bible it is of not unfrequent occurrence. The explanation of this idiom is that the preposition *se* was regarded as an essential part of the infinitive of a verb, an inseparable inflection involving no sense of purpose. To express this the preposition *se* was prefixed, the reduplication being therefore only apparent, not real.—Latham, *English Language*, ii. p. 419.

ll. 7-18. We learn from this and the following lines that the *Pilgrim's Progress* in its first idea was no more than an illustrative episode in some other work of Bunyan's, which did not assume a separate form until the allegory, followed out for the gratification of his fancy, had grown to such an extent as to threaten to 'cut out' the book on which he was engaged.

l. 38. *warser*. We have here an example of excess of expression in a double comparative. This is no real vulgarism, but an antiquated form very frequent in our early writers. It occurs repeatedly in Shakespeare, and is used even as late as Dryden, e.g.

'A dreadful quiet felt and *warser* far
Than arms, a sullen interval of war.'

Warser is not found in the Authorized Version, but we have the double comparative *lenser*: Gen. i. 16 'The *lenser* light to rule the night.'

ll. 31-32. The metaphor here is derived from spinning. In this the spinner having the wool or flax on the distaff takes hold of an end and draws it towards her, and twisting it between her finger and thumb to give it coherence, 'still as she pulls it comes,' in the form of a continuous thread.

l. 59. *falliate*, employed in an unusual sense, for to *mitigate*, to *soothe*. Its true sense is to *cleat* or *cover*. Lat. *fallium*, 'a cloak.'

l. 76. *angles*. A fishing-rod with a line and hook, from the Anglo-Saxon *angel*, a fish-hook. We find it in this sense in the Authorized Version.

l. 79. The allusion here is to the way in which fish are sometimes caught with the hand, by groping for them beneath banks, or under stones, or adroitly tickling them with the fingers. We have references to both modes in Shakespeare. We find also in Beaumont and Fletcher, *Scornful Lady*, Act. III, 'Be a baron and a bold one: leave off tickling of young heirs like trout.'

l. 89. *His Gun, his Nets, his Linetwigs, light, and bell*. The reference is to various artifices used for capturing birds. See the quotation from Burton's *Jewel for Gentrie*, London, 1614, given in Strutt's *Sports and Pastimes*, p. 34. In the sport of bird-baiting, or low-belling, which was practised on dark nights, a man carried a light before him with one hand, and rang a large bell, shaped like a cow-bell, with the other, to

frighten the game and prevent it taking flight. His companions then netted the birds as they lay on the ground. 'Limetwigs' are twigs coated with birdlime. When a bird has once settled on a lime-twig its feet are held tenaciously by the viscid birdlime, and it becomes the prey of the fowler. References to this mode of catching birds are frequent in Shakespeare, and Milton writes in *Comus* 'the very lime-twigs of his spells,' l. 646.

l. 87. *Yea, he must pipe and whistle to catch this.* The pipe-call is thus alluded to by Chaucer: 'So the bride is begyled with the merry voice of the fowler's whistle when it is closed in your nette'; *Testament of Love*, bk. ii.

l. 89. *If that a Pearl may in a Toads-head dwell.* The toad, writes Pennant, *Zoology*, iii. p. 15, 'was believed by some old writers to have a stone in its head, fraught with great virtues medical and magical. It was distinguished by the name of the reptile, and called the *Toadstone*, *Bufo stones*, &c., but all its fancied powers vanished on the discovery of its being nothing but the fossil tooth of the sea wolf, or some other flat-toothed fish not unfrequent in our island.' To distinguish counterfeits from the true toadstone a very sure and easy method was prescribed: 'Hold the stone,' writes Lupton (*Notable Things*, bk. vii), 'before a toad, that he may see it; and if it be a right and true stone the toad will leap toward it and make as though he would snatch it. He envieth so much that man should have that stone.'

l. 102. *What of that I tro?* I have adhered to Bunyan's spelling in preference to the more usual *trow*. This word, which has now dropped out of use, is found in one place in the Authorized Version in the sense of to *think, believe, suppose*: 'Doth he thank that servant because he did the things that were commanded him? I *trow* not,' Luke xvii. 9. Compare with the Anglo-Saxon *trōwian*, 'to trust,' and the German *trauen*.

l. 116. *by pins and loops.* See Exod. xxvi. 5, xxvii. 19. A misapplied ingenuity by forcing a spiritual meaning upon every minute detail of the Mosaic ritual has done injury to the cause of true scriptural symbolism.

l. 117. The allusions in this and the following line are to the Passover and various Levitical sacrifices. *By Calves*, Lev. xvi. 3, 14, 15, Heb. ix. 12, 19; *and Sheep*, Lev. i. 10, xxii. 19; *by Heifers*, Lev. xix. 2-9, Heb. ix. 13; *by Rams*, Exod. xxix. 15-32, Lev. v. 15, 16.

l. 118. *by Birds*, Lev. xiv. 4-39; *and Herbs, and by the blood of Lambs*, Exod. xii. 7, 8.

l. 146. *his Lies in Silver Shrines.* The reference is to the silver shrines made for the Ephesian Diana mentioned in Acts xix. 24. These were probably little models of the temple at Ephesus, and of the

famous statue within, the manufacture and sale of which formed a lucrative trade.

l. 147. *Swaddling-clouts*. A *clout*, originally a patch, came to signify 'a rag, or piece of linen generally.' We find it so used in Jer. xxxviii. 11, 12. *Swaddling-clouts* were the long linen bandages formerly used in England, as now in Italy, for swaddling or swathing the limbs of new-born infants. The term is used by Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, ii. 2.

l. 184. *He that taught us first to Plough*. Cf. Is. xxviii. 24, 26, 'Doth the ploughman plough all day to sow? doth he open and break the clods of his ground? . . . For his God doth instruct him to discretion, and doth teach him also.'

l. 217. *they will stick like Burs*. Any rough or prickly seed-vessel or flower-head of a plant is a *bur* or *burr*—especially the flower-head of the Bur-dock. The *New English Dictionary* says the word appears to be identical, or cognate with, the Danish *borre*, 'bur, bardock'; Swedish *borre*, 'sea-urchin'; though the word is not found in Old Norse, nor in English before the fourteenth century.

Argument.

Graceless, a dweller in the city of Destruction, fears to be overwhelmed in the overthrow of the city, p. 11; warned by Evangelist to make his escape, and directed to the Wicket Gate, p. 13; begins to run for his life, his name changed to Christian, overtaken by Obstinate and Pliable, persuades Pliable to accompany him, p. 14; they both fall into the Slough of Despond, p. 16; Pliable goes back, Christian, assisted by Help, gets out, p. 17; meets Mr. Worldly Wiseman, who directs him to Mr. Legality, pp. 18-21; alarmed at Mount Sinai; meets Evangelist again, who puts him in the right road, pp. 21-25; arrives at the Wicket Gate, knocks, and is let in by Goodwill, who directs him to the Interpreter's house, pp. 25-28; arrives there, the Interpreter shows him a picture, an unswept room, p. 29; Passion and Patience, p. 30; water and oil thrown on a fire, p. 32; the Valiant Man, p. 33; the Man in despair, pp. 33-35; the Man terrified by the dream of the last day, pp. 35, 36; Christian comes up to the Cross, loses his Burden, receives gifts from Angels, tries in vain to awaken Simple, Sloth, and Presumption, p. 37; meets with Formalist and Hypocrisy, pp. 38-40; climbs Hill Difficulty, sleeps in the Arbour and drops his roll, p. 41; meets Mistrust and Timorous running away from

the lions, pp. 41, 42; misses his Roll, returns in grief and recovers it, pp. 42, 43; reaches the Palace Beautiful, alarmed at the lions, encouraged by the porter Watchful, pp. 44, 45; examined by Prudence, Piety, and Charity, and admitted, . 45; they discourse together, and have supper, pp. 46-50; Christian sleeps in the Chamber of Peace, p. 51; is shown the study, the armoury, the antiquities, the Delectable Mountains, pp. 51, 52; is armed and dismissed, p. 53; descends into the Valley of Humiliation, fights with and overcomes Apollyon, pp. 53-57; comes to the Valley of the Shadow of Death, discouraged by the children of the Spies, p. 58; passes through the Valley, his dangers there, pp. 59-62; he passes the cave of the Giants Pope and Pagan, p. 62; overtakes Faithful, p. 63; they converse together, Faithful narrates the experiences of his journey, meets Madame Wanton, Adam the first, pp. 65-67; Moses, Discontent, p. 67; Shame, pp. 68, 69; they meet Talkative, he discourses finely, but is put to shame by Faithful's plain dealing, pp. 70-79; Evangelist meets them and warns them of the troubles they will meet with in Vanity Fair, pp. 80-82; description of Vanity Fair, pp. 82, 83; the pilgrims enter the fair, are maltreated, imprisoned, and brought to trial, pp. 83-85; their trial, pp. 85-90; they are condemned, and Faithful is burnt, p. 90; Christian escapes and goes on his way with Hopeful as a companion, p. 91; they meet By-ends, who wishes to join them, pp. 91-93; he takes up with other companions, pp. 93-97; Mr. Hold-the-world's sophistry detected, p. 97; Demas tempts them to the Hill Lucre, they refuse, but By-ends and his companions consent, pp. 98-100; Lot's Wife, pp. 100-102; the pleasant meadow and river, p. 102; they turn aside into By-Path-Meadow, Vain Confidence's end, p. 103; they are in danger of drowning, p. 104; are seized by Giant Despair and imprisoned in Doubting Castle, and cruelly treated by the Giant by the advice of his Wife Diffidence, pp. 105-108; they escape by the Key of Promise, pp. 108, 109; they reach the Delectable Mountains, are entertained by the Shepherds, pp. 109, 110; they are shown Mount Error, Mount Caution, p. 111; the by-way to Hell, p. 112; the Hill Clear, p. 113; converse with Ignorance, p. 114; Turnaway, story of the robbery of Little Faith, and conversation thereon, pp. 115-121; they are deluded by the Flatterer, and released and chastised by an Angel, pp. 121-123; they meet Atheist, p. 123;

the Enchanted Ground, Hopeful gives an account of his conversion, pp. 125-131; second conversation with Ignorance, pp. 131-137; the history of Temporary and conversation thereon, pp. 138-140; they enter the country of Beulah, p. 140; are sick of love, p. 141; come in sight of the Gate, approach the River, which they enter, p. 142; Christian nearly drowned, p. 143; they both get safely over, p. 144; they climb the Hill, attended by Angels, pp. 144-146; and are admitted to the Heavenly City, p. 147; Ignorance ferried over by Vain Hope, carried away to the bottomless pit, p. 148.

THE PILGRIM'S PROGRESS.

(THE FIRST PART.)

P. 11, l. 2. *where was a Den.* In the margin of the seventh edition Bunyan first inserted the explanatory note on the word *den*, 'the Gaol,' or, as he spelt it, 'Goal.' He thus indicates beyond question that this allegory was conceived by him when he was a prisoner in Bedford gaol. His earliest biographer, Charles Doe, states distinctly that the work was written in prison, though not published till some time after his release. The word *den* is used by him of the place of imprisonment of the pilgrims in Doubting Castle: 'Go get you down to your *den* again,' p. 108, l. 20.

l. 9. *he brake out with a lamentable cry; saying, what shall I do?* Compare with this Bunyan's description of his own state when under conviction of sin: 'Sometimes I have been so loaden with my sins that I could not tell where to rest nor what to do; yea at such times I thought it would have taken away my senses.'—*Law and Grace*.

l. 11. *In this plight.* The whole passage down to p. 12, l. 23, 'What shall I do to be saved?' formed no part of the original work, and was added in the second edition.

l. 17. *your dear friend.* The meaning of *friend* was wider in our older language than now, and embraced those united by relationship or sexual love; e.g. *Midsummer Night's Dream*, v. 1, Shakespeare makes Theseus say of Pyramus on the supposed death of Thisbe, 'This passion and the death of a dear *friend*, would go near to make a man look sad.' Cf. also *Othello*, iv. 1, v. 2; *Measure for Measure*, i. 5. The plural is still used with the sense of 'kinsfolk.' This is the only sense of the word in the Scandinavian languages; similarly in many of the High German dialects, *freund* is 'kinsman.'

P. 12, l. 4. *some frenzy distemper*. Cf. 'Goblins swift as *frenzy* thoughts.' *Troilus and Cressida*, v. 11. The idiom is a familiar one, by which substantives are transformed into adjectives by position alone. 'There is hardly anything more characteristic of the English language than this particular faculty,' writes Professor Earle (*Philology of the English Tongue*, ed. 5, p. 541).

Ibid., at bottom. The verses placed here and elsewhere (e.g. pp. 23, 25, 37, &c.) at the foot of the page are those which stand below the rude woodcuts with which the *Pilgrim's Progress* began to be illustrated after the tenth edition.

l. 13. *harsh and surly carriages to him*. 'Carriage,' still used for the deportment of the body, e.g. a person of a good carriage, formerly denoted 'conduct,' or 'behaviour,' i.e. the manner in which one carries oneself to another.

l. 17. *to condole his own misery*. So afterwards, p. 106, l. 1, the pilgrims in Doubting Castle were left by Giant Despair 'to *condole their misery*.' Till a comparatively recent time 'to condole' was always used transitively, e.g.

'I come not, Samson, to *condole* thy chances.'

Milton, *Samson Agonistes*, l. 1076.

and

'Let us *condole* the knight.'

Shakespeare, *Henry V*, ii. 1.

P. 12, l. 1. *Tophet*. From *Toph*, Heb. 'a drum,' or 'tabret,' a place in the valley of Hinnom, to the south-east of Jerusalem, which, from being defiled by idols, and polluted by the sacrifices of Baal and the fires of Moloch, acquired the symbolical sense of 'the place of abominations, the very gate and pit of hell.'

l. 2. *I am sure*. This parenthesis was omitted in the second and subsequent editions. It gives additional life to the passage.

l. 12. *Wicket-gate*. A wicket is literally 'a small thing that easily turns.' M.E. *wiket*. Old French *wiket* or *guichet*. Formed, with a French diminutive suffix, from Icel. *vik-iun*, pp. of the strong verb *vikja*, 'to move, turn, veer.'

'Till that I found a *wicket* small,

So shette that I ne might in gone.'

Chaucer, *Romaunt of the Rose*.

'And so went into the hygh strete with his penon before hym, and came to the great towre, but the gate and *wychet* was fast closed.'—Berners' translation of Froissart's *Chronicles*, edition 1812, chapter xxxvi (p. 30). The similarity of the wicket in the game of cricket to a small doorway is self-evident.

l. 36. *you will sink lower than the Grove.* The spelling of the conjunction 'then' or 'than' is very uncertain in the *Pilgrim's Progress*. In the first edition of the first part, we have almost uniformly 'then,' which is as uniformly changed into 'than' in the second edition. In the second part, 'then' is found in the earlier and later portions of the first edition, while 'than' appears in the middle. The conjunction of comparison is always 'then' in the earlier editions of the Authorized Version of the Bible. So also in Milton's *Areopagitica*: '*A wise man will make better use of an idle pamphlet, than a fool will do of sacred Scripture.*' 'Then' and 'than' were originally identical. A. S. Jones.

P. 14, l. 3. *yes, said Christian, for that was his name.* This is the first time the name of the pilgrim is mentioned. We learn from his reply to the Porter at the House Beautiful, p. 44, l. 28, that Christian was a designation adopted when he set out on his journey, his name having been previously 'Graceless.'

l. 21. *when they take a fancy by the end.* The image is from spinning, as in l. 31 of the Author's Apology for his Book, where see the note.

l. 29. *Nay, but do thou.* These words first appeared in the eighth edition. The sentence previously commenced with '*come with me.*'

P. 15, l. 32. *This is excellent.* Mark the use of 'excellent' in a way then very familiar, but now gone out of use, 'capital' having taken its place as a colloquialism. It is very frequent in Shakespeare.

l. 36. *Seraphims, and Cherubins.* Bunyan's spelling is preserved, which confounds the Hebrew plural *-im*, and the Chaldee plural *-in* (the latter of which appears in verse 4 of the *Tu Domini* in the Book of Common Prayer), and adds the English sign of the plural *s*, as if they were singular nouns. This last error is shared by our Authorized Version: 'He placed at the east of the garden of Eden *Cherubims*,' Gen. iii. 24; 'Then flew one of the *Seraphims* unto me,' Isaiah vi. 6.

P. 16, l. 25. *The name of the Slough was Dispond.* In nearly all modern editions *Dispond* is altered into *Despond*. I have adhered to Bunyan's orthography. We have similar forms in *dispirit*, *dispuke*, (*Antony and Cleopatra*, iv. 9), *disport*, *dispatch*. Compare the Italian *disperare*, *dispetto*, *dispagliare*. In the second part, *Giant Despair* appears as *Dispair*. For the spiritual meaning of this allegory see p. 17, ll. 27-31.

P. 17, l. 14. *Why did you not look for the steps?* By the steps, the marginal note informs us, are meant the promises to repenting sinners contained in the Bible, which are sufficient to bear them up above all despondency.

l. 35. *above this sixteen hundred years.* The period is not immaterial.

The first part of the *Pilgrim's Progress* was published in 1678, having been written a few years previously. The reference is to the Gospel of pardon and assurance first published by our Blessed Lord, and since continuously proclaimed by His ministers.

P. 18, l. 13. *benired to purpose*, more usually *to the purpose*; a colloquialism signifying the carrying out of the object originally intended, and then, anything done completely.

l. 24. *turned their tales*. Often printed in modern editions 'turned their tails,' a certainly much more common expression, but apparently incorrect here. The meaning seems to be that, after having laughed at Pliable till they were tired, they began to take another view, and to ridicule Christian. 'He has turned his tale' is still used in Lincolnshire, and probably in many other counties, to express the idea, 'he is contradicting his former statement.'

l. 27. The whole account of Christian's interview with Mr. Worldly Wiseman, and its consequences, was, like the conversation between By-ends and his companions, and the narrative concerning Mrs. Diffidence at Doubting Castle, a happy afterthought of Bunyan's, first appearing in the second edition.

l. 23. *having some inkling of him*. An *inkling* is a hint, an intimation, a vague and imperfect knowledge, the rumour of some intelligence. The derivation of *inkling* is uncertain. Professor Skeat suspects it to be corrupted from the Danish *ymle*, 'to murmur, mutter,' an iterative verb from *ymja*, 'to mutter, hum.'

P. 10, l. 29. *I beshrow him for his counsel*. Beshrow is here an imprecatory expression. M.E. *bi-schrēwen*, from *schrēwe*, adj. 'wicked,' with the prefix *bi*. Both the simple and compound forms are very frequent in Chaucer. In Shakespeare it occurs as a kind of mild oath. The interchange of the vowels *e* and *o* in the verb corresponds with that in *shew* and *show*; *strew* and *strow*. Mr. Craik remarks (*English of Shakespeare*, p. 141), '*Shrew*, whether the substantive or the verb, always, I believe, appears throughout the first folio (Shakespeare) with *ow* as the diphthong, instead of *ew*; and in the *Taming of the Shrew*, the word *shrew* is in various places made to rhyme with the sound of *o*, so that there can be little doubt that its common pronunciation in Shakespeare's time was *shrow*. It is the reverse of what appears to have happened in the case of the word which probably was formerly pronounced *shew* (as it is still often spelled), but now always *show*.'

P. 21, l. 21. *He stood still, and he wot not what to do*. He knew not what to do. 'Wot' is a good old Bible word, which we have in Gen. xxi. 26, 'I wot not who hath done this thing'; Phil. i. 22, 'What

I shall choose, I *wot* not.' *Wot* is the first person, present indicative of M. E. *witen*, to 'know, to wit.'

P. 23, l. 16. *the Town of Morality*. By a printer's error we have 'the men of *Mortality*,' in all the editions till the eighth.

P. 24, l. 16. *the Bond-woman that now is, and is in bondage with her children*; a misquotation from Gal. iv. 25: 'This Agar . . . answereth to Jerusalem which now is, and (Agar, not Jerusalem) is in bondage with her (Agar's own) children.' The subject of the clause 'that now is,' being a different one from that of the clause 'is in bondage.'

P. 25, l. 21. *after he had kist him*. For *kist* the second edition strangely reads *kept*, which gives no sense.

l. 28. *So in process of time*. The first edition has *By this time*. The alteration was made to bring the text into harmony with the long narrative of Mr. Worldly Wiseman and the second meeting with Evangelist which ends here.

l. 30. Cf. Spenser, *Faery Queene*, Bk. I, c. x. 5.

P. 27, l. 12. *Truly, said Christian*. From here to *in no wise are cast out*, p. 28, l. 1, was first inserted in the second edition.

l. 14. *there is no betterment 'twixt him and myself*. A confusion of idiom. Bunyan's meaning is, 'I am just as bad as he is; there is no betterness on my side.' It will be remarked that 'betterment' is an improperly formed word, a Latin termination being affixed to an English root.

l. 18. *he would have had you a sought for ease*. The *a* in *a sought* stands for *have*. The full sentence would run 'he would have had you (persuaded you) to have sought.' This use of *a* for *have* is of very frequent occurrence in the second part. Natural attrition has very generally reduced *have* to *a* in the speech of the common people. This process may be traced very early. In writers of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, *have* was weakened to *ha*; which was still further reduced to *a*.

l. 31. *in the midst of my dumps*. 'To be in the dumps' was not always, as now, a ludicrous term for melancholy, fixed sadness. We find it used in serious prose, as 'Edwine thus perplexed with troubled thoughts in the dead of the night, sate solitary under a tree *in dumps* musing what was best to be done,' Speed, *Saxon Kings*, Bk. vii, c. 9, § 8; and 'Some of our poore familye bee fallen into suche *dumps* that scantelye can anye suche counfort as my poore witte can geue them anye thyng aswage theyr sorowe,' Sir Thomas More, *Works*, p. 1140. According to the *New English Dictionary* the derivation is obscure. Professor Skeat believes it to be allied to *damp*. The word was em-

played in a derived sense for a melancholy strain of music, either vocal or instrumental, or even a poetical composition :

'To their instruments

Tune a deploring *dump*.'

Two Gentlemen of Verona, iii. 2.

'He loves nothing but an Italian *dump*

Or a French brawl (a kind of dance).'

Honour out of Breath, 1607.

Nares' *Glossary* (*sub voce*) mentions an Elegy entitled 'A *Dump* upon the Death of the most noble Henrie Earle of Pembroke.'

P. 28, l. 10. *many ways butt down upon this*. To *butt down upon* is to end in, to issue into (of a road, or path). Partly from *butt*, adoption of French *but*, a goal, a shooting-target, and partly aphetic from *abut*.

P. 29, l. 14. *The Man whose Picture this is, is one of a thousand*. This portrait of a faithful minister of Christ has been very reasonably supposed to have been drawn from John Gifford, once a major in the royal army, and a man of most depraved life, but afterwards minister to the Baptist congregation at Bedford of which Bunyan became a member, and to whom he looked up with affectionate reverence as his spiritual father.

l. 15. *travel in birth with Children*. The word when used in the sense of suffering labour, toil and pain, is now always spelt *travail*, *travel* being restricted to the labour endured in journeying. This distinction is modern. The old spelling is preserved in one place in the A.V., Lam. iii. 5 'He hath . . . compassed me with gall and *travel*.' In Num. xx. 14 the printers have changed 'travail' into 'travel' without any authority.

P. 30, l. 34. *The Governor of them*—their guardian or tutor. Cf. Gal. iv. 12 'The heir as long as he is a child . . . is under tutors and *governors* until the time appointed of the father.'

l. 37. *Then I saw that one came to Passion, and brought him a Bag of Treasure, and poured it down at his feet, &c.* Coleridge remarks, 'One of the not many instances of faulty allegory in the *Pilgrim's Progress*; that is, it is no allegory. The beholding "but a while" and the change into "nothing but rags" is not legitimately imaginable. A longer time and more interlinks are requisite. It is a hybrid compost of usual images and generalized words. . . . Yet perhaps these very defects are practically excellences in relation to the writer and readers of the *Pilgrim's Progress*.'—*Literary Remains*, iii. 402.

P. 32, l. 13. *This fire is the work of Grace*. 'This is beautiful.'—Coleridge, u. s. p. 403. Compare Bunyan's description of his own experiences: 'Then hath the Tempter come upon me also with such dis-

couragements as these—You are very hot for mercy, but I will cool you; this frame shall not last always. Many have been as hot as you for a spurt, but I have quenched their zeal.'—*Grace Abounding*, § 110, p. 327, l. 38.

P. 33, l. 1. *and his Inkhorn before him*. 'Inkhorn' is a Bible word. In Ezekiel ix. 2, 3, 11, we read of 'a man clothed in linen with a writer's inkhorn by his side.' It is the recognized designation for an 'ink pot' or 'ink glass,' and occurs abundantly in our early writers.

l. 5. *in a maze*. The first edition has 'in a muse.' *Maze* is mental confusion, stupefaction. *M. E. mdse*, 'bewilderment'; *mdsen*, 'to maze, to make or become dizzy.' Professor Skeat says it is of Scandinavian origin; cf. Norweg. *mase-st* (where *-st* is reflexive), 'to lose one's senses and begin to dream.'

l. 28. *a Man in an Iron Cage*. According to Mr. Offer, Introduction to the *Pilgrim's Progress*, p. 72, the man in the iron cage was intended for one John Child, an apostate, or at least some features of the description were drawn from him. Child was born in Bedford in 1638, and became a minister. For fear of persecution he fell away, and afterwards being visited with awful compunctions of conscience, in a fit of desperation he destroyed himself, October 15, 1684. See the *Relation of the Life and Death of John Child*, 1734. The *Relation of the Fearful State of Francis Spira*, a book which we know to have been terribly familiar to Bunyan (*Grace Abounding*, § 163, p. 343), doubtless contributed some details to this awful picture. Bunyan in his *Barren Fig Tree*, p. 202, alludes to the case of Spira almost in the same words as here.

P. 34, l. 15. *ask him, said the Interpreter*. This is followed in the first edition by 'Nay, said Christian, pray Sir do you'; upon which the Interpreter becomes the interrogator. This was changed in the second edition.

P. 35, l. 17. *and saw the Clouds rack at an unusual rate*. The verb to *rack* is familiar in our sixteenth century writers for the motion of clouds when driven by the wind.

'The clouds *rack* clear before the sun.'

Ben Jonson, *Underw.* vi. 448.

'Stay, clouds, ye *rack* too fast.'

Beaumont and Fletcher, *Four Plays in One*.

The substantive *rack* means cloudy vapour, mist. Cf. Icel. *rek*, 'drift, motion, a thing drifted'; *reka*, 'to drive.' The substantive *reek*, which also means mist, vapour, smoke, is to be traced to *M. E. rek*, *A. S. rēc*, and is connected with the idea of dimness.

l. 20. We see from Bunyan's words how well qualified he was to

describe terrifying dreams from his own experience. 'Even in my childhood the Lord did scare and affright me with fearful dreams and terrify me with dreadful visions. I should be greatly afflicted and troubled with the thoughts of the Day of Judgment, and that both night and day, and should tremble at the thoughts of the fearful torments of hell fire.'—*Grace Abounding*, §§ 5, 6, p. 298.

P. 38, l. 9. *Every Fat must stand upon his own bottom.* A proverbial saying, signifying, 'Everybody must look to themselves,' 'You mind your business, and we will mind ours.' A *fat* is now spelt *vat*, and signifies a vessel of a large size to contain liquids. It is found in the A.V., Joel ii. 24, 'The *fats* shall overflow with wine and oil'; and iii. 13, 'The press is full, the *fats* overflow.' The word comes to us from the A.S. *fat*, 'vessel, that which contains.'

l. 33. *Trespass.* This word is now usually employed for passing a fence or boundary, and entering on land which is the property of another, as in the familiar notice, 'Any person *trespassing* on this land will be prosecuted.' This meaning is the original one, from the Old French *trespasser*, to 'pass beyond,' Germ. *übertreten*, A.S. *ofer-stæppan*, answering both in derivation and meaning to 'transgress.' The wider signification is now antiquated. Of this we have repeated instances in the A.V. and Prayer Book, c.g. 'Forgive us our *trespasses*, as we forgive them that *trespass* against us'; 1 Sam. xxv. 28 'Forgive the *trespass* of thine handmaid'; Matt. xviii. 15 'If thy brother shall *trespass* against thee.'

P. 39, l. 8. *And besides, said they, if we get into the way, what's matter which way we get in?* Coleridge remarks here, 'The allegory is clearly defective, inasmuch as "the way" represents two diverse meanings: (1) the outward profession of Christianity, and (2) the inward and spiritual grace. In this instance (and it is, I believe, the only one in the work) the allegory degenerates into a sort of pun, that is, in the two senses of the word "way," and thus supplies Formalist and Hypocrisy with an argument which Christian cannot fairly answer, or rather one to which Bunyan could not make his Christian return the proper answer without contradicting the allegoric image. For the obvious and only proper answer is: "No! you are not in the same 'way' with me though you are walking in the same road."'

l. 9. *What's matter which way we get in?* In modern language we should introduce the definite article, 'what is *the* matter,' or employ the verb instead of the substantive, 'what *matters* it?'

l. 27. *we tru.* See the note on l. 102 of the poetical introduction.

P. 40, l. 18. *the Hill Difficulty.* This hill was anonymous in the first edition. The name, which has become a household word, is one

of the many improvements introduced by Bunyan in the second edition.

II. 19, 34. *there was two other ways.* The syntax here is scarcely logical, yet it is in accordance with historical usage. 'When a verb occurs as the *second word* in a sentence, and is preceded by such words as *it, that, what, where, here,* and the like, such a verb is usually employed in the *singular* number, irrespective of the number of the substantive which follows it. Examples of such usage are common, from the ninth century onwards.'—Professor Skeat, *Notes and Queries*, 9th s. v. p. 360. It is noteworthy that in *The Merchant of Venice* Shakespeare uses a *plural* verb followed by a *singular* substantive after *there*: 'There are a sort of men, whose visages do cream and mantle, like a standing pool.'—Act I. sc. 1. l. 88.

P. 41, l. 4. *a wide field full of dark Mountains.* 'Field' here means a stretch of open country, not fenced pasture, or agricultural land. The image is indefinite, but we must bear in mind that Bunyan was a native of Bedfordshire, and had never seen mountains in his life, and had little idea of what they were like. His scenery, when it went beyond the objects familiar to him in his native county, is all drawn from the Bible. The passage before us is borrowed from Jer. xiii. 16 'before your feet stumble upon the dark mountains.'

l. 10. *a pleasant Arber.* *Arber*, originally (*h*)*erber*, Anglo-French (*h*)*erber*, Old French (*h*)*erbier*, once meant a place covered with grass or herbage, a garden of herbs. *Erber* became *arber* by a change that was frequent with *-er* before a consonant, and in the end took the forms *arber* and *arbour*. The final acceptance of these forms was probably brought about, to some degree, by the natural tendency to connect it with the Latin *arbor*, 'tree,' or the Italian *arborata*, 'bower.'

Ibid. marginal note. *A ward of grace.* A somewhat obscure expression. 'Ward' is used in the sense of a place of protection, and the phrase signifies a situation where God's grace guards His people. In Sturt's 'correct edition' it is metamorphosed into 'a word of grace.'

l. 21. Cf. Quarles, *Emblems*, bk. I, Emblem 7:

'Is this a time to steep
Thy brains in wasteful slumbers? Up and rouse
Thy leaden spirit: is this a time to sleep?
Adjourn thy sanguine dreams: awake, arise,
Call in thy thoughts.'

l. 25. *running against him awain.* 'With all their strength'; as we now say 'with might and main.' *Awain* is derived from the preposition *a*, a worn-down proclitic form of the Anglo-Saxon *an*, *on*, meaning *in*, *on*, *at*, and *main*, Anglo-Saxon *magn*, 'strength, power.' According

to the *New English Dictionary* the word was apparently formed as late as the sixteenth century, after the model of such words as *afoot*, &c.

l. 27. *what's the matter you run the wrong way?* This is sometimes mistakenly read as two sentences, the first interrogatory, the second declaratory. As it stands there is an ellipsis of 'that,' 'what is the matter *that* you run,' &c. Cf. John ix. 17.

P. 42, l. 20. *his foolish Fact*. A *fact*, from the Lat. *factum* (*facere*), signifies anything done, a deed, an act, in which sense it is used by Shakespeare; e.g. 'This *fact* was infamous,' 1 *Hen. IV*, iv. 1; 'A fouler *fact* did never traitor,' 2 *Hen. VI*, i. 2; and Milton:

'He who most excels in *fact* of arms.'

Paradise Lost, bk. ii. l. 124.

We have a survival of this meaning in *scal*, which is derived from *factum* through Old French.

l. 27. *if happily he might find his Roll*. *Happily* looks like a mistake for *haply*, 'by hap, or chance'; but all early editions are consistent in the present reading.

P. 43, l. 10. *under the Settle*. Under the *bench*. In A.S. we find *sell*, a seat. In the A. V. it is only found in Ezek. xliii. 14, &c., where it seems used for a kind of ledge or flat portion of the altar towards the base.

l. 12. *catch'd up*. An example of a weak preterite where the strong preterite *caught* has established itself. 'Caught' is not found in the A. V., but is not very infrequent in Shakespeare, though 'caught' is much more usual. It is also found in Milton, and in the classic pages of the *Spectator* (No. 524).

l. 13. *when he had gotten his Roll again*. 'Gotten' is the old form of the past participle of the verb *get*, which, though now nearly obsolete in the simple verb, is preserved in the compounds 'forgotten,' 'begotten,' 'ill-gotten.' It is the only form of the past participle known in the A. V., 'got' occurring only as the preterite.

l. 25. *doleful Creatures*. Borrowed by Danyan from Isa. xliii. 21 'Their houses shall be full of all *doleful* creatures,' where the Hebrew *achim* means 'groaners.'

l. 30. *how should I shift them?* 'Shift,' from the M.F. *schiften*, to 'divide, change, shift, remove'; A.S. *scifstan*, to 'divide.'

l. 33. *his unhappy miscarriage*. 'Miscarriage,' which is now much limited in sense, being chiefly used as a medical and judicial term, 'miscarriage of justice,' had formerly a much wider meaning, for anything that was carried or conveyed wrongly or unsuccessfully, and so any failure in duty. Thus South, quoted by Richardson, speaks of

'a failure or *miscarriage*' in resisting the assaults of Satan, and Bishop Porteus enforces the duty of 'reflecting on our past *miscarriages*.'

L 34, a *stately Palace* . . . the name of which was *Beautiful*. The reception of Christian at the Palace Beautiful appears to typify in Bunyan's allegory the admission of a new convert into a Christian Church, 'the house built for the entertainment of pilgrims.' The references to Church-life and to the Sacraments in Bunyan's allegory are very few and indistinct, but there can be no reasonable doubt that the sojourn at the 'Palace Beautiful' was intended by him to signify Christian's incorporation into a Church of believers, and his partaking of the Eucharist with them. Bunyan's 'Palace called Beautiful' furnishes sufficient points of resemblance to Spenser's 'House of Holiness' to warrant the belief, supported by several other passages, that he must have been acquainted with the *Faery Queene*.

P. 45, l. 11. We are here again reminded of Spenser, *Faery Queene*, bk. i, c. x. 12.

P. 45, l. 34. The whole of this conversation between Charity and Christian relative to his wife and children, as far as p. 50, l. 8, was added in the second edition.

P. 49, l. 37. *I denied myself of sins . . . in which they saw no evil*. This was altered in the third and subsequent editions to '*things* in which they saw no evil.' The text gives the original reading of the second edition, in which this passage first occurs.

P. 50, l. 30. *He had stript himself of his glory that he might do this for the Poor*. The reference is to 2 Cor. viii. 9 and Phil. ii. 7.

P. 51, l. 11. The records of the Palace Beautiful, by which of course the Holy Scriptures are intended, may be compared with the 'Documents' of Spenser's 'House of Holiness,' *Faery Queene*, bk. i, c. x. 19, 20.

P. 53, ll. 1, 2. *Sword, Shield, Helmet, Breast-plate, All Prayer, and Shoes that would not wear out*. See St. Paul's catalogue of the Christian armour, Eph. vi. 13-17, 1 Thess. v. 8 'The sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God'—'the shield of faith'—'the helmet of the hope of salvation'—'the breastplate of righteousness'—'the feet shod with the preparation of the gospel of peace'; also Deut. xxxiii. 25 'Thy shoes shall be iron and brass.'

ll. 8-15. Refer for Moses' rod to Exod. iv. 2-4, 17; vii. 10, 17, &c.; for Jael, Judges iv. 21; Gideon, Ib. vii. 16-22; Shamgar, Ib. iii. 31; Samson, Ib. xv. 15; David, 1 Sam. xvii. 49, 50; the Man of Sin, 2 Thess. ii. 3-8.

l. 22. *the delectable mountains*. This, like the Hill Difficulty, the Valley of Humiliation, Doubting Castle, is one of the happy expressions

with which Bunyan has enriched our language. No earlier example of its use has been pointed out. Solomon's Song presents a slight resemblance in 'the mountain of myrrh and the hill of frankincense,' iv. 6. 'Delectable' = 'alluring, enticing, delightful,' though now of infrequent use, except as an avowed archaism, and only once found in the A.V., 'their *delectable* things shall not profit,' Isa. xlv. 9, is by no means rare in our earlier literature.

'I wol not long hold you in fable
Of all this gardin *dilectable*.'

Chaucer, *Romaunt of the Rose*.

P. 53, l. 1. *what was of proof*. This phrase, denoting what had been proved by a severe test and had stood the trial, is not unusual in Shakespeare: e.g. 'his coat is *of proof*,' 2 *Hen. VI*, iv. 2; 'targe *of proof*,' *Cymbeline*, v. 5; 'passages *of proof*,' *Hamlet*, iv. 7. 'Proof' is derived through Middle-English, French, and Late Latin from the Latin *probare*, to 'test.'

l. 28. *a loaf of Bread, a bottle of Wine, and a cluster of Raisins*. The Pilgrim's provision is borrowed from the O. T. Cf. 1 Sam. vi. 19, 1 Chron. xii. 40, 2 Sam. xvi. 1 'Two hundred loaves of bread, and an hundred bunches of raisins, and an hundred of summer fruits, and a bottle of wine.'

l. 33. *his name is Apollyon*. Rev. ix. 11 'The angel of the bottomless pit, whose name in the Hebrew tongue is Abaddon, but in the Greek tongue hath his name Apollyon.' 'Ἀπολλύων, Gr. = 'Destroyer,' identified with *Abaddon* = 'Destruction,' personified as the prince of the infernal regions.

P. 54, l. 9-11. The features of this description of Apollyon are, as is usual with Bunyan, borrowed from the Bible. Rev. xiii. 2 'His feet were as the feet of a bear, and his mouth as the mouth of a lion'; and Job xli. 15 (of leviathan, a favourite type of Satan) 'His scales are his pride, shut up together as with a close seal.' 'Feet like a bear' was first added in the second edition. With Bunyan's description of Apollyon we may compare Spenser's description of the Dragon, *Fairy Queene*, bk. i. c. xi. 8-10.

l. 31. *I have let myself to another*. We should now prefer to say, 'I have *hired* myself.' To *let* is commonly used of things rather than persons among people of education.

P. 55, l. 5. *in my nonage*, i.e. in my minority, while still under age. So Shakespeare, *Richard III*, ii. 3:

'That in his *nonage* council under him,
No doubt, shall then and till then govern well.'

We have similar compounds in 'nonsense,' 'nonsuit.' Chaucer uses 'non-power' for impotence.

l. 19. *out of our hands*. So in the first edition. In the second and subsequent editions 'our' is altered into 'their,' which has no antecedent subject.

P. 56, l. 13. *the King's Highway*. Borrowed from Num. xxi. 27. In English law this is defined as '*Vis Regis*, a free passage for the king's subjects, on which account it is called the king's highway, though the freehold of the soil belongs to the lord of the manor, or the owner of the land' (2 Inst. 705).

l. 15. *straddled*. In the first edition we have the less correct but more forcible provincial form 'strodled.' According to Professor Skeat, the word was formerly *striddle*; frequentative of *stride*.

P. 57, l. 14. *brast*. The reading of the first edition is retained, altered into 'burst' in the second and later editions. *Brast* is an archaic and dialectic preterite of the verb to *burst*. It is sometimes written *burst*. It is of constant occurrence in Old English; e.g. 'Judas . . . was hanged and *to brast* the myddil and alle hise entrails weren shed abroad.'—Wiclif, *Acts* i. 18. 'The sun withdrew his lyght, the erth trembled and the rocks *braste* in sonder.'—Joyce, *Exposition of Daniel*, c. 5.

l. 31. *Then there came to him an hand, with some of the leaves of the Tree of Life*. Compare with Spenser, *Faery Queene*, bk. i. c. xi. 48.

P. 58, l. 5. *no other affront from Apollyon*. 'Affront' here means hostile encounter. It is derived through the French from *affrontā-re*, *adfrontā-re* from *ad-frontem*, 'to the face.' Both the verb and noun, now rarely employed except in relation to an insult or offence, were formerly used for any hostile encounter or assault. Thus Spenser, when Doessa's beast is encountered by the Squire 'sword in hand':

'The proud Ducessa, full of wrathfull spight
And fiers disdaine, to be *affronted* so.'

Faery Queene, bk. i. c. viii. 13.

l. 18. *Children of them that brought up an evil report of the good Land*. The reference is to the spies sent out by Moses to survey the Land of Promise, who discouraged the Israelites by the report they brought back of the gigantic stature and warlike character of its inhabitants.—Num. xiii, xiv.

l. 35. *Hobgoblins, Satyrs, and Dragons of the Pit. Illob-goblin*, 'a mischievous imp or sprite,' is formed from Hob, a familiar by-form of Rob = Robert, and goblin; F. *gobelin*. *Satyrs* is borrowed from the Bible, Isa. xiii. 21 'Owls shall dwell there and *satyrs* shall dance

there.' Cf. Isa. xxxiv. 14, where the Hebrew word signifies 'hairy ones,' and probably refers to 'baboons' or 'apes.'

P. 59, l. 13. *a very dangerous Quag*. *Quag* (which we find more usually in the compound *quagmire*) and *quake* are kindred words. *Quag* is derived from the tremulous character of the ground when trodden on. M. E. *cwædken*, A. S. *cwacian*, to quake. Allied to *quick*.

P. 60, l. 34. *I will fear none ill*. A quotation from Thomas Sternhold's version of Ps. xxlii:

'Yea though I walke in vaile of death
Yet will I fear none ill.'

P. 62, l. 6. We may compare with Pope and Pagan's cave Spenser's description of the Cave of Despair, *Faery Queene*, bk. I. c. ix. 33.

P. 63, l. 4. *the Avenger of Blood is behind me*. The reference is to the Jewish ordinance of the cities of refuge. 'Whoso killeth his neighbour ignorantly, whom he hated not in time past . . . he shall flee unto one of those cities, and live: lest the avenger of the blood pursue the slayer, while his heart is hot, and overtake him, because the way is long, and slay him.' Deut. xix. 4-6.

l. 7. *ouerrun him*, outrun him.

l. 27. *presently*, immediately, at the time then present. Cf. 1 Sam. ii. 16, 'Let them not fail to burn the fat *presently*'; Matt. xxvi. 53, 'He shall *presently* give Me more than twelve legions of angels.'

P. 64, l. 12. *set him on work*, to work.

l. 22. *he leered away*. To *leer* (from the A. S. *læzer*, the cheek, the face, the mien) is to look with a downcast eye; and so to slink away like one ashamed.

P. 65, l. 3. The reference is to Joseph's temptation by Potiphar's wife, Gen. xxxix.

l. 17. *I tro*. I am sure.

l. 29. *Adam the first*. An allegorical representation of the carnal nature of man, unrenewed by divine grace; 'The old man which is corrupt according to the lusts of deceit.' Eph. iv. 22.

P. 66, l. 13. *a slave*. 'Whosoever committeth sin is the slave of sin.' John viii. 34.

l. 19. *a deadly twitch back*. This is intended by Bunyan to represent the strength of the natural desires of the heart, and the severity of the struggle between them and the renewed affections of the mind—'the flesh lusting against the Spirit, and the Spirit against the flesh.' Gal. v. 17.

l. 29. The passage that follows represents under an allegorical dress the strictness of the law of Moses, convincing of sin but making no

promise for its forgiveness, and the pardon of all offences through the sacrifice of the death of Christ.

1. 33. *strook*, struck. *Strook*, or *stroke*, is an old form of the preterite of to *strike*.

'And fiercely tooke his trenchand blade in hand
With which he *stroke* so furious and so fell.'

Faery Queene, bk. I. c. xi. 24.

P. 67, l. 3. *the holes in his hands and his side*.

'Hath He marks to lead me to Him,
If He be my Guide?'

"In His feet and hands are wound-prints,
And His side."

Dr. J. M'Neale, from the Greek.

P. 68, l. 16. *hectoring liberty*. 'Hector the brave son of Priam appears to have gained by tradition the undeserved character of a vain-glorious blusterer, a bully, a braggadocio, whence to *hector* comes to mean to bully, or bluster.' Richardson. 'But when huffing and *hectoring* must be looked upon as the only badges of gallantry and courage, what can recommend the exercise of patience against the disgrace of it?' South, *Sermons*, vol. x. serm. 4.

P. 70, l. 5. *Bravadous*, boasts, brags, blusters. French *bravade*, Italian *bravata*. The masculine suffix *ado*, adopted from the Spanish or Portuguese, has not infrequently been used in English to refashion substantives which should end in *-ade* (adopted from the French *ade*, which is feminine = Sp. *-ada*, It. *-ata*). Ambuscade, for instance, was generally *ambuscado* in the seventeenth century.

P. 73, l. 1. *notwithstanding his fine tongue, he is but a sorry fellow*. Cf. Bunyan's description of the Pharisee: 'He goes on boldly, fears nothing, but trusteth to himself that his state is good: he hath his mouth full of many fine things, whereby he strokes himself over the head, and calls himself one of God's white boys that like the Prodigal's brother never transgressed.' *Pharisee and Publican*.

1. 3. *a very pretty man*. In Anglo-Saxon *prættig* meant cunning, guileful. Hence it came to signify clever, pleasing in appearance, although it is still often used in a depreciatory sense.

1. 16. *his crown*, his head. 'Thou hadst little wit in thy bald *crown*, when thou gavest thy golden one away,' says the Fool to Lear (*King Lear*, i. 4).

1. 29. *the brute in his kind*. In the earlier editions up to the tenth this is spelt *bruit*. By a curious typographical error all Sturt's 'very correct editions' have 'the brewer.'

1. 35. *he is such a churl*. The Anglo-Saxon *ceorl* (cf. the Icelandic

herl, a man) usually meant a free man of the lowest class. Thus it came to signify boor. This depreciatory sense was acquired very early. We find in Chaucer:

'For vilains sinful dedes make a *churl*.'

Wife of Bath's Tale, v. 6740.

'So high a *cherlish* wretchednesse

Ageyns fraunchise and alle gentillesse.'

Franklyn's Tale, v. 11,827.

l. 36. *so unreasonable with his Servants*. Talkative neglected the counsel of the Son of Sirach, 'Be not a lion in thy house, nor frantic among thy servants.' Ecclus. iv. 30.

P. 74, l. 30. *The Soul of Religion is the practick part*, i.e. the practical as opposed to the theoretical. Thus Shakespeare speaks of 'the *practick* part of life,' *Henry V*, i. 1. Spenser uses the word in a bad sense for tricky, cf.

'In cunning sleights and *practick* knavery.'

Faery Queene, bk. II. c. iii. 9.

P. 75, l. 8. *This brings to my mind that of Moses*. Bunyan, though he was probably quite ignorant of it, had good patristic precedent for this quaint spiritualizing of the Levitical ordinance. Theodore and other Fathers quoted by Bishop Wordsworth (*Commentary* in loc.), hold 'that in this combination of parting the hoof and chewing the cud the union of the moral and spiritual qualities is supposed to be symbolized, viz. sure walking in the way of God's law, and meditation upon it. . . . Spiritual meditation and holy living are both necessary.' Bunyan's fancy was evidently caught by this allegorizing. He introduces it several times, especially *Grace Abounding*, § 71, p. 316.

l. 20. *sounding Brass, and Tinkling Cymbals*. 'Just thus it is with him who has gifts but wants grace. Shall I be proud because I am sounding brass? Is it so much to be a fiddle? Hath not the least creature that hath life in it more of God than these?' *Grace Abounding*, § 297-300, p. 386.

P. 76, l. 27. *You lie at the catch*, i.e. You are lying in wait to catch me in my words and trip me up. 'This is doing things with a high hand against the Lord our God, and a taking Him as it were *at the catch*. This is, as we say among men, to seek to put a trick upon God.' *Jerusalem Sinner Saved*.

P. 79, l. 14. *some peevish, or melancholy Man*. *Peevish* now only stands for fretful, petulant. Its old meaning was wider—capricious, selfwilled, harsh, intractable. 'Impracticable' would seem to be its meaning here. 'A peevish fellow is one who has some reason in himself for being out of humour, or has a natural incapacity for delight,

and therefore disturbs all who are happier than himself.' *Spectator*, No. 438.

l. 33. *do stumble the World*, i.e. cause the world to stumble; are a scandal to it in the true sense of the word, viz. a stumbling-block which trips one up. Richardson quotes 'This stumbles me' from Beaumont and Fletcher. 'Stumble' was altered into 'puzzle'—a much feebler word—in the second and later editions.

P. 80, l. 11. All from this point to p. 82, l. 10, containing the interview with Evangelist, was first added in the second edition. Evangelist's address to the pilgrims is drawn from Bunyan's own bitter experience of persecution.

l. 19. *peace be to your helpers*. An adaptation of the words of Amasai to David, 1 Chron. xii. 18.

P. 81, l. 36. *will strain hard but they will kill you*. *But* is here used to mean without. M. E. *būten*, *būt*, *būt*, outside, without, except, unless, but. A. S. *būton*, *būtan*, *būte*, outside, without, free from, except. The sentence is elliptical, 'They will strain hard and not be content without they kill you.'

P. 82, l. 14. *Vanity-Fair*. 'Vanity Fair is the City of Destruction in its gala dress, in its most seductive and sensual allurements. It is this world in miniature with its various temptations.' Cheever.

l. 21. *five thousand years ago*. *Ago*, *agon*, and *agone* are all forms of the past participle of the old English verb *age*, to go, pass away. According to the *New English Dictionary*, the full form *agone* had been contracted to *ago* in some dialects long before this usage became accepted, in end of the fourteenth century. *Agone* is now an archaic, poetic, and dialectic variant.

l. 23. *Beelzebub, Apollyon, and Legion*. Bunyan evidently wrote in ignorance of the meaning of 'Legion,' and supposed it to be one of the Scriptural appellations of the Evil One. The reference is to Mark v. 9, Luke viii. 30.

l. 26. Bunyan's description of Vanity Fair in this and the following paragraphs gives a true picture, hating the allegorical details, of the larger fairs of England, such as Bartholomew Fair in Smithfield, and Sturbridge Fair near Cambridge. These, especially the latter, for the time they lasted assumed the form and dimensions of a town, laid out in streets and rows, and divided into quarters devoted to the sale of goods of the same kind. The particulars gleaned by Hone in his delightful 'Everyday Book' enable us to see how true Bunyan's description was to life.

P. 83, l. 20. *this lusty Fair*. 'Lusty' = joyous, mirthful, pleasant; A. S. *lust*, pleasure, desire; Germ. *lustig*, merry, jovial.

P. 84, l. 7. *Bedlams*, i.e. madmen. 'Bedlam' is contracted and corrupted from Bethlehem. The priory of St. Mary of Bethlehem outside Moorgate in London, having been incorporated as a royal foundation for the reception of lunatics in 1547, 'Bethlem,' or 'Bedlam,' came to be used first for any receptacle for mad people, and then for the persons themselves. It is not unfrequent in Shakespeare; sometimes as a substantive, more frequently as an adjective.

Ib. *Outlandish-men*, foreigners, as in Nehem. xii. 26, 'outlandish women.' 'Outland' is the land external to, separate from, one's own country, a foreign land; and 'outlandish' is anything belonging to such a land, foreign. It was in constant use in this sense in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Compare with the German *Ausland*, a foreign country; *Ausländer*, a foreigner; *ausländisch*, foreign, strange. *Outlandish* has now the meaning of strange, unusual, odd, among people who prefer vigorous home-spun English to refined diction.

l. 10. *the Language of Canaan*. See Isa. xix. 18.

l. 12. *they seemed Barbarians each to the other*, borrowed by Bunyan from 1 Cor. xiv. 11, 'If I know not the meaning of the voice, I shall be unto him that speaketh a barbarian, and he that speaketh shall be a barbarian unto me.' It is not probable that Bunyan had any knowledge of the true classical sense of 'barbarian,' one who speaks a different language from another.

l. 21. *the carriages of the men*, their behaviour. See note, p. 12, l. 13.

l. 32. *So the men were brought to examination*. This also is true to life. At every large fair there was a court of justice called the 'Piepowder Court,' where a ready justice was administered for offences committed in the fair. This court took its name from the *Pieds Poudreux*, or *Dustyst*, as the pedlars and travelling merchants were called; its original purpose being to settle any disputes that might arise between them and their customers.

P. 85, l. 1. *to let them in their journey*, to hinder them; from the A. S. *lytan*, to hinder, to make late. Cf. 'Sore let and hindered,' Collect for Fourth Sunday in Advent; 'I was let hitherto,' Rom. i. 3; 'I'll make a ghost of him that lets me,' *Hamlet*, i. 4.

l. 18. *let fly at them*, abused them. Cf. Ps. lxiv. 3, 'Who shoot out their arrows, even bitter words.'

l. 25. *Pillory*, a mode of punishment by public exposure, very familiar to our forefathers, but happily unknown to the present generation, having been finally abolished by Act of Parliament in 1837. It consisted of a wooden screen of two or more horizontal sliding boards, raised on a platform several feet from the ground. In the boards there were circular holes through which the culprit's head and hands were passed,

he himself standing behind it, his face being exposed in front of it, a mark for the pelting of the mob.

P. 88, ll. 10-19. First introduced in the second edition.

L. 15. *the best on't*, the best of it. *On* was formerly, as it still is in the speech of the lower orders, used for *of*, especially in rapid speech. Cf. 'He shall hear on't,' Ben Jonson, *Every Man in his Humour*; Abbott, *Shakespearian Grammar*, § 90.

L. 21. *in order to their Condemnation*. We are reminded here of the fate of the Abbot of Glastonbury. 'Among loose papers of Cromwell still remaining there is a memorandum in his own hand for "the trial and execution" of the Abbot of Glastonbury.' Froude, *History of England*, iii. 246, ed. 1870.

P. 87, l. 8. *Pickthank* = a flatterer, one who by base arts seeks to curry favour, or to *pick* occasions for getting *thanks*. Shakespeare couples together 'smiling *pickthinks* and base newsmongers,' *Henry IV*, iii. 2. Nares quotes from Fairfax:

'With pleasing tales his lord's vain ears he fed,
A flatterer, a *pickthank*, and a liar.'

P. 88, l. 27. 'Nothing can be more masterly than the satire contained in this trial. The judge, the witnesses, the jury, are portraits sketched from the life, and finished every one of them in quick, concise, and graphic touches. The ready testimony of Envy is especially characteristic. Rather than that anything should be wanting that might be necessary to dispatch the prisoners he would enlarge his testimony against them to any requisite degree. The language and deportment of the judge are a copy to the life of some of the infamous judges under Charles II and James II, especially Judge Jeffreys. The report of the trial of Algernon Sidney contains the abusive language of the Judge against Faithful almost word for word.' Cheever. The trial of Richard Baxter, and Jeffreys' behaviour to him, affords another almost exact parallel. Macaulay, *Hist. of England*, vol. i. p. 492.

L. 28. *Thou Runagate*. Middle English *renegat*, a renegade, one who has denied his faith, which by a mistake as to its derivation came to be used in the sense of a runaway (cf. Pa. lxxviii. 6, Prayer Book). 'I wyll not playe the runagate and goe enerywhere but I returne agayne to my father.' Udal's *Erasmus*, quoted in 'Bible Word-book.' The word comes through Old French and Low Latin, from the Latin *re*, again, and *negare*, to deny.

P. 89, l. 10. *profits to Eternal life*. Improperly altered to 'profitable' in the eighth edition, and continued in subsequent editions.

L. 13. *Rabblement*. A badly-formed word, *rubble* being Teutonic

(Old Dutch *rabbelen*, provincial German *rabbeln*, to chatter), and *mens* Latin.

P. 90, l. 15. *A sorry Scrub*. Scrub, A. S. *scrob*, a shrub, is used for the low undergrowth of woods, only profitable for firing, and thence it comes to be employed for anything small, mean, and contemptible. In Shakespeare we have 'a little scrubbed boy,' *Merchant of Venice*, v. 1.

l. 31. *a Chariot and a couple of Horses*. Borrowed from the ascension of Elijah, 2 Kings ii. 11.

P. 91, l. 2. *respit*, properly a time for reviewing a matter (tempus respiciendi); O. F. *respit*, a respite. Original sense regard, respect had to a suit on the part of a judge; Latin *respectum*, acc. of *respectus*, a looking at.

l. 27. *By-ends*. The name has become so naturalized that its meaning is almost overlooked. 'By-end' is an object lying aside from the main one; a secret, selfish, purpose. 'Are there not many *by-ends* in duties?' Flavel, *Touchstone of Sincerity*, p. 36.

l. 34. *what may I call you?* i. e. what is your name? In many parts of England, e. g. Lincolnshire, 'they call him *M.* or *N.*' is always used for 'his name is *M.* or *N.*' This use is old. In the *New English Dictionary* we find '1330 R. Brunne *Chron.* 43 Ane erle in þe North Uctred men *kalde*.'

P. 92, ll. 7-11. First introduced in the second edition.

l. 21. *to carry it*, to behave. Cf. 'carriage,' for 'behaviour,' p. 12, l. 13.

P. 93, l. 7. *to jump in my judgment with*, to agree with, to fall in with. 'In some sort it *jumps* with my humour,' Shakespeare, 1 *Henry IV*, i. 2. 'I will not *jump* with common spirits,' *Merchant of Venice*, ii. 9.

l. 32. The whole of this interview between By-ends and his companions, which contains some of Bunyan's most striking flashes of genius, was first inserted in the third edition.

l. 36. *a very low Congee*, a bow; originally a bow at taking one's leave. Derived through Middle English and Old French from Latin *commendatus*, leave to pass; hence leave of absence.

P. 94, l. 5. *cousenage*, cheating, more usually spelt *cosenage*. Its derivation is still uncertain. It has generally been compared with French *cousiner*, to play the parasite under pretext of cousinship. 'Christ was to be a light to the Gentiles; and there is no *cosenage* in the night, no fallacy in the day.' South, vol. xi. serm. 3.

l. 30. *at a clap*, at one stroke, without any delay; as the saying is, 'A word and a blow.' 'What! fifty of my followers *at a clap*.' Shakespeare, *King Lear*, i. 4.

P. 96, l. 12. *dissenting*, there is no variation in the reading till the ninth edition, when we find 'dismeriting.' Neither yields a satisfactory sense. 'Disembling' would seem the more appropriate word.

P. 97, l. 19. *a stalking horse*, a real or artificial horse employed by fowlers to conceal the person of the sportsman, and enable him to get within shot of his game. We have in the old play of *The Malcontent*, 'A fellow that makes religion his *stalking horse*.'

l. 21. *Witches*. Not formerly restricted to female practisers of magical arts. In the next page, p. 98, l. 3, we have 'Simon the *witch*,' i.e. Simon Magus, Acts viii. 19. 'He is a *witch* asking counsel at soothsayers.' Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, quoted by Trench, *Select Glossary*. 'Witch' has been ignorantly altered in Southey's and other modern editions into 'wizard.' In some English counties it is still both masculine and feminine.

l. 37. *Judas the Devil*. From John vi. 70, 71, 'One of you is a devil. He spake of Judas Iscariot.'

P. 98, l. 24. The interpolated passage ends here.

l. 26. *a delicate Plain*. 'Delicate' had a much wider meaning formerly than now, signifying generally that which was pleasant or agreeable.

P. 99, l. 1. *I will shew you a thing*. Borrowed from 1 Sam. xiv. 12.

l. 24. *Christian roundly answered*. Marg. note, *Christian roundeth up Demas*. 'Round' is used both as an adjective and a verb for free, frank speaking, without reserve or disguise. Thus in Shakespeare, 'Your reproof is something too *round*,' *Henry V*, iv. 1.

l. 27. *one of his Majesty's Judges*, i.e. the apostle Paul, who however does not explicitly condemn Demas, but simply states the fact of his having left him from worldly motives. 'Demas hath forsaken me, having loved this present world,' 2 Tim. iv. 10.

P. 100, l. 17. All this narrative concerning the pillar of Lot's wife, concluding p. 102, l. 9, was first introduced in the second edition.

l. 21. *a Woman transformed into the shape of a Pillar*. It was the common belief in the Middle Ages that the pillar of Lot's wife was still to be seen. 'At the right side of the Dead Sea the wife of Lot still stands in likeness of a salt stone, because she looked behind her when the cities sunk into hell.' Sir John Maundeville's *Travels*, ch. ix.

l. 29. *Remember Lot's Wife*. 'I have fancy'd that Lot's wife, when turned into a pillar of salt, stood yet looking over her shoulder, or else with her face towards Sodom. As the Judgement caught her, so it bound her, and left her a monument of God's anger to after generations.' Bunyan, *Barren Fig Tree*, p. 102.

P. 101, l. 32. *cut Purses*. The purse was anciently worn hanging at

the girdle, and it was easy to cut it open in a crowd and steal its contents.

'By her girdle hung a purse of leather
Tasselled with silk and perlid with latoun'
(*latten*, a mixed metal, bronze). Chaucer, *Miller's Tale*.

P. 102, l. 21. *Surfaits*. Old French *surfait*, excess; orig. past partic. of *surfaire*, to augment, from Lat. *super*, above; *facere*, to make.

l. 22. *curiously beautified*. Through Old French from Lat. *curiosus*, 'full of care or pains.' The word has been used with many shades of meaning. In Ps. cxxxix. 15 we have 'curiously wrought in the lowest parts of the earth' applied to the contexture of the human body. Aldis Wright, *Bible Word-book*.

l. 34. *soon sell all*. Cf. Matt. xiii. 44, the parable of the treasure hid in the field.

P. 103, l. 5. *by reason of their Travels*. It is difficult to say whether Bunyan meant *travail*, pain, or *travel*, journey; both well suit the passage. The two words were not formerly distinguished in spelling.

l. 10. *By-Path-Meadow*. 'An American would never understand the passage about Christian and Hopeful going astray along a by-path into the grounds of Giant Despair, from there being no stiles or by-paths in our country.' Hawthorne, *English Note Book*, i. 147.

l. 17. *That's not like*, likely, probable. So Jerem. xxxviii. 9, 'He is *like* to die for hunger.'

P. 104, l. 12. *eminent danger*. This has been changed unwarrantably in the later editions into 'imminent,' which is the more usual epithet.

P. 105, l. 16. *a very dark Dungeon, nasty and stinking*. It is to be feared that Bunyan drew from his own painful experiences in his description of the pilgrims' prison. A century later, when the philanthropic Howard began his tour of inspection, our prisons corresponded too nearly to it.

l. 24. The account of the imprisonment of the pilgrims in Doubting Castle was very brief in the first edition, the whole account of Mrs. Diffidence and her counsels, and the Giant's treatment of his prisoners, being wanting, up to p. 108, l. 33. As in the case of Worldly Wiseman and By-ends' travelling companions, we are indebted to Bunyan's second thoughts for one of the most graphic parts of his work, bearing the stamp of original genius. This part of the narrative has all the particularity of a diary.

P. 108, l. 1. *condole their misery*. See p. 12, l. 17, note p. 437.

l. 17. *sun-shine weather*, sunshiny, to which it was altered in the ninth and subsequent editions; the words were omitted, probably by accident, in the second edition. 'Sunshine' is used adjectively in

Shakespeare, 'Send him many years of sunshine days,' *Richard II*, iv. 1; and again, 'A sunshine day,' 3 *Henry VI*, ii. 1. In Milton, too, we find 'sunshine holiday,' *Comus*, l. 959; *L'Allegro*, l. 98.

l. 21. With this whole passage in which suicide is urged by Despair, we may compare Spenser's stanzas, bk. I. ch. ix. 36, 41, 50.

l. 34. *to kill body and soul at once*. Bunyan writes of the jailer at Philippi, On Justification, 'Even now, while the earthquake shook the prison, he had murder in his heart: murder, I say, and that of a high nature, even to have killed his own body and soul at once.'

P. 107, l. 25. *a Swoond*. *Swoond* is merely another form of *swoon*. M.E. *swōgen*, to sough (as the wind), to swoon; *swōgne*, a swoon. A.S. *swōgan*, to sigh (as the wind), of which the pp. *geswōgen* has the meaning of 'in a swoon.' The addition of *d* after an *æ* preceded by a strong accent is of frequent occurrence in English. See Skeat's *Principles of English Etymology*, vol. I, p. 370. Compare with *sound*, a noise, in which the final *d* is also added. M.E. *sovn*, F. *son*, L. *sonum*, acc. of *sonus*, a sound.

P. 108, l. 21. *to your Den again*. For the use of *den* for a prison, see note on p. 436. In the *Holy War*, when describing the several regiments of the 'army of terrible doubters' sent against Mansoul, Bunyan speaks of 'Captain Damnation' being over the 'Grace doubters.' 'His were the red colours: Mr. No-life bore them: his scutcheon was the *Black Den*.'

P. 109, l. 7. Much of the description of the opening of the doors and gates of Doubting Castle is borrowed from the history of St. Peter's deliverance from prison, Acts xii. 10.

l. 21. *they consented to erect*, agreed to erect. 'Consent' has only in modern times acquired the meaning of half unwilling acquiescence it now sometimes bears.

l. 31. *Lest heedlessness, &c.* This line was omitted in the tenth and subsequent editions by a typographical error, this and the following line beginning with 'Lest.'

P. 111, l. 4. *to be acquainted with us*. The reading of the first edition is *to acquaint with us*. In the *N. E. D.* we find '1774 H. Walpole *Corresp.* (1837) III. 111 Though the Choiseuls will not *acquaint* with you.'

l. 5. *the good*. Used as a substantive, as in 1 Chron. xxix. 3, 'of mine own proper *good*.'

l. 15, margin. *They are shewn wonders*. There can be no reasonable doubt from the text of the narrative, 'Shall we *shew* these pilgrims some wonders,' that *shewn* is the correct reading, although all editions up to 1727 read '*sure* wonders,' which gives no appropriate sense.

Mr. Offor upholds *sure*, remarking, 'The author's meaning appears to be that those wonders were real, undoubted, sure.'

P. 112, l. 10. *did put out their eyes*. 'O the unthought-of imaginations, frights, fears, and terrors, that are effected by a thorough application of guilt yielding to desperation. This is the man that hath his dwelling among the tombs with the dead, that is always crying out and cutting himself with stones.' *Grace Abounding*, § 184.

l. 22. *a rumbling noise*. 'Lumbring' in the first edition, a word we find in the same connexion in the Second Part, p. 177, l. 25, 'when he heard your *lumbring* noise.'

l. 28. *Alexander*, the coppersmith, who 'greatly withstood' St. Paul's 'words.' 2 Tim. iv. 14, 15.

P. 118, l. 9, margin. *The Shepherds Perspective glass*. First added in the second edition. A 'perspective glass' is a glass to see through (*perspicere*), either a telescope or a microscope; here, of course, the former is intended. Milton uses 'prospective glass' in *A Vacation Exercise in the Collage*, l. 71 (*prospicere*, to look forward).

P. 114, l. 27. *out-go him*, outstrip, walk faster than another. Mark vi. 33, 'the people *outwent* them.' 'He *outgoes* the very heart of kindness.' Shakespeare, *Timon of Athens*, i. 1.

P. 115, l. 6. *carrying of him back*. The full construction would be 'a-carrying,' i.e. in the carrying of him back. 'Of' naturally followed a verbal noun. In many cases we should call the verbal noun a participle, and the *of* has become unintelligible to us.

l. 32. *white as a Clout*. See note on p. 434, to line 147 of the poetical introduction.

l. 38. *strook*, a once common form of the preterite *struck*. So Dryden:

'He like a patient angler ere he *strook*,
Would let them play awhile upon the hook.'

Astraea Redux, 171.

P. 116, l. 8. *to scrabble on his way*. 'Scrabble' has been unwarrantably replaced by *scramble* in some later editions, *scramble* being the nasalized form of the word. They are frequentatives of *scrape*, prov. E. *scrapple*, frequent. of *scrape*. Bunyan uses it again in his *Grace Abounding*, § 334, p. 395. In the only place where it occurs in the A. V. 'he (David) *scrabbled* on the doors of the gate,' 1 Sam. xxi. 13, it stands for 'scribbled' or 'scrawled.'

l. 14. *his spending Money*. Bunyan develops the distinction drawn here between Littlefaith's 'spending money' and his 'jewels' in his *Grace Abounding*, p. 367, § 232.

P. 117, l. 8. *poor heart*, once a common expression for an object of

commiseration, as *dear heart* was, and *sweetheart* is still, for an object of affection.

l. 18. *upon whose head is the Shell*, and p. 118, l. 29. 'To talk like one who has got the shell on his head' is still used as a proverbial expression for one who speaks without understanding a matter. Lapwings and some other birds 'of the brisker sort' are said to be able to move about the moment they are hatched, before they have got themselves free from the shell. Shakespeare uses the simile,

'This lapwing runs away with the shell on his head.'

Hamlet, v. 2.

And Bishop Hall, 'These lapwings that go from under the wing of their dam with their shell on their heads run wild.' *Sayings concerning Travellers*, No. vii.

Th. margin. Christian snibbeth his fellow. *Snib, snob* are other forms of the modern *snub*, to check, to put down, to rebuke. M. E. *snibben, snubben*, to reprove. The word is Scandinavian in origin, the root-idea being to *snip* off the end of a thing; allied to the obsolete English *snesp*, to pinch, to nip. We have it in Chaucer, one of the merits of whose Parson it is that—

'But it were eny persone obstinat,
What so he were, of high or lowe estat,
Him wolde he *snaybs* sharply for the nones.'

Prologus, 521-523.

l. 28. *why art thou so tart*, sharp, from the A. S. *teart*, severe, tart: 'very tart vinegar,' Sir T. Elyot; 'a little tart against the Wiclivites,' Fuller; 'the tart reply,' Cowper. (Richardson.)

l. 34. *that Caitiff did.* *Caitiff* now denotes one of a base abject disposition. Originally it meant no more than 'captive.' Old Northern French *caitif, caitive*, captive, weak, miserable; Latin *captivum*, captive. Aristarchus, St. Paul's fellow-prisoner, appears in Wiclif's version as 'Aristarch myne evene caytyf' (*concaptivus meus*, Vulg.), and we find in Holland's *Plutarch*, 'Avarice doth tyrannize over her *caitiff-slaves*.'

P. 118, l. 37. *have stood one brush with them.* A brush is a short but smart encounter. Cf. 'the brushes of the war,' *Troilus and Cressida*, v. 3.

P. 119, l. 9. *Journeyman-Thieves*, not master thieves robbing on their own account, but serving under another. A 'journeyman,' Fr. *journalier*, is one who works by the day. *Journeywork* is work done by the day, not by the job.

l. 25. *I tve.* I believe, I warrant you. See note, p. 433, l. 102.

P. 120, l. 1. *throw up his heels*, trip up his heels. A metaphor taken

from wrestling. 'Young Orlando that *tripped* the wrestler's heel,' *As You Like It*, iii. 2.

l. 5. *he should say*, was reported to have said, like the Germ. *sollen*, to be reported.

l. 8. *Heman*, the psalmist, grandson of the prophet Samuel, to whom Psalm lxxxviii. is ascribed. The printers, not being acquainted with the name, altered it to the more familiar *Haman* in the third and later editions. More recent editors, Southey not excepted, somewhat startled at finding *Haman* transformed into one of the champions of faith, have with much ingenuity and more audacity substituted the name of Mordecai, to whom the description is hardly more appropriate. The change occurs in an edition by D. Bunyan, 1768.

l. 15. *their King is at their Whistle*, ready to come to their aid when they whistle for him.

P. 122, l. 2. *a man black of flesh*. This incident of the Flatterer leading the Pilgrims out of the way is one of the most obscure in the whole book. The editors generally have not troubled themselves to suggest any rational interpretation of it. The variation in their spiritual interpretations show how difficult they have found it.

l. 12. *within the compass of a Net*, so as to be surrounded by a net.

P. 124, l. 27. *I will round you in the ears*. *Roun*, or *round*, to whisper. M. E. *rounen*, to whisper, A. S. *rūnian*, to whisper; *rūn*, mystery, secret.

P. 125, l. 13. *take a Nap*. M. E. *nappen*, to have a nap, a sleep; A. S. *Anappian*, to doze, to sleep.

l. 35. The account of Hopeful's conversion given in the subsequent conversation may be safely regarded as a description of Bunyan's own spiritual experience. It may be instructively compared with the narrative in *Grace Abounding*.

P. 128, l. 16. *I still see sin, new sin*. Compare the words of Bishop Beveridge, *Private Thoughts on Religion*, article iv.

l. 19. *sin enough in one duty*. The word 'duty' has been altered into 'day' by modern editors, without the slightest warrant. Bunyan's meaning is that religious duties may become occasions of sin.

P. 129, l. 19. *Jesus his inditing*. An example of the false theory of the origin of the 's' of the possessive case, which was accepted as certainly true from Ben Jonson to Addison's time, viz. that it was a contraction from *his*. Familiar instances of this mistaken construction are, 'Jesus Christ *his* sake,' Prayer for all conditions of men; 'Asa *his* heart,' 1 Kings xv. 14.

P. 130, l. 29. *My grace is sufficient for thee*. We are here reading Bunyan's own spiritual experience. See *Grace Abounding*, § 206, p. 359.

P. 132, l. 3. *I take my pleasure in walking alone.* It is impossible to read this conversation between 'Young Ignorance' and the Pilgrims without being strongly reminded of Shakespeare's 'Slender' in the *Merry Wives of Windsor*, i. 1, 'I pray you, sir, walk in. *Slend.* I had rather walk here, I thank you,' &c. &c.

l. 36. *Ask my Fellow if I be a Thief*, a proverbial expression, derived from one member of a company of thieves appealing to another to testify to his honesty.

P. 133, l. 28. *our thoughts of our hearts and ways.* The first *our* has been most unwarrantably altered in the modern editions into *the*, to the perversion of the sense.

P. 134, l. 34. *a Fantastical Faith*, a faith whose seat is merely in the fantasy, a fancy.

P. 135, l. 17. *tolerate us*, allow us, permit us to live. We should now write '*tolerate* our living as we list.'

l. 18. *as we list*, as we like, please. M. E. *lāsten*, *listen*, be pleasing; (with refl. dat.) delight, be pleased; A. S. *lystan*, to desire, used impersonally. 'The wind bloweth where it *listeth*,' John iii. 8.

l. 38. *so many whimsies*, capricious fancies.

P. 136, l. 28. *It pities me much.* 'There are many more impersonal verbs in early English than in Elizabethan, and in Elizabethan than in modern English.' Abbott, *Shakespearean Grammar*, § 147. 'Thy servants think upon her stones: it *pitieth* them to see her in the dust,' Pa. cii. 14, Prayer Book. Compare 'It repenteth me,' Gen. vi. 7, 1 Sam. xv. 11; 'It grieved him at his heart,' Gen. vi. 6. 'It pities me' may still be heard in Lincolnshire.

P. 140, l. 36. *Country of Beulah.* 'Thou shalt be called Hephzi-bah (my delight is in her) and thy land Beulah (married),' Is. lxii. 4.

P. 141, l. 2. *the voice of the Turtle*, the gentle cooing of the turtle-dove. Cant. ii. 12.

P. 142, l. 12. *they addressed themselves to go up*, prepared themselves, made themselves ready to go up. Fr. *adresser*, late pop. L. *addirectis-re*, to make straight, or right, from *directum*, straight, right.

l. 34. *were much stounded.* Altered in the second and later editions into *stun'd*. It is another form of *astounded*, from *astound*, which is a phonetic development of M. E. *astoned*, *astun'd*, astounded, stunned; connected probably with the O. F. *estone-r*, to stun, amaze.

l. 38. *Enoch and Elijah*, both of whom it will be remembered were translated, for God 'took' Enoch, and Elijah 'went up by a whirlwind into heaven.'

P. 144, l. 17. *the enemy was after that as still as a stone*, &c. Borrowed from the Song of Moses, Exod. xv. 16.

l. 37. Dr. Arnold's admiration of this closing scene was very great. 'I cannot trust myself,' he used to say, 'to read the account of Christian going up to the Celestial Gate after his passage through the river of death.' *Stanley's Life*, vol. ii, p. 67, note.

P. 148, l. 13. From this place to *be expressed*, l. 5, p. 147, was first inserted in the second edition.

P. 147, l. 1. *the Bells therein to ring*. It will be remembered that in his youth Bunyan was much devoted to bell-ringing, the music of which continued greatly to delight him after he had given up the practice as 'vain.' *Grace Abounding*, § 53, p. 305.

THE SECOND PART.

Poetical Introduction.

The second part of the *Pilgrim's Progress* was published in 1684, six years after the publication of the first part, in 1678. In the poetical introduction entitled 'The author's way of sending forth his second part of the Pilgrim,' Bunyan, after stating the nature and purpose of the work, vv. 1-36, proceeds to answer various objections that had been, or were likely to be, brought against its publication. These objections are four in number. To the first objection to its authenticity, based on the number of counterfeits that had appeared, vv. 37-42, Bunyan replies that he is alive to testify personally to it, vv. 43-60. Objection 2 is grounded on the unpopularity of the *Pilgrim* in some quarters, vv. 61-64; and is answered by reference to its widespread popularity, among all ranks and ages, and to the foreign countries in which it had gained extensive circulation, vv. 65-118. The third objection, to its obscurity, vv. 119-122, is met by the assertion that its imagery is generally clear to the spiritually-minded, and that the dark sayings in the first would be explained in the second part, vv. 123-148. To the fourth objection, to the allegorical method of the work, vv. 149-152, Bunyan can only answer that tastes differ, and that some like what others loathe, vv. 153-177. The introduction concludes with a poetical description of the *dramatis personae*, vv. 177-232, and a prayer that a blessing may rest upon it, vv. 233-240.

P. 154, l. 16. *my firstling*. The former part of the *Pilgrim's Progress*; Bunyan's first literary offspring.

ll. 20, 21. *some . . . that counterfeit the Pilgrim*. It is evident from this objection and Bunyan's answer, ll. 27-32, that the great popularity of the first part of the *Pilgrim's Progress*, together with the hint given at the end of the verses with which it is concluded, p. 149, l. 22, that he

might be led to continue the allegory, tempted some literary impostors to publish supposititious continuations under the name of Bunyan and the title of his work. From Bunyan's words these counterfeits appear to have been rather numerous. According to Mr. Offor, however, all published before the appearance of the second part have entirely disappeared, with the exception of one bearing date 1683, printed 'for Thomas Malthus at the Sun in the Poultry,' under the title of 'The Second Part of the Pilgrims Progress.' Mr. Offor calls it 'a poor and spiritless copy of the inimitable First Part.'

P. 155, l. 3. *In naughty-wise*, in a bad, scandalous fashion. 'Wise' is the A. S. *wisa*, a way, method, a fashion. Cognate with *guise*. O. F. *guise*, way, manner; O. H. G. *wisa*, Germ. *weise*. 'Likewise,' now employed as a synonym for 'also,' means 'in like manner,' and is always used in that sense in the A. V.; 'unless ye repent ye shall likewise perish,' i. e. perish in the same manner, Luke xiii. 3. We have 'loving-wise,' p. 198, l. 3, and *ib.* l. 15, 'wise' and 'guise' end consecutive lines.

l. 5. *things unwarrantable*, for the genuineness of which there is no warrant or guarantee.

l. 15 ff. Within the six years since the publication of the first part the marvellous popularity of the book had caused it to be translated into French and Dutch, and widely circulated in those countries as well as in Scotland and Ireland, and in the American Colonies or 'New England.'

l. 29. The reference here is to the handsome bindings conferred on the book in America.

P. 156, l. 7. An allusion to the popular proverb 'a lark's leg is worth more than a kite's body.'

P. 157, l. 7. *One's fancie Chackle*. Chackle is to laugh giddily, a word in imitation of the sound of laughter.

l. 8. Gen. xxix. 10, 11, 'It came to pass, when Jacob saw Rachel the daughter of Laban his mother's brother, and the sheep of Laban . . . that Jacob kissed Rachel and lifted up his voice and wept.'

l. 28. The promise is here held out that the allegories of the First Part will be interpreted in the Second. This promise can hardly be said to be fulfilled.

P. 158, l. 3. *in all loving-wise*, in a loving manner. See note to p. 155, l. 3.

l. 8 ff. These lines remind us of Shakespeare's—

'Some men there are love not a gaping pig;
Some, that are mad if they behold a cat;
And others, when the bagpipe sings 't the nose,
Cannot contain.'
Merchant of Venice, iv. 1.

l. 21. *then thee or me*, more grammatically 'than thou or I. Bunyan uses the homely vernacular. For 'then' for 'than,' see note given on p. 438, l. 36. ll. 36, 37. Cf. Matt. xxi. 15, 16.

P. 159, l. 1. *old Honest*, p. 229, l. 1. l. 7. *Master Fearing*, p. 231 l. 8. l. 13. *Master Feeblemind*, p. 248, l. 19. l. 19. *Master Ready-to-halt*, p. 251, l. 35. l. 23. *one could Sing, the other Dance* p. 263, l. 10. l. 25. *Master Valiant-for-the-truth*, p. 269, l. 27 l. 29. *Great-Heart*, p. 262, l. 3. l. 31. *Despondencie . . . Much afraid*, p. 262, l. 32.

THE PILGRIM'S PROGRESS.

(THE SECOND PART.)

Argument.

Introduction, p. 161; Mr. Sagacity enters into converse with the Dreamer, p. 162; commences the relation of the pilgrimage of Christiana and her sons, p. 163; Christiana's self-reproach, her dream, the ill-favoured ones, p. 164; Secret's visit, p. 166; Christiana resolves to set out, visit of her two neighbours, Timorous and Mercy, pp. 167-169; Mrs. Timorous' talk with her neighbours, p. 170; Christiana and Mercy start, p. 171; reach the Slough of Despond, p. 173; Mr. Sagacity leaves the Dreamer, p. 174; the Wicket-gate, pp. 174-177; the Dog, p. 178; the Boys eat of the enemy's fruit, the ill-favoured ones, p. 179; the Reliever, p. 180; they reach the Interpreter's house, p. 182; the Muck-rake, p. 184; the Spider, p. 185; the Hen and Chickens, p. 186; the Slaughter-house, the Garden, the Robin, p. 187; the Rotten Tree, p. 189; they start for the House Beautiful under the conduct of Great-heart, p. 193; the Sepulchre, *ibid.*; Simple, Sloth and Presumption hanged, p. 197; Hill Difficulty, pp. 198-202; Giant Grim is slain, p. 203; they are received at the Palace Beautiful, p. 204; the Boys are catechized, pp. 207-210; Mercy courted by Mr. Briak, p. 210; Matthew sick of the gripes, cured by Mr. Skill, p. 212; they are shewn the rarities, p. 216; Great-heart returns to them, and they start, p. 217; Valley of Humiliation, the Shepherd Boy's Song, pp. 219-223; Valley of Shadow of Death, pp. 223-226; Giant Maul attacks them and is slain by Great-heart, pp. 226-228; Old Father Honest, p. 229; Mr. Fearing, pp. 231-236; Mr. Selfwill, pp. 237-239; arrive at Gaius' house, p. 240; Matthew

is betrothed to Mercy, p. 242; the Supper, p. 243; Giant Slaygood assaulted and slain, p. 247; Feeblemind rescued, p. 248; Matthew is married to Mercy, and James to Phoebe, p. 250; Mr. Ready-to-halt, p. 251; they reach Vanity Fair, p. 253; entertained by Mnason, p. 254; conversation before supper, pp. 255-257; marriages of Samuel and Joseph, p. 257; the Monster, p. 258; they set forward again, p. 259; reach the river, p. 260; Doubting Castle demolished and Despondency and Much-afraid rescued, p. 261; the Dance, p. 263; they arrive at the Delectable Mountains, p. 264; the Looking-glass, p. 267; Turn-away, p. 269; Valiant-for-Truth beset with thieves, pp. 267-274; the Enchanted Ground, p. 275; the Arbor, p. 276; Heedless and Too-bold, p. 277; Standfast—his story, pp. 279-282; the land of Beulah, p. 282; Christiana crosses the river, her parting words, pp. 283-285; Mr. Ready-to-halt and Mr. Feeble-mind summoned, p. 286; Mr. Despondency and Much-afraid sent for, p. 287; Mr. Honest and Mr. Valiant cross, p. 288; Mr. Standfast's last words, pp. 289-290.

P. 161, l. 18. *having taken up my Lodgings in a Wood about a mile off the place.* This is ordinarily supposed to refer to the village of Elstow, which is about a mile from Bedford, in the jail of which town the first part was written. But there is no evidence that on his release Bunyan returned to his native place. Mr. Offor says, 'he raised his family in an humble cottage at Bedford.'

P. 162, l. 2. *I was as if,* it seemed to me that.

l. 23. *our Country rings of him.* This paragraph testifies to the extraordinary popularity the first part had attained.

P. 163, l. 10. *his Prince . . . will shortly come into these parts,* i. e. at the Day of Judgement.

l. 15. This and the next marginal note were added to the edition of 1687.

P. 164, l. 7. *being we are . . . going . . . together.* 'Since we are going together.' The full form is 'it being the case that,' &c., the participle used absolutely. Bishop Pearson, as a rule, employs this form in his *Exposition of the Creed*, e.g. '*being* they are certainly contained in the Scriptures'; '*being* God is of universal knowledge.'

P. 165, l. 10. *the Light of Light.* Altered after Bunyan's death into 'the Light of Life.'

l. 13. *Wo worth the day;* an exclamation of sorrow, meaning 'woe

P. 176, l. 28. *they were greatly gladded*. 'To glad' is an old verb, of which 'to rejoice' has now taken the place. A.S. *gladian*, to be glad, to make glad. Wiclif has in the *Magnificat*, 'My spiryt hath gladded in God myn helthe.'

P. 177, l. 10. *what was written over the Gate*. The inscription was 'Knock, and it shall be opened unto you,' p. 25, l. 29.

l. 28 margin. *loud and restless praises*. This marginal note was first added in 1687. 'Praises' is probably a printer's error for 'prayers.'

P. 179, l. 24. *did plash them*. Beat them to bring down the fruit, or, it may be, bend them down. The old English word 'plash' was ignorantly altered in 1687 and later editions, to 'pluck.' 'To plash' is used in Lincolnshire and elsewhere for to trim, bend down and intertwine the stems, or boughs, of hedges and trees. *Plasch*, and *plash* with this meaning (M. E. *plēchen*), come from O. F. *placier* or *plassier*, later *plasser*, to plait, or weave together, young branches.

P. 180, l. 5. *to shift them*, to get rid of them.

l. 17. *assay*, attempt, endeavour.

P. 181, l. 11. *being ye knew*, since ye knew. See note to p. 164. l. 7.

P. 183, l. 9 ff. In the first part the door is opened by the Interpreter himself, and we hear of no other member of his household holding any intercourse with Christian. Now we find the house occupied by a large company, to whom the pilgrims are introduced, and the door is opened by a maid-servant. It is not easy to decide whether these changes were intended to be significant, or not.

P. 184, l. 30. *a man . . . with a Muck-rake in his hand*, a rake for scraping up mire and dirt.

'Let not thy nobler thoughts be always raking
The world's base Dunghill.'

Quarles' *Emblems*, II. 2.

P. 185, l. 29. *an ugly Spider*. See Bunyan's *Divine Emblems*, No. xviii:

'Sinner. What black, what ugly crawling thing art thou?

Spider. I am a spider.

Sinner. A spider, ay, also a filthy creature.

Spider. Not filthy as thyself in name or features,' &c.

P. 188, l. 29. *him that soweth Cockle*. The 'cockle' or 'corn-cockle' is *Lycnis* (or *Agrastemma*) *Githago*, but the word is sometimes used for other corn-weeds. A.S. *coccul*, *coccul*, corn-cockle, darnel, tares.

P. 189, l. 28. These questions addressed to Christiana and afterwards

P. 176, l. 28. *they were greatly gladded*. 'To glad' is an old verb, of which 'to rejoice' has now taken the place. A.S. *gladian*, to be glad, to make glad. Wiclif has in the *Magnificat*, 'My spiryt hath gladded in God myn helthe.'

P. 177, l. 10. *what was written over the Gate*. The inscription was 'Knock, and it shall be opened unto you,' p. 25, l. 29.

l. 28 margin. *loud and restless praises*. This marginal note was first added in 1687. 'Praises' is probably a printer's error for 'prayers.'

P. 179, l. 24. *did plash them*. Beat them to bring down the fruit, or, it may be, bend them down. The old English word 'plash' was ignorantly altered in 1687 and later editions, to 'pluck.' 'To plash' is used in Lincolnshire and elsewhere for to trim, bend down and intertwine the stems, or boughs, of hedges and trees. *Pleach*, and *plash* with this meaning (M.E. *plēchen*), come from O.F. *plecier* or *plessier*, later *plesser*, to plait, or weave together, young branches.

P. 180, l. 5. *to shift them*, to get rid of them.

l. 17. *assay*, attempt, endeavour.

P. 181, l. 11. *being ye knew*, since ye knew. See note to p. 164, l. 7.

P. 183, l. 9 ff. In the first part the door is opened by the Interpreter himself, and we hear of no other member of his household holding any intercourse with Christian. Now we find the house occupied by a large company, to whom the pilgrims are introduced, and the door is opened by a maid-servant. It is not easy to decide whether these changes were intended to be significant, or not.

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P. 189, l. 28. These questions addressed to Christiana and afterwards

P. 201, l. 1. *a to-side*, a mixed compound, combining *a side*, i. e. on side, and *to one side*.

P. 202, l. 22. *to back the Lions*, to support, encourage them; literally, to stand at their back and urge them on.

l. 24. *Grim, or Bloody-man*. If by the Palace Beautiful we are to understand a Christian Church, and by the lions the dangers which in Bunyan's days must be encountered by those who desired to join themselves to such a body, we cannot be wrong in interpreting the savage beasts themselves of the various laws and proclamations against Nonconformity, and the other forms of persecution under which Bunyan himself so severely suffered, and the giant who 'backed the lions' of the civil power by which those laws were put in execution. When Faithful passed the lions were asleep; i. e. there was a short suspension of the persecution of the Nonconformists. When the second party of pilgrims passed, 'by reason of the fierceness of the Lions, and the grim carriage of him that did back them, the way had lain much unoccupied, and was almost all grown over with grass'; i. e. the laws against Nonconformity had been so strictly enforced by judges and local justices, that few had had the courage to unite themselves to those churches. Mr. Offor thinks that the killing of Giant Grim refers to the death of Judge Jeffreys, who had been one of the most violent against the dissenters. This, however, is a mistake. Judge Jeffreys did not die till 1689, and the second part was published in 1684.

P. 203, l. 15. *a down-right blow*, a blow coming straight down upon his head.

P. 204, l. 12. *so hearty in counselling*, your counsels have been so sincere, coming straight from the heart.

P. 205, l. 10. *they were had into a very large Room*. The whole of this passage is to be interpreted of the reception of new members of a Christian church, a company of the faithful, and the partaking together of the Holy Communion. The 'Lamb,' l. 23, signifies the Eucharistic meal.

l. 24. *the Porter had heard before of their coming*. Bunyan here forgets that he had previously represented the arrival of Great-heart and the pilgrims as a surprise to the Porter, p. 203, l. 37.

l. 28. *that Chamber that was my Husband's*, the name of which was *Peace*.

P. 206, l. 2. *a Noise of Musick*. 'A noise' was used by our early writers for a band or company of musicians. So Shakespeare, *2 Henry IV*, ii. 4, 'See if thou canst find Snek's noise.' Cf. Milton, 'At a solemn music,' l. 18 :—

P. 215, l. 20. *the Pelican*. This bird being in the habit of bringing fish and other food to her young ones in the pouch beneath its beak, the contents of which it forces out by pressing it against its breast, the vulgar error arose that it wounded its breast with its bill, and fed its nestlings with its blood. This absurd notion, it will be seen from the following extract, was not confined to the unlearned. 'Some will have a scar in the breast, from a wound of her own making there, to feed (as is reported) her young with her own blood; an action which ordinarily suggests devout fancies.' *A Short Relation of the River Nile*, edited by the Royal Society, 1673. 'A Pelican in her Piety vulning her Breast' is an ordinary heraldic bearing. The text supplies its mystical interpretation.

P. 217, l. 1. *a pair of excellent Virginals*. A virginal was a keyed musical instrument of the spinnet kind, but made quite rectangular, like a small pianoforte. Like spinnets they had only one wire to each note. Their name was probably derived from their use by young girls. Queen Elizabeth was a skilful performer on the virginals. The *Virginal Book* composed for her by William Bird, the organist of Lincoln Cathedral, is still in existence. The expression 'a pair of virginals' corresponds to 'a pair of organs,' which was the common term in the Middle Ages for what we now call 'an organ.' The reason of the designation is obscure. Perhaps it may have been from the double row of pipes seen in early drawings of organs. 'A pair,' however, was not always restricted as now to a 'brace' or 'couple,' but was used for 'a set.' A 'pair of cards' is common in our Elizabethan dramatists for a 'pack' (see Skeat, *s. v.*).

P. 218, l. 1. *a Gold Angel*, an ancient gold coin, weighing four dwts., called at first the *angel-noble*, being originally a new issue of the noble. Its name was due to the device on it, St. Michael standing upon and piercing the dragon.

l. 2. *Let thy Garments, &c.* A quotation from Eccles. ix. 8. The following words, 'let Mercy live,' &c., is an adaptation of Moses' prayer for Reuben, Dent. xxxiii. 6.

l. 18. *Through all my Life, &c.* This stanza is from Thomas Sternhold's versification of Ps. xxiii. 6. The succeeding stanza, '*For why, The Lord our God is good,*' &c., is from the same version of the Psalms, Ps. c. 5.

l. 30. *at the Spring*, in the spring; as we say 'at night' for during the night.

l. 36. *desirous to be in*, desirable; used improperly for the object, instead of the subject, of the desire. *The New English Dictionary* shows that other writers have employed *desirous* in this manner.

acc. of *malleus*, a hammer. It is still in use in the form 'mallet,' as well as in 'Pall Mall.' 'The prelates are the only *mawls* of schism.' Milton, Ch. Government, b. l. c. 6. Bunyan employs the word, 'Satan's master argument is, Thou art a horrible sinner, a hypocrite . . . I say this is his *mawl*, his club, his masterpiece.' *Good-news*.

P. 227, l. 14. *the Giant strikes*. See note to p. 115, l. 38.

l. 28. *mist but little of all-to-breaking*, thoroughly breaking; see note on 'all-to-befooled me,' p. 190, l. 7.

l. 34. *smit the head of the Giant*. The weak form of the preterite for the strong 'smote,' which has become universal. We have an example of the opposite usage in the verb 'chide,' where 'chode' (Gen. xxxi. 36, Numb. xx. 3) has dropped out of use and 'chid' taken its place.

P. 228, l. 12. *a Prospect for Pilgrims*; the place from which a view or prospect might be had, a prospect-house or 'gazebo.'

l. 19. *my Determent*; means of deterring, deterring circumstance. See examples *N. E. D. sub voc.*

ll. 24-29. These questions and answers have been retained in the form in which they stand in the second edition. They are broken up in the later editions.

l. 31. *God has been wonderful good unto us*. Adjective for adverb. Cf. 'the house which I am about to build shall be *wonderful* great,' 2 Chr. ii. 9. In Elizabethan writers we find the adverbial *-ly* often omitted, as '*grievous* sick,' '*miserable* poor,' Morris, *Engl. Accidence*, p. 196.

P. 229, l. 3. *his Clothes, and his Staff and his Girdle*. Bunyan omits the cockle-shell and the wallet which were also distinctive marks of pilgrims. St. James the Greater, the patron saint of pilgrims, is generally represented in mediæval art with staff, shell, broad-brimmed hat, and wallet. Cf. Ophelia's snatch of song:—

'How should I your true love know

From another one?

By his cockle hat and staff,

And his sandal shoon.' *Hamlet*, iv. 5.

l. 16. *what could you a done to a helped yourself?* *Have* done to *have* helped; see note, p. 27, l. 18.

l. 22. *well said, Father Honest*. An oversight of Bunyan. Great-heart does not yet know his name. See l. 34.

l. 23. *a Cock of the right kind*. Allusions to the once popular amusement of cockfighting are very frequent in our early writers. Cloten says in *Cymbeline* (ii. 1), 'I must go up and down like a *cock* that no body can match.'

P. 230, l. 20. *the old Gentleman was taken*, captivated, delighted.

F. sanguisuga, a sucking, *Sp. muscivora*, a tale used as a pump; also a sucking.

II. 29-33. Bunyan here drops the narrative style, and in his own person addresses the reader. A more modern writer would have put this passage in a note.

P. 288, l. 5. *High low!* *indeed*. An unusual union of contrastive, a metaphor taken from music.

P. 289, l. 1. *stumbles Beholders*, trips them up and causes them to stumble. See note to p. 79, l. 33.

l. 27. *run as fast just back again*. This is the reading of all the editions, but it looks like a printer's error for *just as fast*; but it may mean to the same place where he was before.

P. 240, l. 13. *our Gains*. The name is borrowed from the New Testament. A *Gains*, or *Cains*, the more common Roman form, is spoken of by St. Paul as 'the host of himself and of the whole church,' Rom. xvi. 23, and the Third Epistle of St. John is written to one of the same name, 'the well-beloved Gains,' commending him for his hospitable reception of Christians.

l. 18. *if they might lie there*. We should now say, 'if they could sleep there.' To 'lie' continued in familiar use till the end of the last century for to stop the night at a place. This is the hinge of Walton's witty translation of Sir Henry Wotton's definition of an ambassador, 'An honest man sent to lie abroad for the good of his country.'

P. 241, l. 17. *their Ancestors dwell first at Antioch*. 'The disciples were called Christians first in Antioch,' Acts xi. 26.

II. 28-32. The names and manner of death of these early martyrs are taken by Bunyan from Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, which was his favourite companion during his imprisonment. Ignatius, the disciple of St. John, was Bishop of Antioch, condemned by the Emperor Trajan to be taken to Rome and given to the wild beasts, Dec. 20, 107 A.D. There were two martyrs of the name of Romanus; one of Rome, baptised by St. Lawrence, who perished in the Decian persecution, 255 A.D.; the other a deacon of Antioch, who was put to death by Diocletian. The latter is the one referred to here. Polycarp, Bishop of Smyrna, also disciple of St. John, was martyred at Smyrna, 169 A.D. As he entered the stadium to be brought before the proconsul, a voice from heaven was believed to have been heard, 'Be strong and play the man, O Polycarp.' The martyr 'hanged up in a basket for the wasps to eat' was Marcus of Arethusa, who in the reign of Constantine had pulled down an idol temple and built a church on its site, for which he was condemned under Julian. See Bunyan, *Come and Welcome to Jesus Christ*, p. 168.

'sum' is used in some parts of England for a 'sum.' This would give a good sense in this passage.

l. 22. They are much more moderate now than formerly. This description of the changed state of Vanity Fair since the arrival of the earnest pilgrims and Faithful's execution, indicates that it was written between the issuing by Charles II of the 'Declaration of Indulgence,' absolving from the penalties exacted against Nonconformity (justly regarded, from the character of its known authors, as a measure intended rather to injure the Church than to benefit Nonconformists), March 15, 1672, to which Bunyan owed his liberation and pardon, and its withdrawal on the remonstrance of the Parliament and the passing of the 'Test Act' in the following year. The position of dissenters, it is evident from Bunyan's own latter days, had become of far greater liberty than formerly.

Pl. 207, l. 20. the Pilgrim's Weed. 'Weed' is an old word for clothing, dress, from the A. S. *wæd*, attire of men and women. It is still familiar in the expression 'widow's weeds.'

l. 24. their Hosen out behind. 'Hosen' are breeches or trousers. See note to p. 210, l. 23.

Pl. 208, l. 11. there came a Monster out of the Woods. Bunyan's meaning is not very clear. The description of the monster, its body like a dragon, its seven heads and ten horns, its government by a woman, all point to the 'beast' of the Apocalypse, identified in popular theology with Antichrist or the Antichristian power as exhibited in the Church of Rome. That this was what Bunyan probably had in view is shown by his posthumous treatise, *Of Antichrist and his Sin*. In the 'great harvest of children' he may have been referring to some special case of the conversion of young people to the Roman Catholic faith through the arguments of the popes and emissaries of that Church. The 'wicked wretches' watching and awaiting the monster are supposed to refer to those, like the Jesuits and other preachers of the *Millenary Petition*, which were very efficacious in checking the increase of dissent.

Pl. 208, l. 24. Cotes and Folds, or Sheep. 'Cotes' means a cottage, a slight building for sheltering small animals. Now clearly used in connection with the sheep, as in the A. S. *cote*, a small house, a pen for sheep. 'Cotes' occurs in the A. V. 'Sheepcotes were built...' 'Folds' of beasts and also the folds of a cloth, etc. etc. as in *Matthew* 23: 34, 'children and hypocrites. The spirit' as a place for the reception and care of the sheep, as in the A. V. 'Sheepcotes' or the 'folds' of the sheep, etc. etc. 'Folds' is also used in the A. V. 'Sheepcotes' or the 'folds' of the sheep, etc. etc.

'item' is used in some parts of England for a 'hint.' This would give a good sense in this passage.

l. 33. *They are much more moderate now than formerly.* This description of the changed state of Vanity Fair since the arrival of the earlier pilgrims and Faithful's execution, indicates that it was written between the issuing by Charles II of the 'Declaration of Indulgence,' dispensing with the penalties enacted against Nonconformity (justly regarded, from the character of its known authors, as a measure intended rather to injure the Church than to benefit Nonconformists), March 15, 1673, to which Bunyan owed his liberation and pardon, and its withdrawal on the remonstrance of the Parliament and the passing of the 'Test Act' in the following year. The position of dissenters, it is evident from Bunyan's own latter days, had become of far greater liberty than formerly.

P. 257, l. 22. *the Pilgrim's Weed.* 'Weed' is an old word for clothing, dress, from the A. S. *wæd*, attire of men and women. It is still familiar in the expression 'widow's weeds.'

l. 24. *their Hosen out behind.* 'Hosen' are breeches or trousers. See note to p. 210, l. 23.

P. 258, l. 11. *there came a Monster out of the Woods.* Bunyan's meaning is not very clear. The description of the monster, its body like a dragon, its seven heads and ten horns, its government by a woman, all point to the 'beast' of the Apocalypse, identified in popular theology with Antichrist or the Antichristian power as exhibited in the Church of Rome. That this was what Bunyan probably had in view is shown by his posthumous treatise, *Of Antichrist and his Ruin*. In the 'great havock of children' he may have been referring to some special cases of the conversion of young people to the Roman Catholic faith through the arguments of the priests and emissaries of that Church. The 'valiant worthies' watching and assaulting the monster are supposed to refer to Owen, Manton, Baxter, and other preachers of the *Morning Exercises against Popery*, which were very efficacious in checking the increase of converts.

P. 260, l. 23. *Cotes and Folds for Sheep.* 'Cote' means a cottage, a slight building for sheltering small animals. Now chiefly used in combination, as in *sheep-cote*, *dove-cote*. A. S. *cote*, fem., a parallel form to *cot*, neut. 'Cote' occurs in the A. V., 'Hezekiah made himself . . . stalls for all manner of beasts and *cotes* for flocks,' 2 Chron. xxxii. 28.

P. 261, l. 14. *an Hospital to young Children, and Orphans.* This sense of 'Hospital,' as a place for the reception and care of the needy generally, is still found in such institutions as 'Christ's Hospital' (or the 'Blue Coat School'), 'Bethlehem Hospital,' for the reception of the

action and courage.' The *N. E. D.* gives several examples of this form of speech.

l. 24. *had killed a Serpent.* The reference is to Apollyon, who, however, was not killed by Christian. It may be intended by the author as a sample of the exaggerated and misrepresented tales that pass from mouth to mouth.

P. 272, l. 10. *It glads me at Heart!* See note, p. 176, l. 28. In the margin of Pa. xxi. 6, we have, 'Thou hast gladdened him with joy.' Ben Jonson writes (*Catiline*, v. 4):—

'which more glads me

That I now see you have sense of your own safety.'

'Sad' is in the same way sometimes found as a verb. 'It saddened me lately to see that church in which this saint was interred, ready to fall to the ground.' Fuller, *Hist. of Cambridge*, viii. 37.

P. 273, l. 36. *he always was sent back to the Hols.* Bunyan seems here to have partially dropt the allegorical form, and to be speaking of the fate of ignorance generally.

P. 274, l. 34 ff. It would be interesting to know who was the author of this little lyrical gem. The complete contrast it presents to the rugged, halting verses of Bunyan's usual composition suggests that, like the lovely little song of the Shepherd's Boy in the Valley of Humiliation, p. 220, it must have proceeded from some other pen. One can hardly read it without being reminded of Amiens' song in *As You Like It*:—

'Under the greenwood tree
Who loves to lie with me

Come hither, come hither, come hither,
Here shall he see
No enemy

But winter and rough weather.'

P. 276, l. 10. *to wag along.* To 'wag' is a jocular synonym for to 'move,' to 'go.' It is frequent in Shakespeare's comedies.

l. 12. *Slabbiness.* Slipperiness. 'Slabbiness' signifies the state of ground covered with thick mud, in which there is the double danger of slipping down and sticking fast. Its meaning is well indicated by Shakespeare: 'make the gruel thick and slab,' *Macbeth*, iv. 1. *Slab*, alimy, provincial Eng. *slabby*, sloppy, dirty. Irish *slab*, *slaid*, Gael. *slaid*, mud, mire. Cf. Icelandic *steppa*, slime.

l. 15 ff. *While one tumbeth over a Bush, &c.* This graphic passage cannot fail to remind the reader of the old ballad of Robin Good-fellow:—

What's lighter than the mind? A thought. Than
This bubble world. What than this bubble? Nay

P. 281, l. 11. *a good Limner*. A good painter. To
paint, derived through M.E. from the French *enluminer*,
the mediaeval painters being chiefly illuminators of man
find 'alluminer' in Cotgrave's *Dictionary* as the English
enlumineur. Fuller writes of William Collet, 'he be
illuminer or limner of our age.' *Worthies, Cambridgeshire*

l. 16. *that Block over which the Ax doth hang*. A machine
construction to the guillotine was formerly used in En
execution of criminals. The famous 'Halifax Gibbet' was
See the engraving in Hone's *Every-Day Book*, vol. i, p.
Maiden,' an even more celebrated instrument of death, is
in the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries at Edinburgh

l. 24. *a bold and impudent Slut*. A term of opprobrium
signifying a lazy, careless, dirty person, but gradually acquiring
and less distinctive reference. M.E. *slutte*, slut, sloven.
in origin; also allied to the Dutch *slodde*, a slut, and to the

P. 283, l. 38. *there was a Post come*. A *post* is properly
person placed, *positus*, in a settled mode or station to fulfil
of any kind. Here it is the person whose settled duty it
letters. In later usage, the place or institution or system
designated rather than the person employed.

P. 286, l. 31. *the Post sounded his Horn*. Cf. Cowper's
'The Winter Evening.'

P. 288, l. 4. *this Day seven Night*. We should now say
week.' The earlier form, abbreviated into 'sennight,' was
elderly people in the earlier part of the nineteenth century.
has 'just a *sevensnight*,' *Much Ado*, ii. 1; 'one *sevensnight*,'
Winter's Tale, i. 2.

P. 290, l. 10. *His Name has been to me as a Civet-Box*.
animal perfume, akin to musk, secreted by the *Viverra*
'Civet,' sometimes, though incorrectly, called the 'Civet'
of Northern Africa and Abyssinia. *Viverra Zibetha*, a kind
which is also furnished with a perfume-secreting pouch, is found
parts of Asia. Cf. Shakespeare, 'he rubs himself with *civet*'
iii. 2; 'His hands are perfumed with *civet*,' *As You Like It*

III. *He becomes a member of the Baptist Church. His call to the ministry and the manner and success of his preaching, §§ 253-317.* He is admitted to the Lord's Supper, 253-255; in danger of consumption, his temptations and comforts, 256-264; begins to address others, 265-267; receives ordination, 268-271; manner and success of his preaching, 269-291; temptations in preaching, 292-306; is grossly slandered, 307-317.

IV. *He is apprehended and imprisoned, §§ 318-339.* Apprehended when about to preach at Samsell, indicted, and sentenced to transportation for life; detained in prison for twelve years, 318, 319; his spiritual consolations, 320-326; his anxiety for his wife and children, especially his blind daughter, 327-329; the thoughts that support him, 330-332; anticipates execution, which troubles him with many fears, 333-335; his strong consolation, 336-339; conclusion.

Preface.

P. 293, l. 1. *Children, grace be with you.* The address is to his spiritual not his natural offspring; to 'those whom God hath counted him worthy to beget to Faith by his ministry in the word.'

l. 2. *so tied up.* This work was written in prison and published in 1666, six years before Bunyan's final release. Cf. l. 11, 'While I stick between the teeth of the lions in the wilderness.'

l. 19. *a drop of that Honey, &c.* The reference is to the narrative of Samson taking honey out of the dead body of the lion, which he had killed some months before. Judges xiv. 5-9.

P. 294, l. 2. *The Philistines understand me not.* As in the narrative referred to, his Philistine companions were unable to solve Samson's riddle. Judges xiv. 12-14.

l. 3. *It is something a Relation*, i.e. 'something of a relation'; comp. for a similar idiomatic omission of 'of,' Lev. xiv. 54, 'all manner plague of leprosy'; vii. 3, 'no manner fat'; Rev. xviii. 12, 'all manner vessels of most precious wood.' We meet with the omission constantly in Hooker, 'all manner good,' *Eccl. Polity*, I. iv. 1; 'all manner virtuous duties,' *ibid.* V. iv. 3.

P. 295, l. 8. *that Sword that should have been sheathed*, was intended to have been sheathed.

l. 38. *God did not play in convincing me.* This is unwarrantably altered in later reprints into 'God did not play in tempting me.'

P. 300, l. 3. *a Creek of the Sea*. Bunyan is provokingly chary of particulars as to names and places. As a tinker he probably roamed about in pursuit of his trade; (he says, 'My calling lying in the country, I happened to light into several people's company,' p. 309, l. 23); and he may easily have travelled as far as the Wash, and have alighted into one of its muddy inlets. *Creek* is a narrow armlet of a sea, or lake, running inland. In the United States and some of the British Colonies it is a tributary stream, a brook. The 'Bedford River' is the Ouse.

l. 10. *plucked her Sting out with my Fingers*. Bunyan shared in the common error that the adder's venom resided in its forked tongue. 'Adder's fork' is one of the ingredients of the witches' broth in *Macbeth*, iv. 1.

l. 14. *When I was a Soldier, I, with others, were drawn out to go to such a place to besiege it*. See note, p. x.

l. 30. *The Plain Man's Pathway to Heaven* was the work of Arthur Dent, a Puritan; *The Practice of Piety* that of Dr. Lewis Bayly, Bishop of Bangor, 1616-1632; previously Chaplain to Henry Prince of Wales, son of James I.

l. 32. *I should sometimes read*. See note to p. 298, l. 26.

P. 301, l. 12. *the High place, Priest, Clerk, Vestment, Service*. One would not naturally gather from this passage that the public worship at this time which struck Bunyan with so much awe was that ordained by the *Directory*, published by the 'General Assembly' of 1643, the Book of Common Prayer having been 'abolished' by Act of Parliament, and by a subsequent Act, Jan. 3, 1645, prohibited from being used under severe penalties. The 'vestment' must have been the Geneva cloak, the surplice having been declared illegal. We learn from the Parish Register that one Christopher Hall was Incumbent of Elstow at this time, and therefore 'the Priest' referred to.

l. 20. *had I but seen a priest*. Bunyan uses the word 'priest' loosely for a regularly appointed minister of religion, even if not in episcopal orders. Milton's line will be remembered:—

'New Presbyter is but old Priest writ large.'

P. 302, l. 7. *his Subject was, to treat of the Sabbath-day*. *The Book of Sports of King James I* (1618), declaring that after divine service was concluded people were not to be discouraged from indulging in archery, dancing, leaping, or other harmless recreations, had been republished by Charles I, October 18, 1633, and ordered to be read in churches, to the great dissatisfaction of many besides the Puritans. In 1644 an Act had been passed for the better observance of the Lord's day, ordering that the *Book of Sports* should be publicly burnt, and

of sudden death would have been strengthened by the shocking end of two men about this time, recorded in Clark's *Looking Glass for Saints and Sinners*, who, ringing for a football match one Sunday afternoon, in this same county, were struck dead by lightning.

P. 306, l. 6. *overtwart the Steeple*. More usually written 'athwart,' across, from one side to the other. M. E. *juert, juart*, across. *Ouerjuert* occurs in the *Lay of Havelok the Dane*, l. 2822.

l. 21. *Another thing was my Dancing*. Bunyan's love of dancing has stamped itself on his writings. Dancing usually accompanies bell-ringing in the *Holy War*, e.g. 'So the bells did ring, and the people sing, and the music go in every house; and the elders did go dancing before the Prince.' In one place he mentions one measure by name, Shakespeare's 'Swift Coranto.' Mr. Ready-to-halt and Mistress Much-afraid dancing in the road, after the destruction of Doubting Castle, will be remembered, p. 263, l. 12. In less than ten years' time both of Bunyan's favourite vanities, together with bear-baiting, bull-baiting, wrestling, and all kinds of sports and pastimes, including even 'vainly and prophanelly walking,' had been rendered penal on the Lord's Day by Act of Parliament, 1657, under a fine of ten shillings for each offence.

l. 35. *thres or four poor Women sitting at a door in the Sun*. These were members of Mr. Gifford's congregation, to which Bunyan subsequently joined himself, and of which he eventually became the pastor.

l. 38. *I was now a brisk Talker . . . in the matters of Religion*. He has described himself at this time in the first part of the *Pilgrim's Progress*, under the character of Talkative the Son of Saywell of Prating Row, 'who talketh of prayer, of repentance, of faith, and of the new birth, but knows only but to talk of them,' pp. 70-79.

P. 308, l. 14. *like a Horse-leech at the Vein*. 'Horse-leech' is an example of the use of 'horse' as a prefix to signify that which is large, strong, coarse, gross, of its kind. The true horse-leech differs from the common leech, but according to the *New English Dictionary* the name is sometimes given to the medicinal species. Leech literally means 'healer,' A. S. *læce*, physician; a signification it retained two centuries since. 'Leechcraft' signifies the art of healing.

l. 33. *in a great chafe*; very warmly, or angrily. 'Chafe' comes to us through the O. F. *chauser*, from Latin sources, L. *calefacere*, to heat, make warm. The modern sense to 'rub,' in which it is now generally employed, comes from the production of heat by attrition.

l. 36. *I met with some Ranters' Books*. The 'Ranters' were Antinomians of the deepest dye, who maintained the entire independence of the spiritual Christian of the moral law, and the indifference of outward

view with Talkative, p. 75, 1
from the earlier editions.

P. 318, l. 13. *they told*
minister of the Baptist con-
by Bunyan in the first pe
Gifford had been a maj
bauched life. An unsu
Parliamentary usurpatio
demnation to death. F
before his execution, an
intoxicated, was able
a ditch for three dr
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himself a bitter hate
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l. 33. *a Clog*
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P. 348, l. 20. *I can but die; and if it must be so.* He describes his own experience in like cases in the person of Hopeful. 'And thought I with myself, If I leave off I die; and I can but die at the throne of grace,' p. 130, l. 14.

P. 349, l. 26. *rent my soul asunder.* To *rent* is an old spelling of the verb to *rend*. It is always so spelt in the early editions of the A.V.: e.g. 'lest they trample them under their feet, and turn again, and *rent* you,' Matt. vii. 6.

P. 351, l. 24. *like a broken Vessel.* Bunyan is at fault here in his interpretation of Scripture imagery. The passage in his mind was Ps. xxxi. 12, 'I am forgotten as a dead man out of mind: I am like a broken vessel,' i.e. a broken pot, the most worthless of objects. This he applies as if 'vessel' had been used in its later sense for a ship.

P. 352, l. 13. *sat down upon a Settle,* a bench. See note, p. 43, l. 10.

P. 353, l. 21. *like a mill-post at my back.* A millpost is the strong wooden post on which an old-fashioned windmill stands, and on which the whole body of the mill is turned to suit the change of wind.

P. 356, l. 3. *a child that was fallen into a mill-pit.* The image is in this case drawn from a watermill, as in the last from a windmill. The mill-pit is the place where the waterwheel is fixed, which being walled in on either hand, its smooth sides offer nothing for a person falling in to lay hold of.

l. 4. *to scrabble.* See note to p. 116, l. 8.

P. 361, l. 4. *Moses and Elias must both vanish.* The reference here is to our Lord's transfiguration, when, after the cloud that had overshadowed Him, together with Moses and Elijah, had passed away, the disciples 'saw no man any more save Jesus only,' Mark ix. 8.

P. 367, l. 8. *crack-groats and fourpence-halfpennies,* i.e. old worn-out, partially broken coins, just good enough to pass current, but worth very little intrinsically. Crack-brained is now used for cracked-brained. A groat is a fourpenny piece. 'Groat' is in M. E. *grôte*, from the Old Low German *grote*, a coin of Bremen; meaning 'great,' because it was large in comparison with the copper coins formerly in use there. The 'fourpence-halfpennies' spoken of by Bunyan were identified by the late Mr. Edward Hawkins, of the British Museum, with the Irish sixpences of the 'silver-harp money,' the value of which was fixed by proclamation, April 8, 1603, at fourpence-halfpenny, the Irish shilling being estimated at ninepence.

P. 372, l. 5. *flounce towards the Promise.* To 'flounce' is now generally used for moving in an abrupt, ostentatious, self-asserting manner. Dr. Chalmers writes of those who '*flounce* in the robes of magistracy,' *Life*, vol. ii, p. 152. Here, and in many of the examples

made ready to our hand' (2 Cor. x. 16), as if lines of literary composition were intended.

P. 385, l. 3. *at sometimes*. We should now drop 'at' and say 'sometimes' alone. Bunyan breaks up the adverb into its elements, as if it were written 'at some times,' 'on certain occasions.'

l. 20. *imprison the Truth in Unrighteousness*. Somehow or other Bunyan has got at the real force of the verb *marécher*, to hold down (R.V.), which is but feebly rendered in the A.V., 'who *held* the truth in unrighteousness,' Rom. i. 18.

P. 388, l. 2. *I was a Witch*. See note, p. 97, l. 21.

P. 389, l. 3. *I have been naught*. A euphemistic expression for being guilty of immoral practices. 'Naught' is from the A.S. *nā-wiht*, nothing, and so good for nothing, worthless, evil. In Shakespeare, Cymbeline says to Imogene, after announcing her mother's death:—

'Oh she was *naught*; and long of her it was
That we meet here so strangely.' *Cymbeline*, v. 5.

l. 12. *all is a case to me*, i.e. one and the same case; it does not matter to me.

l. 19. *under the Copes of the whole Heaven*. A cope was formerly a long cloak or cape worn as an outer garment. Mediaeval Latin *cōpa*, cope. 'The cope of heaven' is the round vault which covers all, as the cloak does the wearer. It is an idiom common to many languages; Ital. *la cappa del cielo*, Fr. *la chape du ciel*, Dutch *happe des hemels*.

'So numberless were those bad angels seen
Hovering on wings under the *cope* of hell.'

Milton, *Paradise Lost*, bk. i.

l. 25. *carry it pleasant*, behave pleasantly. To 'carry it' stood in our Elizabethan writers for 'conduct oneself,' 'to behave.'

l. 35. *why they made baulks*? A 'balk' is a ridge between two furrows left in ploughing, or a strip of ground left unploughed as a boundary line between two ploughed portions. Hence it signifies an omission, an exception.

'They fall to strokes the frute of too much talke
And the mad shell about doth fiercely fly,
Not sparing wight, *ne leaving any baulke*,
But making way for death at large to walke.'

Spenser, *Faery Queene*, vi. 11.

P. 390, l. 25. *had me before a Justice*. This was Mr. Justice Wingate. See p. 401, l. 16.

l. 29. *an Upholder and Maintainer of Unlawful Assemblies*. The Act under which Bunyan was convicted was one passed in Queen Elizabeth's reign (35 Eliz. c. 1), afterwards re-enacted in 1662 (16 Car. I,

Dictionary). The word formerly meant an enclosed piece of land in contradistinction to the open field of a parish. In the days of Bunyan nearly every village lay in the middle of a group of small enclosures, which were surrounded by the open grass and ploughland of the community.

1. 29. *to go upon the forlorn hope*. In early use a forlorn hope was a picked body of men, detached to the front to begin an attack; a body of skirmishers. Now usually, a storming party. Adapted from the Dutch *verloren hoop*, literally 'lost troop' (*hoop* = heap. German *haufen*).

P. 408, l. 27. *whether we had armour or not*. By 'armour' he means 'arms,' 'weapons.'

P. 404, l. 4. *in a chafe*. See note on p. 308, l. 33.

1. 19. *my mittimus must be made*. A 'mittimus' = 'we send,' is a warrant under the hand and seal of a justice of the peace directed to a gaoler for the receiving and safe-keeping of an offender by him committed to gaol, containing the cause of the commitment.

P. 405, l. 9. *one Alexander a Coppersmith*. 2 Tim. iv. 14, 'Alexander the coppersmith did me much evil; the Lord reward him according to his works.'

1. 24. *the jail in Bedford*. It was long accepted as an undoubted fact that the jail to which Bunyan was committed, and in which he spent the twelve years of his confinement, was the dungeon standing on one of the piers of the old many-arched bridge which formerly spanned the Ouse at Bedford. The erroneousness of this statement has been fully demonstrated by Mr. James Wyatt, F.S.A., of Bedford, who has shown that the dungeon on the bridge was a mere lock-up; and, further, that it was the exclusive property of the corporation of the town. The county had no jurisdiction over it, and it would have been contrary to all legal rules for Bunyan to have been committed to it by a county magistrate for an offence far beyond the limits of the town. Mr. Wyatt has further shown from the corporation records that in 1671, a year before Bunyan's liberation from prison, the jail on the bridge was entirely swept away by a sudden flood of the river Ouse, and had to be completely rebuilt. The old county gaol, which was the true place of Bunyan's not very rigorous confinement, occupied the angle between High Street and Silver Street. It has been long since pulled down, and its site is an open market. A small fragment of one wall is still standing.

P. 410, l. 23. Bunyan's trial at the Quarter Sessions at Bedford has conferred an undesirable immortality on the county gentlemen who acted on that occasion as justices of the peace. Justice Keeling, who was the chairman of the board, lived somewhere between Shefford and

Southill. He had been trained to the bar, and a few weeks before Bunyan's trial he had acted as junior counsel for the Crown in the trial of the Regicides; and he conducted the trial of Captain Hacker, who was commander of the guard at the execution of Charles I. The year after Bunyan's trial he was knighted, and became M.P. for Bedford. Two years later he took a leading part in the prosecution of Sir Harry Vane. His party zeal commended him to the ruling party, and he rose very rapidly in his profession; and, to the great indignation of all right-thinking persons, he was made Lord Chief Justice over the head of Sir Matthew Hale. As judge he surpassed public expectation by his violent outbursts of brutality, and the fanatical and ludicrous behaviour with which he disgraced the judgement-seat. It was said of him that he was 'far fitter to charge the Roundheads under Prince Rupert than a jury in Westminster Hall.' Like most blusterers, Keeling was a coward, and having provoked the censure of Parliament by the gross indecency with which he showed his contempt of Magna Charta, he only escaped punishment by an act of most obsequious submission. He died before Bunyan's release. (Lord Campbell, *Lives of the Chief Justices*.) The other judges, according to Dr. Brown, were Sir Harry Chester, of Beckrings Park, Liddington; Sir George Blundell, of Cardington; Sir William Beecher, of Howbury Hall, Renhold; and Thomas Snagg, Esq., of Millbrook, afterwards High Sheriff.

P. 414, l. 20. *pedlar's French*. A common term for the *argot*, or cant language used by thieves and other vagabonds in their intercourse with one another.

'Twere fitter

Such honest lads as myself had it, that instead
Of *pedlar's French* gives him plain language for his money,
Stand and deliver.'

Beaumont and Fletcher, *Faithful Friend*, i. 2.

P. 417, l. 21. *the late insurrection at London*. This was the outbreak of Venner, a wine-cooper, the 'Fifth Monarchy man,' and his little band of fanatical associates, in the streets of London, January, 1661. The whole band did not muster more than forty, but they scoured the city and caused great alarm. 'Some of them,' writes Burnet, 'were persuaded that Christ would come down and head them.' They fought desperately, refused all quarter, and killed several soldiers; but at length Venner, after he had received three shots, was taken with nine more, and twenty were killed. Venner and sixteen others were executed January 19-21.

l. 26. Bunyan was a true loyalist, and his strong attachment to his sovereign, as such, is shown in many places in his works. Many such

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passages are collected by the Rev. J. Copner, in his *Hero of Elstow*, pp. 36-38.

P. 423, l. 21. *the King was crowned*. The coronation of Charles II took place in Westminster Abbey, April 23, 1661.

l. 34. *Judge Hales*. This was the eminently excellent Sir Matthew Hale. The utmost kindness the law would allow might be expected from one who was the friend of Richard Baxter, who looked with disfavour on the rigour of the Act of Uniformity, and who, while he preferred the Episcopalian form of Church government to any other, was unable to accept any as of absolute divine authority, and was therefore indisposed to prosecute those who dissented from the national form of religion.

P. 424, l. 18. *the Swan Chamber*. The principal room in the Swan Inn. This chief house of public entertainment in the town of Bedford stood on the bank of the river Ouse, close to the bridge foot at the north-east corner. The old inn, long since pulled down, was a long, low, picturesque, half-timbered building, with projecting bow windows lighting the chief apartment overlooking the river, in which the judges and magistrates met.

P. 426, l. 15. *I am but mother-in-law to them*. But for this passage we should have been left in ignorance of the death of Bunyan's first wife, and of his second marriage to this truly heroic woman, so well worthy of such a husband.

l. 19. *I being smayed at the news*, dismayed, terrified. According to Professor Skeat the Old French *desmayer* was early supplanted by *esmayer*, also meaning to dismay. Cf. the Italian *smagare* (put for *dis-magare*), to lose courage, also to dismay.

P. 428, l. 8. *I had, by my jailor, some liberty granted me*. It is plain by the church books of the Baptist congregation that Bunyan's imprisonment was by no means rigorous during the early period of his incarceration. We have his own authority for the fact of his being permitted to preach, and that not in Bedford and its neighbourhood only, but even in London. It may be to this period of comparative liberty that the story is to be assigned of a clerical justice of the peace sending a messenger to the jail at midnight to inquire whether John Bunyan was safe, in the hope of finding him absent from his prison, a few minutes after his return from one of his lengthened journeys, just in time to save both his gaoler and himself from the consequences of his unlawful mercifulness.

Maul, *s.* 226, 26.

Maze, *s.* 33, 5.

Miscarriage, 43, 33.

Mittimus, 404, 19.

Muckhill, 326, 6.

Nap, 125, 13.

Naught, 389, 3.

Noise, 206, 2.

Nonage, 55, 5.

On't, 86, 15.

Outlandish, 84, 7.

Overthwart, 306, 6.

Padding, 224, 25; 311, 18.

Pedler's French, 414, 20.

Peevish, 79, 14.

Pelting, 300, 13.

Perspective glass, 113, 9.

Pickthank, 87, 8.

Pike, *s.* 372, 17.

Pillory, 85, 25.

Pity, *v. act.* 136, 38.

Plash, *v. act.* 179, 24.

Post, *s.* 283, 38.

Practick, 74, 30.

Pretty, 73, 3.

Prospect, 228, 12.

Quag, 59, 13.

Rabblement, 89, 13.

Rack, 35, 17.

Respit, 91, 2.

Round, 124, 27.

Roundly, 99, 24.

Runagate, 88, 28.

Sackbat, 235, 3.

Scrabble, 116, 8.

Scrub, 90, 15.

Sense, 380, 12.

Settle, *s.* 43, 10.

Shift, *v. act.* 43, 30.

Slabbiness, 276, 12.

Slut, 281, 24.

Smay, *v. act.* 426, 19.

Snib, *v.* 117, 18, margin.

Sot, 310, 22.

Spurt, 328, 3.

Stalking horse, 97, 19.

Starve, 232, 35.

Stound, *v. act.* 142, 34.

Surfelt, 102, 21.

Swound, 107, 25.

Thorough, 231, 2.

Tip, 347, 18.

Tom of Bedlam, 305, 13.

Trace, 221, 27.

Trespass, 38, 33.

Tro, 6, 102.

Wan, 223, 32.

Weed, 257, 22.

Wicket, 13, 12.

Wise, *s.* 155, 3.

Witch, 97, 21; 388, 2.

Wo worth, 165, 13.

THE END.





